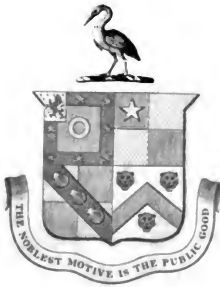


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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. I.

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## P R E F A C E .

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THE years 1856 and 1857, comprised in this, the First Volume of a New Series of the Society's Publications, have witnessed the accession of several new contributors, as well as the continued exertions of former friends. Perhaps the chief feature of the present Volume consists in the mass of historical documents derived from Her Majesty's State Paper Office, as well as from other sources, and now placed on record for the use of future historians.

The Editor trusts that the result of his labours may be indulgently received by the Members at large. No doubt, some faults and errors shall be found to have escaped him, but he has not spared himself in the endeavour to render the typography of the Work worthy of the Society.

Aid towards the illustration of this Volume has been received from the Right Hon. Lord Clermont; the Rev. Samuel Hayman; Captain Edward Hoare, North Cork Rifles; W. H. King, Esq.; Richard R. Brash, Esq.; and W. Williams, Esq.: to all of whom the thanks of the Society are due.

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KILKENNY, *December 31, 1857.*



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 Tuomy, Rev. William, R. C. C. *Nelson Hill, Youghal.*  
 Turner, John, Esq., Master of the Dundalk Institution. *Dundalk.*

- Vance, Rev. George. *Skibbereen.*  
 Vignoles, Rev. Charles A., A. M. *Clonmacnoise Glebe, Shannon-bridge.*
- Wade, Mrs. *St. Canice Cottage, Kilkenny.*  
 Walker, Charles Arthur, Esq. *Tykillen House, Kyle, Enniscorthy.*  
 Walsh, John, Esq., J. P. *Fanningstown, Piltown.*  
 Walsh, Rev. Michael, P. P. *Rosbercon, New Ross.*  
 Walsh, Terence, Esq. *Youghal.*  
 Walsh, Rev. Thomas, R. C. C. *Cloyne.*  
 Walshe, John, Jun., Esq. *Patrick-street, Kilkenny.*  
 Wandesforde, J. B. C. S., Esq., D. L., J. P. *Castlecomer House, Castlecomer.*  
 Ward, Rev. John, A. M. *Wath Rectory, Ripon.*  
 Warren, Edward Lewis, Esq. *Lodge Park, Freshford.*  
 Waterford, the Very Rev. the Dean of. *Deanery, Waterford.*  
 Waterford, the Most Hon. the Marchioness of. *Curraghmore, Portlaw.*  
 Watters, Patrick, Esq., A. M., Town Clerk. *Patrick-street, Kilkenny.*  
 Way, Albert, Esq., F. S. A. *Wonham Manor, Reigate, Surrey.*  
 Welch, Patrick R., Esq., Barrister-at-Law. *Neutown-Welch, Co. Kilkenny;  
 and Yaxley Hall, Eye, Suffolk.*  
 Welsh, Alexander Colville, Esq. *Dromore, Co. Down.*  
 West, Henry J. Pelham, Esq. 11, *Upper Ormond-quay, Dublin.*  
 Westropp, Hodder, Esq. *Rookhurst, Monkstown, Co. Cork.*  
 Westropp, Ralph, Esq. *Ravenswood, Carrigaline.*  
 Wetherell, Rev. Frederick W., A. B. *Navan.*  
 Wheeler, Richard, Esq., J. P. *Kilkenny.*  
 Whetham, Charles, Esq. 38, *Gracechurch-street, London.*  
 White, John Davis, Esq. *Cashel.*  
 White, Joseph, Esq. *Irishtown, Clonmel.*  
 White, Michael, Esq. *Dunbel, Kilkenny.*  
 White, Rev. Newport B., A. B. *Cashel.*  
 Whitfield, Rev. Francis. *Annstown, Kilmeaden, Waterford.*  
 Wigmore, Thomas, Esq. *Ballyvodock, Middleton.*  
 Wilde, William R., Esq., M. D., F. R. C. S. I., M. R. I. A. *Merrion-square,  
 Dublin.*  
 Wills, Rev. James, B. D., M. R. I. A. *Kilmacow, Waterford.*  
 Wilson, Joseph, Esq. *Derry Lodge, Lurgan.*  
 Windele, John, Esq. *Blair's Castle, Cork.*  
 Wogan, John, Esq. *Carrick-on-Suir.*  
 Wood, John, Esq. *Somerton, Castlecomer.*  
 Woods, William H., Esq. 5, *Stapleton-place, Blackbirds, Bristol.*  
 Woodward, Benjamin E., Esq., Architect. 3, *Up. Merrion-street, Dublin.*  
 Wright, Robert B., Esq. *Foulksrath Castle, Jenkinstown.*  
 Wynne, the Right Hon. John, M. R. I. A. *Hazlewood, Sligo.*

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N. B.—The Members of the Society are particularly requested to communicate to the Honorary Secretaries any corrections in this List which they may consider necessary.

### Total Secretaries.

*Cork.*—JOHN WINDELE, Esq.  
*Waterford.*—JOHN G. DAVIS, Esq.  
*Wexford.*—HERBERT F. HORE, Esq.  
*Youghal.*—EDWARD FITZGERALD, Esq., ARCHITECT.

### Corresponding Members.

BLACKETT, W. R., Esq. *Piltown District.*  
 BYRNE, MR. DANIEL. *Timahoe District.*  
 DOWSLEY, JOHN W., Esq., M. D. *Clonmel District.*  
 DUNNE, MR. JOHN. *Garryricken District.*  
 HARPUR, REV. S. C. *Borris-in-Ossory District.*  
 LEECH, JOHN H., Esq. *Carrick-on-Suir District.*  
 MEASE, REV. JAMES. *Freshford District.*  
 MOORE, REV. PHILIP, R. C. C. *Rosbercon District.*  
 PEARSON, REV. J. M. *Dunmore District.*  
 WHITE, JOHN DAVIS, Esq. *Cashel District.*

### Honorary Foreign Corresponding Member.

M. BOUCHER DE PERTHES, President de la Société Royal d'Emulation d'Abbeville, France.

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### Societies in Connexion.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND: G. Vulliamy, Esq., 26, *Suffolk-street, Pall Mall, East, London*, Secretary.  
 THE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BUCKINGHAM: Rev. A. Newdigate, *Aylesbury*, Honorary Secretary.  
 THE ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON AND THE COUNTIES OF YORK AND LINCOLN; AND THE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BEDFORDSHIRE AND ST. ALBAN'S: Rev. H. D. Nicholson, *St. Alban's, Herts*, Hon. Secretary.  
 THE BURY AND WEST SUFFOLK ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: Saml. Tymms, Esq., F. S. A., *Bury St. Edmund's*, Honorary Secretary.  
 THE CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION: Richard Mason, Esq., *Tenby*.  
 THE CAMBRIAN INSTITUTE: Richard Mason, Esq., *Tenby*.  
 THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY: Charles C. Babington, Esq., *St. John's College, Cambridge*, Treasurer.

- THE GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF DUBLIN : Rev. Samuel Haughton, F. T. C. D., and F. J. Sidney, Esq., LL. D., Honorary Secretaries.
- THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE : Rev. A. Hume, D. C. L., LL. D., F. S. A., *Liverpool*, Honorary Secretary.
- THE LEICESTER LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY : William Kelly, Esq., *South Fields, Leicester*, Honorary Secretary.
- THE NORFOLK AND NORWICH ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY : Henry Harrod, Esq., *Norwich*, Honorary Secretary.
- THE OSSIANIC SOCIETY : John O'Daly, Esq., 9, *Anglesea-street, Dublin*, Honorary Secretary.
- THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY : Edward Clibborn, Esq., Assistant Librarian, *Dublin*.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE DES ANTIQUAIRES DU NORD. M. Charles C. Rafn, *Copenhagen*, Secretary. Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 14, *Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, London*, English Agents.
- THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Washington, United States : Henry Stevens, Esq., *Morley's Hotel, Trafalgar-square, London*, Agent for Great Britain and Ireland.
- THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON : John Y. Akerman, Esq., F. S. A., *Somerset House, London*, Secretary.
- THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE : John Adamson, Esq., *The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, Secretary.
- THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND : John Stuart, Esq., *Edinburgh*, Secretary.
- THE SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY : Rev. F. Warre, Rev. W. R. Crotch, and Rev. W. A. Jones, *Taunton*, General Secretaries.
- THE SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY : Samuel Tymms, Esq., F. S. A., *Bury St. Edmund's*, Honorary Secretary.
- THE SURREY ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY : G. B. Webb, Esq., 46, *Addison-road, North, Notting-hill, London*, Honorary Secretary.
- THE SUSSEX ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY : Wm. Harvey, Esq., *Clyffe, Lewes*, Local Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS  
OF  
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
FOR THE YEAR 1856.

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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held in the Tholsel Rooms, Kilkenny,  
on Wednesday, January 2nd, 1856,

ROBERT CANE, ESQ., M. D., in the Chair.

The Rev. James Graves, Honorary Secretary, stated, that he had the pleasure to announce that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had done them the honour of consenting to become a Member and Patron of the Society. He had received the following letter on the subject from his Excellency's Private Secretary:—

“*Viceregal Lodge, December 31, 1855.*”

“REV. SIR,—I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to inform you, in reply to your letter of the 27th inst., that his Excellency will be happy to become a Member and Patron of the Kilkenny Archæological Society.

“I am, Rev. Sir,

“Your very obedient servant,

“FREDERICK HOWARD.

“*Rev. James Graves.*”

The following new Members were also elected:—

The Hon. L. H. King Harman, D. L., Newcastle, Ballymahon; G. Fosbery Lyster, Esq., C. E., Resident Engineer, Harbour Works, Guernsey; and M. W. Daly, Esq., M. D., F. R. C. S. I., 82, Stephen's-green, South, Dublin: proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin.



William R. Seymour Fitzgerald, Esq., M. P., Holbrook Park, Horsham, Sussex, and Ballylinch, county of Kilkenny: proposed by Robert B. Wright, Esq.

Miss Matilda Coneys, Glen Bevan, Croom, county of Limerick; Frederick May, Esq., Bailiff of Taunton, High-street, Taunton; Samuel Edward Busby, Esq., Anglesea-street, Dublin; Robert H. Brackstone, Esq., Lyncombe Hill, Bath; John J. Lyons, Esq., Architect, "Irish Reporter" Office, D'Olier-street, Dublin; and John Dawson Duckett, Esq., J. P., Duckett's Grove, Carlow: proposed by R. Hitchcock, Esq.

The Rev. William Tarbotton, Limerick; and the Rev. John Service, Youghal: proposed by Nicholas Peterson, Esq.

James Swanton, Esq., A. B., Rineen, Skibbereen: proposed by the Rev. G. Vance.

Charles C. Haines, Esq., Mallow: proposed by W. Gillespie, Esq.

Henry Baschet, Esq., Exchange-street, Waterford: proposed by John G. Davis, Esq.

John Laffan, Esq., Main-street, Lismore: proposed by Alexander Anderson, Esq.

Rev. Thomas O'Farrell, R. C. C., Cloyne; and John Litton, Esq., Solicitor, 26, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin: proposed by E. Fitzgerald, Esq.

James T. Lyons, Esq., Solicitor, 9, Henrietta-street, Dublin: proposed by M. A. O'Brennan, Esq., LL. D.

William Homan Newell, Esq., LL. D., Glenbrook, Passage West, Cork: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Mechanics' Institute, Wexford: proposed by Mr. Prim.

The Honorary Secretary then read the following Annual Report for 1855:—

In laying their Report before the Members, your Committee cannot but feel that it is a matter for congratulation that the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society has now arrived at the close of its *Seventh Session* without exhibiting any of those marks of decline which voluntary societies are wont to feel long ere they arrive at such a "good old age." An increasing list, subscriptions well paid up, full value given to the Members in the printed "Transactions" of the Society, and all arrears in the issuing of the latter cleared off, are sufficient indications of the vitality of the Society.

*One hundred and twenty-eight* new names have been added to the roll of Members during the past year, giving a large excess over the losses by death, withdrawal, and a stringent revision of the list, whereby all Members two years and upwards in arrear have been struck off. The names of the defaulters have not, however, been finally removed from the books of the Society; they will be restored on the payment of the subscriptions due.

In the meantime, however, the issue of the "Transactions" to all Members thus in arrear has been suspended. This measure your Committee have been compelled to adopt, as the prosperity of the Society depends on punctuality and promptness in paying the small sum which forms the annual subscription.

While on this subject, your Committee would seek to impress on the minds of the Members in general the folly of entailing on the Society a large expenditure in postage, printing, and stationery, caused solely by the necessity for repeated calls for subscriptions. Were each Member to transmit his subscription to the Acting Treasurer before the close of the month of January in each year, this useless expense would be obviated, and the amount saved might be devoted to the legitimate objects of the Association.

Your Committee have seen the necessity of establishing a voluntary fund, irrespective of the small annual subscription, and recommend their successors to issue a circular which has been prepared for that purpose.

The bi-monthly issue of the Society's publications has given general satisfaction, and it is hoped that with the commencement of this year's issue, which forms the first part of Vol. I., New Series, further improvements will be introduced; such, for instance, as a more frequent use of first-class wood engravings. This, however, in a great degree, must depend on more extended support. Your Committee, therefore, whilst thanking those who have proved good recruiting officers during the past year, would impress on the minds of the Members in general the necessity for enlisting fresh supporters during the year we are now entering on.

Amongst many names removed by death from the list of Members during the past year, your Committee have to deplore the loss of their Dublin Corresponding Member, James Frederick Ferguson, Esq. The office of Keeper of the Ancient Records of the Irish Exchequer, which Mr. Ferguson so long filled without fee or reward, gave him access to the genuine sources of Irish history, and these he was ever ready to impart to the historical inquirer. Courteous, gentle, and unselfish, yet firm in the discharge of his duty as guardian of the invaluable national property confided to his care, his place cannot be easily filled, even were it more the practice than it has hitherto been to seek out the right man for the right place. As it is, his loss is irreparable to the public at large, no less than to this Society, the pages of whose "Transactions" have been enriched by many contributions from his pen. At the period of his death he was engaged in completing a translation of the ancient Norman-French "Chronicle of the Conquest of Ireland," edited, in the original language, by M. Francisque Michel, from a MS. in Lambeth Library. As the Members are aware, it was proposed to commence this valuable contribution to Irish history with the January part of the Society's "Transactions." This project Mr. Ferguson's unexpected death has caused to be deferred; but it is hoped that, by the promised aid of another energetic Member of the Society, also well skilled in the language in which the poem is written, John P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Mr. Ferguson's labours, so far, may not be finally lost to the Society.

The Museum and Library have been enriched by many contributions, enumerated at large in the reports of the proceedings of the several Meet-

ings of the past year. The printing of a Catalogue has, however, been necessarily deferred for the present, without being finally abandoned.

In conclusion, your Committee would recommend that the Accounts of the Society be brought up for the future at the March Meeting; and that two Auditors, appointed by the General Meeting in January, shall attend an hour before the time appointed for the Meeting, and, having examined the Treasurer's Accounts, report thereon to the Members.

The Report was unanimously adopted by the Meeting.

On the motion of Mr. Abraham Denroche, Messrs. James George Robertson and John Francis Shearman were requested to act as Auditors.

On the motion of Mr. J. F. Shearman, the Officers of the last year were re-elected, with the following—

COMMITTEE :

JAMES S. BLAKE, ESQ., J. P., Barrister-at-Law.  
 REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL. D., Principal of Kilkenny College.  
 JOSEPH BURKE, ESQ., Barrister-at-Law.  
 SAMSON CARTER, ESQ., C. E., M. R. I. A.  
 THE VERY REV. JOHN EGAN, P. P.  
 REV. LUKE FOWLER, A. M.  
 JOHN JAMES, ESQ., L. R. C. S. I.  
 THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGHLIN.  
 REV. PHILIP MOORE, R. C. C.  
 MATTHEW O'DONNELL, ESQ., Barrister-at-Law.  
 THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF WATERFORD.  
 JOHN WINDELE, ESQ.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors :—

By John Turner, Esq., Principal of the Dundalk Institution :  
 "A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," by Samuel Lewis.  
 2 Vols.

By J. W. Hanna, Esq. : "Anglo-Norman Poem on the Conquest of Ireland by Henry the Second," edited by Francisque Michel.

By the Publisher : "The Builder," Nos. 666 to 673, inclusive.

By the Society : "Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire," Vol. VII.

By the Cambrian Institute : "The Cambrian Journal," part 7.

By the Institute : "Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History," Vol. II. No. 4.

By the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland :  
 their "Journal," No. 47.

By the Architectural and Archæological Society of the County of Buckingham : "Records of Buckinghamshire," No. 4.

By R. Dowden (Richard), Esq., and Nicholas Peterson, Esq. : "Report of the Cork Cuvierian Society for the Session 1854-55."

By the Society : "Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of London," Session 1853-54.

By Miss Maria Nixon : "The Leinster Journal," Kilkenny, Saturday, October 30th, 1819, exclusively devoted to a report of the Kilkenny Amateur Theatricals.

By Edward Fitzgerald, Esq. : three rubbings from the newly discovered Ogham inscriptions at Ardmore. Mr. Fitzgerald also contributed sketches and a paper on these interesting antiquities, which will be laid before the March Meeting of the Society.

By Richard Hitchcock, Esq. : the three bracteate coins exhibited by him at the September Meeting, being a portion of a large number discovered in a cairn on Scrabo Hill, in the county of Down.— See vol. iii. p. 373, for an engraving of the most remarkable amongst them.

By Patrick Keating, Esq., M. D. : a portion of the ancient carved timber roof of the chancel of the parish church of Callan, county of Kilkenny ; and also a rounded stone, weighing  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lbs., believed to have been used as a cannon ball in former times, found in his garden, near the old town wall of Callan.

The Rev. James Graves stated that the roof of Callan Church had been taken down by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the summer of 1854, being in a dangerous state from decay. On removing the lath and plaster ceiling, the original carved timber roof, of the beginning of the fifteenth century, was revealed. This having been taken down, the timber, as old material, passed into the hands of the contractor, Mr. Kingsmill, of Kilkenny, who, at his (Mr. Graves') suggestion, had presented to the Society such portions as remained with him. At a future day he (Mr. Graves) purposed to enter into a detailed account, with suitable illustrations, of this, one of the few remnants of carved timber church roofs existing in Ireland.

By Henry Baschet, Esq. : a fragment of a coat of arms, in plaster, apparently those of one of the Popes, which had been found on his own premises in Waterford.

By the Very Rev. John Egan, P. P., Birr : a Roman brass of Domitian, and a modern Turkish coin.

By William Atkinson, Esq., C. E. : a base penny of one of the Edwards, found in a field near the Thomastown Railway Station.

By the Rev. James Graves : a Kilkenny token, Edward Roth's penny, in good preservation.

Richard Caulfield, Esq., A. B., Cork, forwarded a fac-simile in lithograph of an ancient roll of the fourteenth century, preserved

in the Diocesan Registry of Cloyne, being the record of the property, &c. of the See, *temp.* Bishop Swafham, and entitled, "Pipa Colmani." Mr. Caulfield is preparing this interesting ancient document for publication, and intends printing it should he obtain a sufficient number of subscribers at 5s. each.

The Rev. James Graves contributed the following curious letter, addressed to the Duke of Ormonde, copied by him from the original in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle. The letter enclosed a memorial addressed to M. Le Page, his Grace's secretary, written in French; the original is given below with a translation made by Mr. Henry Baschet, Professor of French to the Waterford Mechanics' Institute, one of the Members elected this day. The writer of the letter and memorial, Captain Archer, appears to have been a member of the Kilkenny family of that name:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"The good news giuen us by the last Pacquet, together with Secretarie Pages Indisposission gaue me the libertie to truble your Grace with this inclosed Petition which I durst [not] vinter to doe till now. May it please your Grace after finishing & perclosinge the one halfe of the Bridge of Carrick<sup>1</sup> in ten weeks tyme I fell a woorkinge of the Roks in the River below your Graces hous in Carrick, so that in ten days tyme I made a Rode thorough the s<sup>d</sup> Roks of 80 or a hundred yards broade for bottoms of 30, 40, 50, or 60 tons to saile, without any danger, to the Kaye of Carrick, as M<sup>r</sup> Countrowler can justifie he being an eie witnes of what is don there. Captaine Mathew offered to pay me for what monny I layed out for that woork, which I would not accept of, beinge soe insignificant a sume, the mater of 3<sup>li</sup> more or lesse, & I doe think it too litte a thinge together with my one labour to bestow vpon such a great desein, soe that Carrick wants nothing to make it considerable but the establishinge of a Custime hous there.

<sup>1</sup> The Evidence Chamber contains also a detailed Report on the best mode of erecting fortifications, addressed by him to the Duke of Ormonde, at his Grace's own desire; dated from London, 17th February, 1670-71: and on October 22, 1678, we find him writing to the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster, from Rincorran Castle. This letter is a Report on the fortifications which Archer was erecting there: he states that the second battery was raised platform-high, that he was about to commence the arch of the store-house, and that the guard-house was well advanced.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bridge of Carrick.*—The structure still existing, there can be little doubt, is that repaired by Captain Archer. It is narrow, with numerous arches, and recesses

over the cutwaters, to enable passengers to get out of the way of vehicles, &c. In the centre there is a square enlargement on either side for a gate-tower; a nailer has built a small house on the upper side, and plies his trade there; the tower has been long since removed. The date of the first erection of Carrick bridge is an early one, for we find Edward III., in the thirtieth year of his reign, granting certain customs, for twenty years, to aid in building the bridge of the said town over the water of "Shoure," to be constructed of lime and stone. This would appear to be the date of the building of the bridge; for although we find some earlier charters of pontage granted to the town, they would seem not to have been properly administered.

"Your Graces house in Carrick<sup>1</sup> is at present stansh for five yeers, if noe new breaches be made by future stormes, and it did cost about 14<sup>11</sup> a litle more or lesse, may it please your Grace, your Graces ill wishers boath English and Irish make it now of late their business of *copiing of a booke intituled A Naratiue of the Earle of Clarandons Settlement and Sale of Ireland*,<sup>2</sup> and spreiding the same amoungst the people, wherin its sett foorth publicly amoungst that factious people that your Grace is the onely man that destroyed the Irish nation by hindringe them of nott beinge included in the Act of indimittie; although all those stratagemes cannot preiudice your Grace in the least, yeet their intintion is malicious, and I in dutie bound to acquaint your Grace of what I heere to y<sup>t</sup> nature, and to remane till Death

"Your Graces is faithful

"seruant & follower,

"JA: ARCHER.

"Dublin, Xber y<sup>r</sup> first 1668."

Endorsed in the Duke's own hand:—

"Capt: Archer,

"Dat. 1 } Dec. 1668."

"Rec. 8 }

"MONSIEUR & TRES HONNORÉ AMY,

"Il me souvien estant a Kilkenny que sa Grace ma demané sil aurait moyen de faire venir des vesseaux Jusques a Carrick mais mainten<sup>t</sup>. Je suis plus Capable a luy satisfaire que ie n estois en ce temps la, car depuis mon retour icy de Kilkenny Jay este Visiter tous les endroits les plus diffisils qui puis donner empechem<sup>t</sup> aux Vesseaux, Brefe Je ne treuve aucune difficulte de randre la Riviere tout a fait nauable pour mounter Barques de 20 a 30 tons Jusques aux pied du pont de Carrick, & a fort peu de depençe, & pour parler la bouche eouvert qui auroit songé a ce la lesté passé. 30 shillings seulement ferroit la faire, & a present Je croy que doublant la dict somme le ferroit anedir vn peu plus ou moins, & come sa Grace est du Santiment de randre sa ville de Carrick considerable & la faire fleurir a Jamais en Restablissant la Commerç le pouuant Commodement, elle seroit assurément vne des meilleurs petites villes D'Ireland, sa situatione estant si advantagieux & le moyen pour ce faire le voy cy Scavoir, si sa Grace pouvoit s'accommoder avec

<sup>1</sup> *Your Grace's house in Carrick.*—This, the finest baronial castle remaining in Ireland, still stands, although sadly dilapidated. The same sum expended by Archer with such good effect would now also render "stansh" its stout old oaken roof, and so save from utter ruin the splendid stuccoed ornaments of the Elizabethan period which enrich the ceilings and walls.

<sup>2</sup> *Copiing of a booke intituled A Naratiue of the Earle of Clarandons Settlement and*

*Sale of Ireland.*—This piece of intelligence is curious, and shows how large a party seconded the attack on the Duke of Ormonde by Bishop French, in the book the title of which is given above. The mode used of multiplying the work by copying it shows that many copies of the printed book had not found their way as yet into Ireland. It was printed at Louvain in the beginning of this very year, and reprinted in 1704, under a somewhat different title.

le fermier des Customs, ou de quel autre manier pour establir vn Custome house a Carrick afin que les vesseaux destiné pour les marchands de Carrick et de Clonmell ne fussent obligé a decharger leur marchandise a Waterford; & si ce la ce pouvoit estre menage ainsi, Je vous peu bien assureur mons' que sa Grace Veroit des vesseaux francois chargé du Vign et du Sel a la Kay de Carrick : devant la fin du mois de mars prochain, & consequament des Vesseaux despaigne de hollande & de tout autres lieux de l'europa, pour veu que la commers de la mere soit libre, et par cest moyen Inviteroit des marchands de Kilkenny, de Cassell, de Clonmell, & mesme de Waterforde de venir demurer et Bastir des belles maisons a Carrick, et apres nous devons esperrer mil autre advages qui devoiroit Suivre en Cruss. Mais sans dout ceux de Waterford s'opposeroient fort et ferme Countre Ceste Commers cy de sus alegent que le le Roy seroit interessé, & moy je soutiendray le countraire, & que le Roy en profiteroit plutost & le pais s'enrichiroit la reson en est évident, car si ceux de waterford ne recoivent point le droict des dict Vesseaux cela se treuveroit au double a Carrick. Quand ie dirois cant pour vn, par ce que tous les marchands de Carrick et de Clonmell quils ne fount rien apresant pour lors ils marcheroient, et quantité dautres Resons pourroit estre dicts sil le tamps permettoit, au Rest sa Grace en Vsera selon son bon plaisir: & tous ce que J'en dis provien purement et simplement de l'inclination que Jay pour les Interest de sa Grace et de sa maison De la quelle Je promet solemnellement devant Dieu que Je ne me detacheray Jamais durant ma Vie, et au de la du tombeau, oye M'. Je prendois plaisir de sacrifier ma Vie et ma fortune dans les interres de Mons'g', le Duc et cels de mon maistre monsieur le Counte Dossory. Pourquoi, parce quils m'ont obligé de si bonne grace et de dans ma plus grand necessité, cest pourquoy Monsieur Je vous en coniuere : me faire la faveur sil vous plaist : d'assurer à sa Grace, que lors que Je ne seray plus Vtil pour le service de sa Grace, que je ne pretend point de plus Viure dans ce monde: Cest pourquoy Mons'. Je attendray tousiours l'honneur de ces Commendements pour luy aller servir Jusques au bout du monde:—Mons'. sa Grace m'a parlé a Kilkenny de faire Vne glasiere proch sa maison de Carrick mais toutes ouvrages qui se foint de ces espece là en hivere rarement soint ils bonnes, et pour faire une glasiere et assuree il foudroit commenser au printemps pour mieux faire: Cest se Monsieur ce que iay a vous dir a present & que Je suis tres passionnement.

“ Monsieur Vostre tres humble et tres obeisant seruiteur

“ JA ARCHER

“ Carrick le 26. 9bre

“ 1667”

Addressed:—

“ Monsieur

Monsieur le page secretaire à sa grace

Mons'g' le Duc Dormond à

Dublin.”

The following is Mr. Baschet's translation :—

“ SIR, & VERY HONOURED FRIEND,

“ I remember when in Kilkenny that his Grace asked me if it would be possible to bring ships up to Carrick; but now I am more capable of satisfying him than I was at that time, for since my return here from Kilkenny I have visited all the most difficult spots which might cause hindrance to ships: in fact I do not find any difficulty to render the river quite navigable for Barks of 20 or 30 tons to come up as far as the foot of Carrick bridge, and at very little expense; and, to speak openly, who would have thought of that last summer? 30 shillings only would do the work, and now I believe that by doubling the said sum it could yet be done, not to say, a little more or less; and as his Grace intends to render his town of Carrick considerable, and to cause it to flourish for ever by re-establishing the trade, being able to do it conveniently, it would assuredly be one of the best small towns in Ireland, its situation being so advantageous. And the means to do this is this, namely, If his Grace could enter into some arrangement with the Farmer of Customs, or in any other manner so as to establish a Custom House at Carrick, in order that the ships addressed to the Carrick merchants and those of Clonmel should not be obliged to unload their merchandise at Waterford; and if that could be thus arranged, I can assure you positively, Sir, that his Grace would see French ships laden with wine and salt at Carrick Quay before the end of next March, and consequently ships from Spain and Holland, and from all other places in Europe, supposing that the commerce of the Sea was free; and this would be the means of inviting Kilkenny, Cashel, Clonmel, and even Waterford merchants to come to live and build fine houses in Carrick, and afterwards we hope a thousand other advantages which ought to follow increasing. But no doubt those of Waterford would oppose the above mentioned trade, strongly and firmly alleging that the King would be concerned, and I, I will maintain the contrary, and that the King would rather profit by it, and that the country would be enriched. The reason of it is evident, for if those of Waterford do not receive the duty of the said ships, it would double itself at Carrick. Even if I said One Hundred to One, because all the Carrick and Clonmel merchants who do nothing now would then stir themselves. And many other reasons can be given if the time permitted: however, his Grace can do as he thinks fit: and all that I say regarding it comes purely and simply from the inclination which I have for the interests of his Grace and of his house, from which I promise solemnly before God that I will never detach myself during my life, and beyond the tomb. Hear, Sir! I would feel a pleasure in sacrificing my life and my fortune in the interests of My Lord the Duke and those of my master The Count of Ossory. Why? because they have obliged me with so good a grace and in my greatest necessity,—that is the reason why, Sir, I entreat of you to do me the favour, if you please, to assure his Grace that when I shall be no longer useful in the service of his Grace, I intend not to live any longer in this world: That, Sir, is the reason why I shall always expect to be honoured with his commands to go to serve him to the end of the world.—Sir, his Grace spoke to me at Kilkenny about constructing an Ice House near his house in Carrick, but all works of that kind which



are done in Winter are seldom good, and to make a solid Ice House it would be necessary to begin in the Spring, to do it better. This is, Sir, what I have to say to you at present, and that I am very affectionately,

“ Sir, Your most humble and very obedient servant,

“ J. A. ARCHER.

“ Carrick, the 26th of November,  
1667.”

Addressed :—

“ Mons.

*Mons. Lepage, Secretary to his Grace  
My Lord the Duke of Ormond, at  
Dublin.*”

Mr. Prim said, that as the town bell of Kilkenny, which had tolled the curfew for several generations, had that morning been cracked in ringing the new Mayor into office, and would, therefore, no doubt, have to be recast, he wished to place on record the inscription which it bore :—

“ CIVITATIS KILKENNIE. JOHN BLUNDEN MAY” 1730”

Of course this was not the original town bell, for the curfew was probably introduced into Kilkenny by the English colony planted there by William, Earl Marshal, in the thirteenth century, although the earliest mention which was to be found of it in the municipal archives was in 1609. On the 9th February, in that year, the Corporation issued an order that “ All persons, on hearing the alarm-bell, shall resort to the market-place on pain of two shillings fine.” This rising out of the *posse civitatis* was intended to provide against any sudden incursion of a marauding enemy, or to prevent the escape of plunderers with their booty, after the manner of the raid of the Irishric in New Ross, which occasioned the inclosing of that town with mural defences, as graphically described by that quaintest and raciest of chroniclers, Stanihurst. This was apparent enough from another by-law of the Kilkenny Corporation, passed on the 14th February, 1616, which was as follows, the latter portion being undecipherable to the copyist of the Red Book, in the last century, since which time the book itself had been lost :—

“ Ordered that twelve halberts shall be carried at the Assizes, to wait on the Mayor and Sheriffs, eight on the Mayor, and two on each of the Sheriffs, and that the halberts shall be carried by seemly young men of the Merchants' Guild, to whom the Constables shall give warning to attend, and to be chosen every Assizes; and that all shopkeepers shall have their weapons in their shops, and every man to rise out armed at the alarm or orders of the Mayor; that at such alarm such as dwell near the gates shall lock and guard the gates, and if any person then escapes out of the gates, the twelve householders next the gate on each side to be fined, at the discretion of the Mayor; that the Aldermen shall divide themselves to the

several wards, and take the names of all from 16 to 60, and all such as are . . . . . and unsettled persons, and for whom the ward . . . . . to be apprehended by the Sheriffs and committed till they find security.”

Although the bell bore date 1730, it would seem that it had not been erected for at least three months after the expiration of that year, as the following order respecting it had been placed on the minutes of the Corporation on the 31st March, 1731 :—

“ Then ordered that in case the Tholsell Bell, which was sent up to Dublin to be new cast, be not sent down by the fifth day of May next to be properly fixt up, That Alderman Lodge shall Immediately afterwards apply to the Person or Persons that received the Old Bell, for the same, and cause one of the small kind to be immediately prepared at the City's Expence and sent down hither forthwith:—Memorand. The weight of the Broken pieces of the old Bell sent up to Mr. Price was 2 cwt 3 qrs., by Mr. Percevall.”

It has been the custom from time immemorial that the town bell of Kilkenny shall ring out not only on all occasions of meetings of the Corporation, and on the proceeding of the Mayor to attend his own Court of “ Conscience,” and the Assizes, Quarter Sessions and Petty Sessions Courts, but each Friday, in the forenoon, to announce the arrival of fish in the market ; as also, whenever necessary, to give the alarm of fire, and every day regularly at 6 o'clock A.M., and 9 o'clock P.M. This latter arrangement is said to be a relic of ancient usage, established for the purpose of notifying that the time had arrived for apprentices to rise to their work, and to retire again to bed. The night bell seems never, in modern times at least, to have been termed “ the curfew” in Kilkenny. Amongst the vulgar it has been usually known as “ the blackguard bell,” and the origin of that designation is believed to be, that persons continuing to walk the streets after the bell had tolled should be looked upon as dissolute characters. It is more probable, however, that it arose from an ancient municipal regulation for the prevention of the appearance of suspicious characters in the streets in the night-time. Casual visitors were particularly obnoxious to suspicion in the olden time, when every person unknown to the authorities was esteemed as most likely to be an enemy to the community, lurking in the town for the purpose of taking an opportunity of doing some mischief to the inhabitants ; and it was in this spirit that the Corporation of Kilkenny enacted a by-law on the 9th February, 1609, ordaining that “ No stranger shall walk the streets after nine o'clock at night.”

The following paper was then submitted to the Meeting.

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF YOUGHAL.<sup>1</sup>—No. III.

[CONCLUSION.]

SAINT JOHN'S HOUSE OF BENEDICTINES, YOUGHAL.  
 THE COLLEGE OF YOUGHAL.  
 SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S HOUSE, YOUGHAL.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, A. B.



HE religious building to which we shall next direct attention, although lying in the heart of the town, has been passed over unnoticed by all previous writers. Archdall is silent about it; and Dr. Smith, the county historian, was ignorant of its existence. Our records are meagre; but we shall put together the scattered notices, and then describe the existing remains of the Foundation.

SAINT JOHN'S HOUSE OF BENEDICTINES, situated in the

Main or High-street of Youghal, was founded (as its style of architecture shows) in the middle of the fourteenth century. It was a cell, or dependency, of the wealthy Benedictine Priory of St. John the Evangelist, at Waterford, established in that city, in 1185, by John, Earl of Morton; and it would appear

from the following record (if the house referred to be the same) to have been a mortuary bequest:—

“39 Edw. III. [1366]. The Escheator accounts for 16<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> of the rents and issues of a messuage with its appurtenances, in the town of Yoghill, Co. Cork, now in the King's hands, because the Prior of St. John's near Waterford had acquired it contrary to the Statute of Mortmain, and granted it to Walter Kenneford and Isolda Hore.”<sup>2</sup>

By an Inquisition taken at Cork, August 31, 1590, it was found that a messuage in the town of Yoghall, Co. Cork, commonly called St. John's House, of the annual value of 8<sup>d</sup>, was parcel of

<sup>1</sup> In this, and the former portions of my communication, much of the annals of the

different foundations is designedly omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Escheator's Roll, 39 to 41 Edw. III.

the possessions of the Priory of St. John the Evangelist, near Waterford.<sup>1</sup>

Of the chapel, the chief remains are the gables and south side-wall. The east end, through which was the entrance, is to the street, and still retains its pointed doorway, with its moulded jambs and ornamented spandrils, as shown in our illustration. Above this doorway is a good specimen of the square-headed window of the period; it is of one light, and is cusped in the upper angles. Entering by the ancient doorway, we find, halfway up the passage, a moulded piscina and square aumbry, in good preservation. On reaching the west end, we have a square trefoil-headed door and the remnant of a square-headed window, with the original high-pointed gable and barge, to complete the remains of the ancient Priory.

Adjoining St. John's House on the north, and presenting a wide front to the street, are the remains of one of the old castles of Youghal, which, during the Protectorate, was known as "The Magazine," and which is still remembered as Cromwell's residence. According to local tradition, it was founded on the site of the domestic buildings of the Priory. The Commonwealth General laid up his army in winter quarters at Youghal, 6th December, 1649, and marched hence to renew hostilities on the 29th January following. The house he occupied in the interval, though now removed, is well remembered by the inhabitants of Youghal, and should be described in connexion with St. John's. It presented its gable to the street, as was common at the period, and consisted of three stories. The square-headed chamfered doorway, now built up, may be found in the present Glory-lane (perhaps so called from the hymns and chants of the monks). On entering, a broad, massive, oak staircase conducted to two state apartments on the first floor. They were wainscoted in oak, and had dark oak mantel-pieces, elaborately carved, rising to the full height of their ornamented ceilings. The front room was the handsomer of the two, and was said to have been Cromwell's council-chamber. Its ceiling was of raised stucco-work, containing representations of different sorts of animals, interspersed with grotesque emblematical devices. The timbers of the roof were massive, and were of Irish oak. Large gardens were to the rere. This interesting mansion, so pregnant with recollections of the Protector, was taken down about the year 1835. Other changes have been since made in the Magazine; great stone chimneys and castellated parapets have been razed off its walls. But there may yet be seen the ancient fire-places, fragments of Gothic arches, massive walls with closets in their thicknesses, lighted by defensive loop-holes, and pierced with stone stairs, to remind us of what it was in days of yore.

<sup>1</sup> Inquisitions in Exchequer, Ireland.

We have thus consecutively traced the religious foundations of Youghal from the earliest records, and have given the architectural history of the edifices established here in the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century we come to a foundation which surpassed all the rest in its rich endowments as well as in its general influence.

OUR LADY'S COLLEGE OF YOUGHAL was founded 27th December, 1464, by Thomas, eighth (called *The Great*) Earl of Desmond, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and proprietor of the town. The community at first consisted of a warden, eight fellows, and eight singing men, who lived in a collegiate manner, having a common table and all other necessaries allowed them, with an annual stipend each. The value of the whole donation was £600 per annum, a very considerable sum in those days. In the foundation charter, the titles of the founder are thus recited:—"Earl of Desmond, Lord of Decies, Lord of Imokilly, Lord of the regalities and liberties of the Co. Kerry, and patron of this Foundation:" and the house is endowed with the parsonages and vicarages of Youghal, Ballynoe, *alias* Newtown, Olethan, *alias* Castlelyons, Ahern, and Mallow, all in the diocese of Cloyne. To these were subsequently added, by the Earls of Desmond and successive Popes, the rectories of Clonpriest, Kilcredan, Killeagh, Ardagh, Ightermurragh, Garryvoe, and the vicarage of Kilmacdonough, all in the same diocese, and adjacent to the town of Youghal (which churches were to be served by the warden and fellows); the rectories of Aghlish, Beaver, *alias* Carrigaline, Caheragh, Kilmoe, and Skull, in the diocese of Cork; the rectory and vicarage of Myross, in the diocese of Ross; and the rectories of Aghlish-Idronine, Ballyduffe, Ballynacourty, and Kilfyn, in the diocese of Ardfert. The foundation charter, and the appropriation of the several tithes to this house, were confirmed by Jordan, Bishop of Cloyne, under his seal and that of William Roche, Archdeacon of Cloyne, his coadjutor.—Smith's "Cork," vol. i. pp. 82, 83, and note.

1468. Pope Paul II. granted an indulgence to such persons as contributed towards re-edifying the Collegiate Church.<sup>1</sup>

1579—December. Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, who had gone into open rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, captured the town of Youghal, and occupied it for five days. He gave up the place to plunder; and, with other edifices, the College was spoiled and well nigh demolished.

1597—August 25. Dr. Baxter, who had hitherto continued in

<sup>1</sup> Smith, the Cork historian, vol. i. p. 83, states that this and the other charters and privileges of the College of Youghal were, in his day, i. e. 1750, preserved at Lismore Castle. Both the present writer and the

Honorary Secretary of the Society have failed in ascertaining whether they are yet to be found there. The resident agent of the Duke of Devonshire, of whom information was sought, was "unable" to supply it.

the enjoyment of his wardenship without interruption, now found that the revenues of this house were threatened with the fate of other monastic foundations. He was on this day obliged to pass his bond of 1000 marks, which was to be forfeited in case he did not, within forty days after demand, resign his office of warden into the Queen's hands, and did not suffer Thomas Southwell, of Brancaster, in Norfolk, Esq., and John Fitz Harris, of Ballycrenan, gent., to take possession of the same.—MS. at Lismore in 1750.

1598—April 26. A memorandum in the "First Book of Orders of the Revenue Exchequer, 1592–1598," sets forth the further progress made towards sequestrating this foundation, and the resistance offered by Baxter, the warden:—

"M<sup>d</sup>: That Thomas Magner came into Courte this daye in his personn, and made affidavit that he, being appointed by vertue of a writt of sequestracion directed unto him for severall first fructs, came unto the warden of the Colledge of Youghill in his owne proper personn, and made him privie of the said sequestracion, desiring him to take some composicion for the payment of the same, or otherwise he must needs extend the force of his wrytt against his livings. Unto whom the said [warden], in the great contempt of this Courte, most oprobriuslie awnsvered that he would neither paye him monnie, nor yet suffer or permitt him to intermeddle in any of his livings, and accordinglye gave direccion unto his tenants not onely to suffer the said Magner not to intermeddle in their livings, but also to bete him if he should attempt hit. Whereuppon, it is ordered this daye in Courte, that their should issue an attachment against his bodie for his said contempt, and a new sequestracion for sequestring the whole livings of the Colledge, to be directed unto Arthure Hyde, gent. and Thomas Magner."

1598—May 15. The Bishop of Down and Connor was presented, *in commendam*, it would seem, to the rectory of the Collegiate Church of Youghal, diocese of Cloyne.—Rolls Office.

1598—June 30. Nathaniel Baxter, the warden, being required to surrender his office, availed himself of the forty days' license; and, before they had expired, on this day privately passed his letter of attorney to Godfrey Armitage, Edmund Harris, and William Parker, authorizing them to dispose of the College revenues. They demised them and the College House, accordingly, to Sir Thomas Norris, who had obtained a former lease of the same from Dr. Witherhead. When this arrangement was completed, Baxter obeyed the command, in the letter, though not in spirit, for he straightway resigned his office, unaccompanied now by any of the rich foundations. This trust the Commissioners refused, under the circumstances, to receive.

1602—Oct. 27. Dr. Meredith Hanmer, the well-known author of "A Chronicle of Ireland," who had succeeded Baxter in the wardenship, on this day, with the consent of the priests, renewed

the lease that Dr. Witherhead had made, September 28, 1588, to Sir Thomas Norris, now deceased, and granted same to William Jones, Esq., of Youghal, in trust for Sir Walter Raleigh. The demise conveyed to Jones the College House, with all the lands, tenements, tithes, and offerings belonging thereto, for the remainder of the term of Sir Thomas Norris' original lease, reserving to the warden and fellows only the parsonage of Carrigaline, and the rectory of Mallow.—Smith, vol. i. p. 85.

1602. About this time Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, took from Jones the College, with an intention to reside in it, and laid out £220 in repairing the house. He remained here but a few months; for the Queen's death occurring March 24 following, he returned to England.—Id.

1602—Dec. 7. Mr. Richard Boyle, afterwards created Earl of Cork, purchased of Sir Walter Raleigh all his grants in Ireland, among which is specified "all the estate of the said Sir Walter in the College of Youghal, called The New College of the B. V. Mary of Youghal, with its rights and hereditaments, spiritual and temporal."—"Calendar of Patent Rolls," 1 Jac. I., pp. 37, 38.

1602—3—Feb. 24. Dr. Meredith Hammer having resigned the wardenship, Mr. Boyle, by his interest with Sir George Carew, procured the vacant appointment for his kinsman, Dr. Richard Boyle, who was confirmed therein by patent, bearing this date.—Patent, at Lismore in 1750.

1603—Nov. 7. The wardenship of the College, or Chantry, of Youghal, with all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments to the same belonging, and the advowson and patronage of said wardenship, called "The Wardenship of Our Ladye's Colledg of Youghal," being the estate of Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, attainted, were granted to James Fullerton, gent.; rent 3*s.* 4*d.* Irish.—"Calendar of Patent Rolls," 1 Jac. I., part 2, p. 8.

1604—March 31. By an Inquisition taken this day at Cork, it was found that Sir Walter Raleigh, lately attainted of high treason, was possessed (among others), for a term of forty-five years yet to come, or thereabouts, of the New College of the B. V. Mary of Youghal, and of all its buildings, edifices, orchards, fruiteries, gardens, inappropriate rectories, vicarages, churches, tithes, glebes, &c., rendering therefor to the warden £13 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly.—Inquisitions in Exchequer.

1604—April 3. Grant to Sir George Carew, Knt. In Youghal town, two messuages and gardens; and all the lands and hereditaments, spiritual and temporal, of the New College of the B. V. Mary of Youghal, rent 2*s.*; with the advowsons, presentations, &c. of the wardenship, and all churches, rectories, vicarages, and chapels of all other benefices belonging to said wardenship, rent 3*s.* 4*d.*; parcel of the estate of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, attainted; demised

in fee-farm to Sir James Fullerton, Knt., November 7, 1603, at a rent of 4s.—“Calendar of Patent Rolls,” 1 Jac. I., p. 57.

This patronage he sold to Sir Richard Boyle, who soon after obtained a new patent.

1604—May 10. In Sir Richard Boyle's patent of this date is the acknowledgment that Sir Walter Raleigh, at the time of his attainder, was lawfully possessed, for the term unexpired of the lease, by mesne conveyance from Sir Thomas Norris, of all the hereditaments, spiritual and temporal, of the New College of the B. V. Mary of Yoghall, as granted to said Norris for sixty years by the warden and fellows, September 28, 1588; which interest, as conveyed to the said Boyle, December 7, 1602, the King now ratifies and confirms.—Id. p. 41.

1605—April 8. Sir Richard Boyle, being in treaty with Sir Geoffry Fenton respecting a marriage with his daughter Katherine (vol. iii. p. 109), and finding that the lady insisted particularly on having the revenues of this house settled on her for a jointure, obtained a lease from the warden and fellows in fee-farm for ever,<sup>1</sup> paying the warden and his successors the sum of 20 marks yearly. The reason Sir Richard Boyle gives<sup>2</sup> for his procuring this deed was, that Sir Geoffry's counsel were of opinion, that as his best title to the revenues was from the lease granted by Baxter to Sir Thomas Norris and the renewal of it to Jones, the settlement would not be so valuable unless he procured a new lease of it for ever. And this he the readier gained, not only as his kinsman was then warden, but as he had forty years of the old lease granted to Jones unexpired. Besides, both the Church and College House were almost in ruins, occasioned by Desmond's rebellion; these he engaged to repair, and he actually expended above £2000 in rebuilding them.—Smith's “Cork,” vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

1609–10—March 8. Grant to Donogh, Earl of Thomond. The College, or tenement within the walls of Yoghall, called The New

<sup>1</sup> The indenture bears date as above, and was made between William [Lyon], Lord Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, Dr. Richard Boyle, the warden, and the priests and collegerions of the New College of Yoghall, of the one part, and Lawrence Parsons, gent., Clerk of the Crown, in trust for Sir Richard Boyle, of the other part. Whereby the said Bishop, &c. grant to the said Lawrence the New College, with all the edifices, &c.; the lands of Ballymacaske, one ploughland near Yoghall, the parsonages and rectories of Yoghall, Inchiquin, Killeagh, Ightermurragh, Ardagh, Aglishane, Beaver or Carrigaline, Mallow, Ballynoe or Newtown,

Olethan or Castlelyons, and Aghcaromoe; the parsonages of Myross, Skull, and Kilmoe, in Carbery; the vicarages of Kilmacdonogh, Garryvoe, and Kilcredan, all in Co. Cork; and the rectory of Aglish-Idronine, in the diocese of Ardferit; with all their advowsons, patronages, etc.: To hold the same, paying to the warden and his successors the sum of 20 marks, sterling, by even portions, at the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, viz. for the usual stipend of the warden £6 13s. 4d., and the same for his diet, and to the priests their usual stipends and diet.

<sup>2</sup> In his answer to the Attorney-General's bill, in 1634.



College of the B. V. Mary of Yoghall, with all its hereditaments.—“Calendar of Pat. Rolls,” p. 157.

1609-10—March 23. Grant to Sir Richard Boyle. The advowson, patronage, and presentation of the wardenship of the New College of priests and clerks of the Church of the B. V. Mary of Yoghall, and of all the churches, rectories, vicarages, and chapels, and the nomination of the several curates, and all other spiritual benefits to the said wardenship belonging. The patent now granted recites previous patents, bearing date November 29, 1603, and May 10, 1604, respectively, and confirms them.—Id. p. 160.

Sir Richard Boyle, having thus secured himself in the possession of this foundation, constantly resided in the College House; and here several of his children were born: Roger, his eldest son, who died young at Deptford, in Kent, was born here August 1, 1606; Richard, his successor in the title, was also born here, October 20, 1612; Geoffry, born here April 10, 1616, was accidentally drowned in the College well the 20th January following; the Lady Alice Boyle, afterwards Countess of Barrymore, was born here March 20, 1607-8; as was the Lady Mary Boyle, the good Countess of Warwick, November 11, 1624. These were, probably, some of Boyle's happiest days. He was in the prime of life, and had attained wealth, power, and distinction by his own unaided efforts. Blessed with an admirable wife, and with a numerous and most promising progeny, he must have found here all the true delights of a peaceful home; while out of doors, he was actively engaged in reviving the fortune of his town, which had not yet recovered the shock of Desmond's spoliation in 1579.

1633. This house, and the manner of the Earl of Cork's obtaining it, were made the subject of judicial investigation in the High Court of Castle-Chamber, Dublin, by direction of Lord Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford), the Lord Deputy. The Attorney-General, Sir William Reeves, appeared as prosecutor for the Crown, and indicted the Earl of Cork for procuring and keeping illegal possession of the College of Yoghall and its revenues; and he charged, at the same time, the Earl's kinsmen, the Bishops of Cork and Waterford, with aiding and abetting him in this evil purpose. The indictment set forth, that the Earl of Cork had, for £28, gotten possession of the College from William Jones, who held it for Sir Walter Raleigh. That he had prevailed on his relation, Richard, Lord Bishop of Cork, to deliver up the seal, charter, and other records of the College to him (which he still detained), and had procured a deed of conveyance from him of the College and its revenues. That not caring directly to take possession of them, he had suffered the Bishop to continue warden, and two or three persons as fellows, allowing them for the time a small salary to

support them; but that he did not permit them to live in the College House, which he used himself as a dwelling. That, when any vacancy happened, he prevented a new election, so that he had become in time invested with the patronage, wardenship, and sole right of the fellows. That he had discharged the ancient collector of the College rents, and had for a small consideration obtained an assignment of the revenues from Sir James Fullerton, who had only letters patent to possess concealed church lands. That Michael, Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,<sup>1</sup> Robert Dawborne, Dean of Lismore,<sup>2</sup> and John Lancaster, clerk,<sup>3</sup> who had been elected fellows by the former warden and fellows, and by the Earl's permission, had often solicited him to return the College seal and evidences; but being refused they, together with the Bishop of Cork, then warden, obliged themselves, in April, 1627, by an oath, not to make any composition with the Earl of Cork, unless with the consent of all, first had and obtained under their respective hands and seals. And that, when several letters had been written to the Earl to persuade him to return the College seal, charter, and other records, he gave them a meeting, where the Bishops of Cork and Waterford jointly consented to make up matters with the Earl, on consideration of his paying 40 marks to the warden and £20 to the fellows annually, but this was without the consent of the other parties. And that soon after, the Earl procured a grant of the College, by a new patent. By all which methods, he still continued in possession of its revenues to the value of £800 a year, besides the advowsons and oblations of the churches. The Attorney-General prayed that the Earl's patent might be cancelled by the King's prerogative, and that condign punishment might be inflicted upon him and upon the Bishops of Cork and Waterford.

The Earl of Cork, on receiving notice of this charge, not being ready with his papers to meet it, pleaded his privilege as a peer of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Michael Boyle was brother of Dr. Richard Boyle, Warden of the College of Youghal, 1602-38, and cousin of the Earl of Cork. He was made Dean of Lismore, and thence advanced to the united Sees of Waterford and Lismore, July 7, 1619. He died at Waterford, Dec. 29, 1635.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Dawborne, F. T. C. D., was presented by the Crown to the Chancellorship of Waterford, Dec. 30, 1619, and admitted Jan. 9, following. He was collated to the prebend of Disert and Kilmoleran, Mar. 17, 1619-20, and advanced to the deanery of Lismore, June 14, 1622, retaining his prebend in *commendam*. He died March 23, 1627-8.

<sup>3</sup> John Lancaster was son of John Lancaster, chaplain to James I., and Bishop of

Waterford. He was appointed Precentor of Waterford in 1615, and of Lismore in 1616; Prebendary, in the latter year, of Disert and Kilmoleran; and, in 1617, Vicar of Mothel. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Harris, Justice of the Common Pleas, Ireland, whose tombstone is in Kinsalebeg churchyard, Co. Waterford,—a handsome limestone flag, inscribed with a (defaced) shield of arms, and having this epitaph running round the edge:—*SVB. HOC. MARMORE. LACET. SEPVLTVM. CORPVS. ELIZA. PLE. PVDIC.E. CHARE. VXORIS. IOA'S. LANCASTER. ARMIGERI. PRECENT. LISMOREN. ET. FILLE. EDWARD. HARRIS. EGVLITIS. AVIATI. VNIVS. IYSTICIARII. DNI. REGIS. CAPITALIS. PLACTI. HIBERNIE. QV.E. ORBIT. 8. NOVEMBRIS. 1624.*

the realm, the Parliament being sitting, and had the suit deferred until the next term. He then appeared with his answer, and set forth his several titles to this College. He denied the turning out the fellows, or refusing to admit new ones to be elected. He acknowledged his having lived in the College House, but pleaded the precedent of Sir Thomas Norris, Sir George Carew, and Mr. Jones, who had severally used it as a dwelling-house, many years before he had possession of it. He protested that he had never refused to restore the seal and writings, save once, when three letters together were delivered him from the warden and fellows; and he explained that he was then at a considerable distance from them, and did not choose to send these by a common messenger, nor without having a proper receipt. He stated that, soon after this, he came to a new agreement with the warden and fellows, all of whom were present and were fully satisfied; and that, upon this occasion, he doubled their stipends. That he had caused all the churches to be repaired, and better supplied with pastors than they had been ever before. He, lastly, produced the original leases, deeds, and patents, by virtue of which he enjoyed the revenues and patronage of this house.

The issue of the proceedings—for we cannot here set them forth at length—was the Earl of Cork's submission to the Lord Deputy's authority, with a consent to abide by his arbitration.<sup>1</sup> The Deputy awarded Lord Cork to pay £15,000 fine to the King, for the issues and profits of the College during thirty-six years. He left him the College House, and some demesnes belonging to it near Youghal; but took into the hands of the Crown the advowsons and patronages of the livings hitherto annexed to this foundation.

1640-41—March 22. The Earl of Strafford was impeached of high treason. The fourth article brought by the Commons against him related to his treatment of the Earl of Cork respecting this foundation.—“*State Trials*,” vol. i. pp. 335, 336, and 342, ed. 1719.

1641—Oct. 23. The Great Rebellion broke out; and the Earl of Cork, being ordered by the Lord President of Munster to maintain Youghal in person, took up his residence at the College, which he strongly fortified; he also built five circular turrets at the angles of the park, and raised platforms of earth on which he placed ordnance to command the town and harbour. Several interesting letters, written by him from the beleagured town, are printed with the “*State Letters*” of his son, Lord Orrery; and his *Diary*, full of

<sup>1</sup> This result was brought about, according to the Earl of Cork's admirers, through the Lord Deputy's menaces; but how could these so influence a man who was conscious of his innocence? Strafford's statement, on his trial, was to the effect that the Earl, con-

scious of the very undue means by which he had possessed himself of this, and of other church property, made humble suit, with acknowledgment of his misdemeanours, and so left the matter for decision wholly in his, the Deputy's, hands.

minute records of passing events, is preserved, it is understood, at Lismore.<sup>1</sup> Here he closed his eventful career, dying within the walls of the College, Sept. 15, 1643.

1653-4. Richard, second Earl of Cork, at this time resided here. Some curious allusions to the state which he maintained are given in Walter Gostelow's "Charls Stuart and Oliver Cromvvel," pp. 100-1. London: 1655.

1681. In Dyneley's MS. "Tour in Ireland," written in this year, is the following account of this edifice:—

"The Colledg ... hath two Courts, with a fountain in one of them; Fair Roomes with well wrought ancient chimney pieces. Its Garden is extream pleasant, being on the side of the mountaine overlooking the whole Town, Colledg and Harbour, with walks one above another, which nature itself hath contributed much to, and stone steps of ascent to each. The uppermost walk hath also a spring at the end thereof, which it is sayd the Earle of Cork intended to supply fountaines with below, to form delightful throws of water."

1716—Nov. 24. Mr. Digby Ffoulke,<sup>2</sup> who was a kinsman of the Boyles and agent of their estates in Ireland, died at the College, where he had resided. He had married Angela, daughter of Sir Boyle Maynard, Bart., of Curriglas; and from him descended a family of the name, still resident near Youghal.

1748. The anonymous author of "A Tour through Ireland, in several Entertaining Letters," published this year in London, who had visited Youghal in 1740, thus mentions this house:—

"There are the remains of a spacious Building, the College, upon a lovely eminence, which we ascended by a great many steps. Some of the apartments are kept in repair. From the top of this building we had a charming prospect. The garden of this old place was in tolerable order, and they told us the Mayor of the town [George Giles] resided there. This, and many miles around it, calls the Earl of Burlington and Cork master, and gives him the title of Baron. . . . All Europe is informed of this present Nobleman's taste in Architecture; and had he ever once seen this delightful situation, I am of opinion he would have been pleased to have improved this antique Building, where Nature has laid so fine a foundation. In my opinion, a fourth part of the money laid out at Chiswick would have made this one of the finest places in the world."

1749. Cooke, in his MS. History of Youghal, compiled in this year, thus mentions the College:—"Near the Church is one of

<sup>1</sup> Is there any hope of its ever seeing the light?

<sup>2</sup> He was youngest son of Lt.-Col. Francis Ffoulke, of the Parliamentary army, who, during the Usurpation, held a high command at Youghal, and virtually governed the eastern part of the county of Cork. Like his

sagacious relative, Lord Broghill, and no doubt through his influence, Col. Ffoulke became converted to royalty just in time to reap all the advantages of the Restoration. Ludlow mentions in his "Letters" (vol. ii. p. 304) that Col. Ffoulke seized on Youghal, in 1660, with the assistance of the Cavalier party.

the seats of the Burlington family, a large building, but going to ruin."

1750. Smith, the Cork historian, describes the College, in this year, very similarly :—" Not far from the Church is the College, which was repaired and beautified for a dwelling-house by the first Earl of Cork ; but most of it at present is in a ruinous condition."

1782. The College was in a great measure rebuilt, and converted into a commodious habitation by Nicholas Giles, Esq. — Lord's " Youghal," p. 33.

1810. The College passed, by purchase, from the Giles family to the Duke of Devonshire.

Of the old College buildings hardly a vestige remains. The present house, a fine one of its class, is that built in 1782 by Mr. Giles. The two courts, as noticed by Dyneley in 1681, yet exist; and in that nearest St. Mary's Church is a well, where, in his time, probably, the fountain played. In a sitting-room, at the eastern side of the house, is preserved one of the " well-wrought ancient chimney-pieces," which he mentions. It is composed of a number of grotesque carved trusses, rising to the height of the ceiling and dividing the front into compartments, which are panelled and enriched and have circular heads, the upper part finishing in a carved cornice. A short time since, myrtles grew luxuriantly on the southern front, reaching nearly to the eaves. In the upper grounds, close to the town walls, the Earl's Walk, now moss-grown all over, is pointed out; and close to it, at the south, is a romantic, high, lichen-covered rock, with a spring of water at its sunken base, as alluded to by Dyneley. Here was the well, now stopped up, in which Geoffry, the Earl of Cork's third son, was drowned when nine months old, January 20, 1616-17. Further down, on the slope of the hill, are plainly visible the earthworks thrown up by the Earl, for the defence of the place, in 1641. The platform is still a commanding position, and, notwithstanding the growth of the town beneath, and the tall houses which have sprung up between the College and the water's side, cannon placed here could be brought to play upon any hostile shipping that entered the harbour. The views from this platform are fine and extensive.

The beautiful park is shut out from the public by a grim wall, about fourteen feet high. Disused as it is by its noble owner, a jealous seclusion of the place seems hardly necessary. Instead of this

<sup>1</sup> In this part of the College are the only memorials of the Boyles at present to be found here :—A small piece of a metal plate, like the back of a fire-place, inscribed "1665," which is built into a wall in the kitchen-yard; and as you pass into the demesne from the rear, the arms of the Earl of Cork

cut in stone and inserted in a pier. This entablature is of the same design with that in front of the Earl's Alms-houses, and with another in the gable wall, within, of the south transept, St. Mary's. The three were probably carved at the same time, perhaps in 1634, when the Alms-houses were founded.

gloomy, confining enclosure, a light railing might be substituted; and if the grounds were daily thrown open to the inhabitants, Youghal would have, what it so much needs, a pleasure-ground, or promenade, for all without distinction to enjoy. We make no doubt but that the boon would be gratefully received by the inhabitants, and are equally satisfied that it would enhance the interests of the Duke of Devonshire.

The Warden's House next claims our attention. To reach it at present we must re-pass the church entrance, and go in by a comparatively modern gateway; but the ancient College lands embraced the whole of the N. W. quarter of the town, and comprised the demesne we have quitted, the present churchyard, and the grounds around the interesting dwelling now called Myrtle Grove. A glance at the picture-map of Youghal, in the "*Pacata Hibernia*," will enable the reader to form an idea of their extent. From the general appearance of the building we feel safe in pronouncing it to be fully as old as the date assigned to the foundation of the College, namely, the middle of the fifteenth century. Modern alterations may have marred its original beauty; but the massive walls, some five feet thick, the deep projecting bay-window and porch, the orielled closet, the high-pointed gables, gables, and great towering chimneys, are mementoes of this interesting age. Like all old English domestic architecture, it forms a picturesque appearance from the variety and artistic play of its outlines, with light and shade brokenly contrasted on them, so grateful to the initiated eye, and so seldom realized in our modern monotonous erections. But the interest attached to it arises from other sources. Tradition has identified the warden's residence with a name that "starts a spirit" whenever repeated, and throws around its time-honoured walls associations of absorbing historical interest in the designation of—

**SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S HOUSE.**—When Raleigh first came to Ireland, in 1579, he was a mere soldier of fortune. On the breaking out of the Desmond revolt in this year, reinforcements were sent to the Lord Deputy, Lord Grey de Wilton, from Devonshire; and Raleigh, then in his twenty-seventh year, raised a troop of horse in his native country, and with them repaired to the scene of Irish hostilities. Here he did such good service with his few troopers, exhibiting undaunted heroism united with clear-headed discretion, that he rose without delay to the highest honours. Before the close of the succeeding year we find him one of three Royal Commissioners, who were appointed to govern Munster during Ormonde's absence in England; and, on the attainder of Desmond, a warrant of privy seal, dated Feb. 3, 1585-6, granted him three seignories and a half (containing 42,000 acres of land) of the Earl's forfeitures in the counties of Cork and Waterford, which grant was confirmed by letters patent, bearing date October 16, 29 Elizabeth (1586).

The locale of this grand allotment was the valley of the river Blackwater, extending from the city of Lismore to the sea, and including the Geraldine town of Youghal, where Raleigh now took up his residence in the Warden's House of the old collegiate establishment. How long his restless spirit may have contented itself in the privacy of retirement it is difficult to determine, but here was his home for the next two or three years at least. He was Mayor of Youghal in 1589 and 1590; an appointment which would imply settled residence, but that we know the duties were discharged by a deputy, Mr. William Magnor.<sup>1</sup> In the year following, also, he was in Ireland; for we find him then visiting his friend Spenser, at his



Sir Walter Raleigh's House. Youghal.

castle of Kilcolman. This memorable interview is immortalized by the poet in "Colin Clout," where Raleigh is mentioned as "the Shepherd of the Ocean," and as having "come from the main-sea deep," both allusions to his dwelling here by the sea-side. The visit was, it is said, returned in the following spring; and at this port the twain, "friends beloved," embarked for England, to superintend the publication of the first three books of the "Faerie Queene." Raleigh disposed of his Irish estates, in 1602, to Sir Richard Boyle, created, subsequently, Earl of Cork; and in the deed of transfer, which is dated December 7 of this year, special mention is made of the College, including, of course, the Warden's House. In 1616, Sir Lawrence Parsons, Knt., Attorney-General for the province of Munster, was appointed Recorder of Youghal, and took this house from the Earl of Cork for a residence. From him it received the

<sup>1</sup> Cooke's MS. "History of Youghal," a very curious miscellany, written about the

year 1749. It is now in the possession of Thomas Harvey, of Youghal.

name—by which it has been always since mentioned in legal documents—Sir Lawrence Parsons' House. His grandson, Lawrence Parsons, Esq., of Birr, conveyed the house, January 17, 1661, to Robert Hedges, Esq., of Beaconstown, county of Kildare, for a thousand years, at a pepper-corn rent, in consideration of the sum of £135, with the rent reserved by the Earl of Cork of a new almanac yearly. William Hedges, afterwards Sir William Hedges, son of the aforesaid Robert Hedges, sold the house, Feb. 24, 1670, to John Atkin, of Youghal, for the sum of £340; and the latter, by will dated Oct. 20, 1705, demised the house to his grandson, John Hayman, of the ancient Kentish and Somersetshire family of that name. The place continued the residence of this family until the death of Walter Atkin Hayman, Esq., June 5, 1816, when it was alienated. It is now the property and residence of J. W. Pim, Esq., whose courtesy to visitors deserves all commendation.

The house is in the old English style. Three high-pointed gablets crown the east front, and beneath the central one are the hall and entrance doorway. The windows have been modernized; the old glazing consisted of diamond panes set in lead; and the position of the chief staircase has been changed. A large dining-room is on the ground floor, from which is a subterraneous passage connecting the house with the old tower of St. Mary's Church. In one of the kitchens the ancient wide-arched fire-place remains, but is disused. The walls are in great part wainscoted with Irish oak, which some former occupier sought to improve by partially painting in colours. The drawing-room retains most of its ancient beauty in the preservation of its fine dark wainscot, deep projecting bay-window, and richly carved oak mantel-piece, rising in the full pride of Elizabethan style to the height of the ceiling. The cornice rests upon three figures, representing Faith, Hope, and Charity, between which are enriched circular-headed panels, and a variety of emblematical devices fill up the rest of the structure. The Dutch tiles, which anciently adorned the fire-place, have been removed; and instead of the low andirons on which the bickering yule log would burn, a modern grate and stone chimney-piece have been, in bad taste, inserted. In the adjoining bed-room is another mantel-piece of oak, barbarously painted over, and here the tiles remain. They are about four inches square, with various devices inscribed in a circular border. Behind the wainscoting of this room a recess was a few years since revealed, in which a part of the old monkish library, hidden at the period of the Reformation, was discovered. One volume is a curious specimen of early printing. It consists of two distinct portions: the first was printed at Mantua, in 1479, in black letter, with coloured initials, being a compendium of scriptural events from the Creation to the days of the Apostles; the other portion was printed at Strasburg in 1483, and is Peter Comestor's



“*Historia Scholastica*,” dedicated to Prince Gonzales, by John Schallus, Professor of Physic at Hornfield. This ancient volume is now in the possession of Matthew Hayman, Esq., of South Abbey, Youghal.

The grounds are remarkable for the luxuriant growth, in the open air, of myrtles, bays, the arbutus, and other exotics. Some of the myrtles exceed twenty feet in height; and from their embowering shade have given the place its modern name of Myrtle Grove.



Raleigh's Yew Trees.

In the gardens, the potato, originally brought from Virginia, was first planted in Ireland. Here, also, in the midst of a small parterre, is a group of four aged yew trees, which local tradition has ever associated with Raleigh's name. They make a square, and form a kind of canopy with their intermingled heads. Beneath their shade he may often have sate in his fixed musings on *El Dorado*, that he was never to find; and here, perhaps, in more active moments, were composed some of those writings which remain to our own day, to prove him an almost universal genius. What needs it more to heighten the beauty of the ideal picture than to imagine Spenser, on a bright summer day, his companion, while Raleigh lingers over the “*Faerie Queene*,” as yet in manuscript, and, with sudden start of joy, pronounces the fiat that gave it forth to an admiring world?

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

**GENERAL MEETING**, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, March 19th (by adjournment from the 5th), 1856,

**THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGHLIN** in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Right Hon. Lord de Freyne, French Park, Roscommon : proposed by the Rev. Philip Moore, R.C.C.

Henry Steele, Esq., J.P. (D.L., J.P., of Dorset), Killinane House, Bagnalstown : proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin.

Henry J. Monck Mason, Esq., Dargle, Enniskerry, county of Wicklow : proposed by Peter Connellan, Esq.

Mrs. Colonel Johnson, Ballyragget Lodge, Ballyragget : proposed by Mr. W. J. Douglas.

Sir John Benson, Knight, Montenotte, Cork ; and William C. Burgess, Esq., C.E., Shannon Foundry, Limerick : proposed by R. R. Brash, Esq.

The Rev. Duncan M'Callum, Manse, Arisaig, Fort William, Scotland ; Captain William Charles Bonaparte Wyse, Royal Waterford Artillery ; Robert Fitzgerald, Esq., Dunoboy, Kilkee ; and the Rev. Bartholomew Hester, P.P., Mount Prospect, Boyle : proposed by Richard Hitchcock, Esq.

Solomon Richards, Esq., Ounavarra, Courtown Harbour, Gorey ; and Richard Boyse Osborne, Esq., C.E., Philadelphia, U.S. : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

John Lighe, Esq., Ballymote : proposed by the Rev. Constantine Cosgrave, P.P.

The Rev. Perceval Banks Weldon, Tallow, county of Waterford : proposed by the Rev. A. T. Burroughs.

Acheson Thomson, Esq., J.P., Annaverna, Ravensdale, Flurry-bridge ; and the Rev. R. Dawson Welsh, Clermont Cottage, Ravensdale, Flurrybridge : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

J. Cleland, Esq., Downpatrick : proposed by J. W. Hanna, Esq.

Thomas O'Gorman, Esq., Inspector of Loan Funds, 17, Heytesbury-street, Dublin : proposed by Dr. R. R. Madden.

R. Scott Thomson, Esq., M.D.; and Mrs. Rae Thomson, Clifden Lodge, Kensington Park, Notting-hill, London : proposed by William Sim, Esq.

The Rev. A. R. Cliffe, Mallow; the Rev. W. Neligan, LL. D., Sunday's Well, Cork; and the Rev. Louis Perrin, See House, Cork : proposed by W. Gillespie, Esq.

William Crabbe, Esq., East Wansford, Exeter : proposed by S. S. Searancke, Esq.

Thomas Chandlee, Esq., Gaulsmills, Ferrybank, Waterford : proposed by H. T. Humphreys, Esq.

William Millan, Esq., Nelson-street, Belfast : proposed by James Carruthers, Esq.

Richard Jones, Esq., New Ross : proposed by Henry Baschet, Esq.

Michael Prendergast, Esq., 3, Baron Strand-street, Waterford : proposed by John G. Davis, Esq.

Mr. James G. Robertson, one of the Auditors appointed at the Annual General Meeting, then laid before the Meeting the Accounts of the Treasurer for the years 1854 and 1855, as under :—

		CHARGE.		
1854.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance from last year's Account (see vol. iii. p.6),	88	16	3½
Dec. 31.	„ Subscriptions for 1849, received this year, . . .	0	10	0
„	do. for 1850, do. do. . . . .	0	15	0
„	do. for 1851, do. do. . . . .	0	15	0
„	do. for 1852, do. do. . . . .	3	7	0
„	do. for 1853, do. do. . . . .	15	19	0
„	do. for 1854, do. do. . . . .	61	1	6
„	do. for "Annual," do. . . . .	16	10	0
„	„ Cash advanced by Treasurer, do. . . . .	13	3	8½
		<hr/>		
		£200	17	6
		DISCHARGE.		
1854.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Postages of the "Transactions," circulars, and general correspondence, . . . . .	17	1	9
„	„ Cost of illustrations of "Transactions" for 1851, do. do. 1852, . . . . .	9	16	10
„	do. do. do. 1853, . . . . .	14	8	2
„	do. do. do. 1854, . . . . .	4	0	0
„	„ Printing, binding, and paper of "Transactions" for 1852, . . . . .	71	19	6
„	„ One year's rent of the Museum, . . . . .	15	0	0
		<hr/>		
Carried forward, . . . . .		£164	4	3

1854.		£	s.	d.
	<i>Brought forward,</i>	164	4	3
Dec. 31.	By Fuel,		1	4
	„ Messengers,		1	1
	„ General printing and stationery,	13	14	6
	„ Commission to agents,		2	19
	„ Carriage of parcels,		3	12
	„ Sundries, viz.—			
	By purchase of early parts of “Transactions,”	£1	9	0
	„ Fittings for Museum,		1	6
	„ Purchase of 3 copies of second and third parts of the “Ancient Crosses of Ireland,”		4	10
	„ Purchase of antiquities, &c.		1	17
	„ Cost of transcribing documents at the State Paper Office and British Museum,		2	13
	„ Cost of stamp and bond to make “Trans- actions” a newspaper,		2	1
	„ Petty cash		0	5
			14	1
			17	6

We have examined this Account, and find that the sum of £13 3s. 8½d. has been advanced by the Treasurer.

JAMES G. ROBERTSON, }  
JOHN F. SHEARMAN, } Auditors.

## CHARGE.

1855.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To Subscriptions for 1849, received this year,		1	5
	„ do. for 1850, do. do.		1	11
	„ do. for 1851, do. do.		1	6
	„ do. for 1852, do. do.		13	4
	„ do. for 1853, do. do.		19	12
	„ do. for 1854, do. do.		63	2
	„ do. for 1855, do. do.		160	12
	„ Cash received for advertisements, do.		3	6
	„ do. by donations, do.		68	2
			£332	1
				0

## DISCHARGE.

1855.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	By Cash advanced by Treasurer, as per last Account,	13	3	8½
Dec. 31.	„ Postages of “Transactions” and general corre- spondence,	20	2	10
	„ Cost of illustrations for “Transactions” for 1853,		1	10
	„ do. do. for 1854,		18	5
	„ do. do. for 1855,		13	19
	„ do. do. for 1856,		2	10
	<i>Carried forward,</i>	£69	11	0½

1855.	£	s.	d.
<i>Brought forward,</i> . . . . .	69	11	0½
Dec. 31. By Printing, indexing, paper, and binding "Transactions" for 1853, as per Mr. O'Daly's bill, . . . . .	95	14	8
„ Printing, paper, and binding "Transactions" for 1854, as per Mr. Gill's bill, . . . . .	95	19	7
„ Commission to agents, as per bills of Messrs. O'Daly and Bell, . . . . .	7	11	4
„ One year's rent of Museum, . . . . .	15	0	0
„ Carriage of parcels, . . . . .	1	9	4
„ Messengers, . . . . .	0	6	6
„ General printing and stationery, . . . . .	12	7	2
„ Sundries, viz.—			
By advertisements, . . . . .	£3	6	0
„ Purchase of early numbers of "Transactions," . . . . .	2	5	0
„ Fittings for Museum, . . . . .	8	17	10½
„ Rent, and salary of caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey, . . . . .	3	0	0
„ Purchase of antiquities, . . . . .	1	16	0
„ Petty cash, . . . . .	3	5	9
		17	10 7½
„ Balance in Treasurer's hands, . . . . .	16	10	9
	£332	1	0

We have examined this Account, and find that there is a balance of £16 10s. 9d. in the hands of the Treasurer.

JAMES G. ROBERTSON, }  
JOHN F. SHEARMAN, } Auditors.

The Honorary Secretary announced that with this year the first volume of a new series of the Society's "Transactions" had been commenced, thus affording an excellent opportunity for the accession of new Members wishing to have complete sets of the publications. For the convenience of original Members, a separate title-page would be given at the conclusion of each volume, enabling them to continue their sets without any break.

Mr. Graves reported that, in reply to a letter which he had forwarded to Prince Albert, inclosing the rules and statistics of the Society, and requesting the honour of his Royal Highness' patronage as a Member, he had received a communication from the Prince's Private Secretary, stating his regret that it was contrary to the rules laid down by his Royal Highness for his guidance in similar matters to join any but metropolitan societies; but "that he had much pleasure in sending a donation of £25 towards the publication of the Reports of the Society."

The Rev. Dr. Browne, Kilkenny College, said it was highly gratifying and creditable to the Society to find Prince Albert giving such substantial proof of his interest in their proceedings. He would

move that the thanks of the body be presented to his Royal Highness, and that the Honorary Secretaries be instructed to present to him a set of the Society's "Transactions."

The motion was seconded by Mr. Robertson, and passed unanimously.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Author, the Rev. Robert King, A. B.: "A Memoir introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh."

By Samson Carter, Esq., C. E., M. R. I. A.: "Epitaphs on the Tombs in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny," by Dr. Peter Shee.

By the Society: "Transactions of the Ossianic Society," Vol. II. — "The Festivities at the House of Conan of Ceann-Sleibhe."

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 48.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," part 8.

By the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society: their "Proceedings," 1849-54.

By the Society: "Transactions of the Philological Society," 1854-5.

By the Author, Chas. Newport Bolton, Esq., A. B.: "Sketches at Killarney and Glengarriff;" also plates of "Dunamase," Queen's County, and "Dunmore East Pier."

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 674 to 684, inclusive.

By the Editor, John J. Lyons, Esq.: "The Irish Reporter," Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

By Mr. R. Cassin: original docket of the Freedom of the City of Kilkenny, granted to William Evans Morris, Esq., dated July 9, 1730.

By J. Huband Smith, Esq., Barrister-at-Law: an old Map of a portion of Kilkenny, showing a proposed new road to Cork, never carried out.

By Samson Carter, Esq., C. E., M. R. I. A.: an original sketch of Kilcolman Castle, the residence of the poet Spenser, drawn upwards of twenty-three years ago, since which period much of that interesting ruin has disappeared.

By the Rev. George H. Reade: a drawing of a small plain bronze box, with hinge, cover wanting, about an inch and a half in diameter, and somewhat more than half an inch in height; supposed to have been a pyx. Also, drawings and a rubbing from the ancient inscribed stone at Kilnasaggart, or Jonesboro', near Moyra Castle, between Newry and Dundalk.

By Richard Kelly, Esq., Ballysalla: an ancient oak chair, traditionally said to have been a portion of the ancient furniture of the house in Coal-market (now occupied by Mr. Langton, baker);

where, in 1641, the Confederate Catholics held their first assembly, hence commonly called "the Parliament House of Kilkenny." Ledwich states the fact that, in the beginning of the present century, whilst the house was tenanted by the late Mr. Richard Tresham, apothecary, the ancient table and some of the benches used by the Confederates were still to be seen there. The following letter from Mr. Kelly accompanied the presentation :—

" *Ballysalla, Feb. 29, 1856.*

" DEAR SIR,—Mr. Prim having requested me to send you in a chair, which was taken, with several others, out of an old oak-floored and ceiled room, in the ancient Parliament House in Kilkenny, I beg to forward it to you. It, with four others, was given to a relative of mine by Mr. Richard Tresham, together with an old oak table. One of the four chairs which I had, but which I am afraid is broken up, was an arm-chair, and called 'the Speaker's Chair;' it was made of oak, and carved with flowers and leaves: the table, which is gone too, was similarly ornamented. The material and figure of the chair which I send will speak for themselves; and I remember, when a boy, that they were always spoken of as 'the Parliament chairs.'

" Yours truly,

" RICHARD KELLY.

" *The Rev. James Graves.*"

The chair presented by Mr. Kelly was of simple but ancient construction, consisting of four pieces of oak, ingeniously put together.

Mr. Prim said that Mr. Kelly had kindly promised to endeavour to recover for the Society the fragments of the carved arm-chair to which he alluded in his letter.

Mr. E. Fitzgerald, Architect, Youghal, sent the following communication to the Society, the facts stated in which excited the "special wonder" of the Meeting; and there was a general expression of indignation at the bad taste which could dictate such doings :—

" Knowing that Cloyne Cathedral was at present under the process of partial restoration, with feelings of pride and expectation it was visited a few days ago. New stone mullioned windows of good execution had been inserted into the choir, and a small portion of the galleries which still block out the light and impede the proper ventilation of this part of the church has been taken away, but yet much still remains to be done in removing Palladian excrescences from its interior, always so much out of keeping when allowed into Gothic buildings. From all appearances the west end is of the Transition period, dating towards the close of the twelfth century; yet here the restorers have made a most laboured and successful attempt at placing it before future visitors in the 'Brummagem' fashion of the nineteenth century—that is, as far as stucco and cement could do it, for the whole has been completely cemented over, cut stone, mouldings, foliated

capitals, and all! Even the sculptured human heads which formed the terminations of the hood-mouldings over the great entrance door, were knocked away, and replaced with a pair of bearded casts seemingly made from one mould. Alas for our mediæval remains, if our national monuments are to be thus masked and mutilated! The destruction of one such sculptured human head, even, is a serious loss, since it is now well known that most of these sculptures were portraits of the celebrities of the time, founders and donors having been usually thus honoured; indeed, in themselves such relics would form a most interesting study, as it is not unusual to find among them the cowed, coroneted, and helmeted heads of the periods in which the buildings were constructed."

Mr. Henry Baschet, Waterford, communicated the discovery of an ancient sculptured stone, bearing the Fitzgerald arms, which had belonged to the old Dominican Friary, on the site of which his premises are situated. The stone bore the date 1649, in which year Mr. Baschet remarked that a Geraldine was Sheriff of Waterford.

Captain Edward Hoare, North Cork Rifles, sent the following communication:—

"During the summer and autumn of last year (1855) I was quartered with my regiment, the North Cork Rifles, at the Curragh camp of Kildare. Occasionally, with some of the officers there stationed, I took long walks into the country around, and one of our most favourite walks was by the Athgarvan and Castlemartin road to Kilcullen, returning to the camp by the road to Martinstown, and by Ballysax Church. Kilcullen is a small country town, a poor place, and much fallen into disuse, since the days of mail-coaches and post-chaises have passed away, it having been formerly a general rendezvous for changing horses. During the Irish rebellion of 1798, the neighbourhood of Kilcullen was one of the strongholds of the rebels; and the spots of their encampments, and of several of their skirmishes and battles with the royal troops, are still pointed out by some of the older residents. About a mile from Kilcullen, in a south-westerly direction, is Old Kilcullen, but of which only a house or two now remains. On the top of the hill is the old churchyard of Kilcullen, in the centre of which are the remains and base of a fine ancient round pillar tower, about 25 or 30 feet in height. In the churchyard there are the remnants of several stone crosses. One is a plain cross of granite stone, the arms gone, about 7 feet in height, and evidently of the same kind, material, and age as the stone cross in Kildare churchyard. There are in various parts of the churchyard remnants of other fine stone crosses; they are now used as grave and head-stones: one is a very beautiful engraved cross, a portion, about 4 feet high, as it appears now over ground, and of a species of marble very different from the others, and very like those magnificent ones at Monasterboice; it stands not far from the Round Tower, to the north-west about 20 feet, and not very far from it is the granite pedestal of another cross, both now used as gravestones. I endeavoured to trace the figures of the engraved cross, and I think they will be found as I have here described them:—On the south side of the cross, as it now stands, are the



figures of the Twelve Apostles, in three compartments, four figures in each; on the east side, in the upper or the first compartment, is seen the figure of a bishop, with his book, bell, and crozier; he holds in his right hand a suspended axe over a prostrate and fallen foe; in the second compartment are the remaining figures of what appears to have been a very beautiful flowery cross; in the third compartment, part of the figure of some animal can be discerned, but the other figures are nearly obliterated, and impossible to be now clearly made out. On the north side is seen, in the first compartment, a man riding on a horse; he holds in his right hand some indistinct object; a figure of a small animal is seen over the back part of the horse: in the second compartment appears a man with a club in his right hand; before him, and evidently in terror departing from him, is the figure of a lion rampant, which he holds by the back of the head with his left hand: the third compartment on the north side is altogether obliterated. The figures on the west side are quite indistinct, being nearly defaced from the action of the weather, but I think they have been magnificent flowery and interlaced crosses. No doubt, a large portion of the cross lies buried in the ground, which it would be well worth the trouble and labour to bring once more to light, and I think it would be indeed desirable that tracings and drawings should be taken for your Society of this interesting relic of former days.

“Let me therefore express a hope that this little notice, through the Kilkenny Archæological Society, may be the means of rescuing from oblivion, or perhaps destruction, another of those curious, beautiful, and unrivalled relics of the distant and bygone days of Ireland.”

Mr. E. Fitzgerald communicated an account of a primitive hand-mill, lately found near Youghal, as follows:—

“As an addendum to Mr. MacAdam’s elaborate article on Ancient Water-mills, in the last ‘Ulster Journal of Archæology,’ I send you the following notice of a quern, or Irish hand-mill, which was lately discovered at Ahavine, about six miles from Youghal, it being one of a class, an example of which I have neither seen nor heard of before. It consists of two stones: the principal or under one is 1 foot 6 inches long, 11 inches at one end, which is square, and gradually rounds off to the other end to about 3 inches, forming into a kind of truncated *oval* shape. It is regularly hollowed out lengthwise, and sunk in the centre to 4 inches in depth; it is quite flat on its under side, and so cut in a slanting way, that, when laid on the ground, the narrow end rises about 4 inches above the larger. The upper stone is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by 7 inches broad, and about 5 in depth; laid into the lower stone across or at right angles, it exactly fits to the curve; the upper side is somewhat rounded off, and just suited to the grasp of the hand whilst grinding: both stones are of the hard, red grindstone grit. Contrary to the fashion of all other mills which are worked by a rotatory or circular movement, this must have been worked with a longitudinal or lengthwise motion, which peculiarity speaks much for its primeval origin, as if it preceded the improved or circular movement. Another difference between this quern and those commonly known and found in Ireland is, that the lower stone of the latter is always convexed, and the upper concaved to fit on it, whilst the reverse is the case with both

upper and lower in the present instance. Both stones were discovered in cutting a large drain at about 8 or 10 feet under the surface, in a yellow clay soil; the large one was discovered first, and, when found, was thought to have been a sharpening-stone, from its size and hollowed appearance; but very soon after, the second being found close to where the first was got, and this having a reverse, or rounded face, which exactly fitted the curve of the other when applied to it, coupled with the fact of its not being at all suited for sharpening purposes from its great hardness, yet nicely adapted for grinding, at once pointed to its use, leaving little doubt but this was the purpose for which both were originally used.

"Mr. Hall, the owner of this primæval mill, and on whose land it was found, says that he ground wheat with it, by way of experiment, well, but of course in a slow manner.

"My friend, Mr. Hackett, says, that when he visited the coast of Africa in 1823, he found the Moors at Tangiers grinding their corn with hand-mills exactly similar to the one here described, and though the circular mill-stones were manufactured from ancient times to the present at Cape Spartel, some ten miles distant, for the whole of the Mediterranean traffic, yet, like the Chinese, the Moors still adhered to this primitive practice."

The following communication from John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D., relative to Mr. O'Neill's observations on Dr. Petrie's version of the inscriptions on the Cross of Cong, read at the November Meeting of 1855 (see vol. iii. p. 417, first series), was then submitted to the Meeting. Dr. O'Donovan's paper was illustrated by rubbings taken from the cross itself:—

"The paper on the inscriptions on the Cross of Cong, which Mr. O'Neill has criticised, was (as we all know) hurriedly written, in a popular style, by Dr. Petrie, at the request of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, on the occasion of a visit of the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Clarendon, to one of their meetings. The paper was intended to direct his Excellency's attention to the value of the archæological and antiquarian pursuits then recently, through Dr. Petrie's exertions, taken up by the Academy; and I am glad to be able to inform you that it has had the intended effect.

"Considering the very short time that Dr. Petrie was allowed by the Council to produce this paper, he has, in my opinion, deciphered the inscriptions with remarkable accuracy, not having mistaken the meaning in any one instance. After reading Mr. O'Neill's critique with due consideration, and pausing again and again to weigh in my mind the exact nature of it,—though I wish Mr. O'Neill every success in his national undertaking,—I deem it my duty to submit to you the following observations, which I should like to see in your 'Transactions,' if you think them worthy of notice.

"The two artists seem to agree<sup>1</sup> on the Latin inscription, which, as appears by the rubbings, is twice repeated. The first has *PAHUS* for

<sup>1</sup> Mr. O'Neill, in a second edition of his paper, printed by Mr. John O'Daly, Anglesea-street, Dublin, at page 3, destroys the illusion under which the above words were

written. He there accuses the Editors of having "suppressed," without his knowledge, the following paragraph:—"6th. He [Dr. Petrie] has omitted to mention the differences

PDSSUS. The engraver either forgot to finish the  $\mathfrak{p}$ , or formed the single  $\mathfrak{p}$  incorrectly. He has but one  $\mathfrak{p}$  in the second inscription, which shows that he was a rude Latin scholar, or, perhaps, not a scholar at all.

"In the second inscription they do not seem to agree. Mr. O'Neill says:—'Dr. Petrie makes  $\overline{\text{OR}}$  into  $\text{OROIT}$ .' Indeed, so he ought; for Dr. Petrie was not giving a fac-simile of this inscription, but a reading of it, lengthening out the contractions according to analogy and authority; and he had various authorities to prove that the  $\overline{\text{OR}}$  in Irish inscriptions is an abbreviation for  $\text{OROIT}$ . He might have made it  $\text{ORQIT}$ ,  $\text{ORQIO}$ , or even  $\text{ORQIOO}$ , but he selected the most usual full form of the word. What does Mr. O'Neill mean by making this objection? The contracted word is properly lengthened out. What more does he want from one who was giving the *reading*, not the fac-simile, of an inscription?

"Mr. O'Neill next observes that Dr. Petrie puts an  $\mathfrak{l}$  between the  $\mathfrak{U}$  and the  $\mathfrak{R}$  in the proper name  $\text{MUREOUCH}$ ; and so did Lhuyd and Dr. O'Brien, and so, in my opinion, would the engraver also have done, if he were an adept in Irish orthography. I acknowledge, however, that the  $\mathfrak{l}$  should not have been inserted; but I ask this one question, can Mr. O'Neill make a similar objection to any inscription of which Dr. Petrie professes to give a *fac-simile*? I defy him to do so; for I have tested Dr. Petrie's accuracy in copying inscriptions in every part of Ireland, and found him to be most scrupulously accurate.

"The next objection to Dr. Petrie's reading made by Mr. O'Neill is that he has lengthened out the name  $\text{Toirdhealbhadh}$ , now Turlough or Terence. The name is fancifully written  $\text{Therrroel}$  in the original inscription in question; but Dr. Petrie gave the true spelling in reading it (in the hurry of the moment). But what does Mr. O'Neill mean by objecting that he has added  $\text{bach}$  to it? Dr. Petrie was giving a reading, not a fac-simile, of the inscription, and, knowing the proper termination, he wrote it out *in full*. Of course, when he wrote the name in full, he was right in not giving the horizontal lines which mark the abbreviations.

"Of the word  $\text{CONCHO}$  Mr. O'Neill says that Dr. Petrie has added  $\text{bhAR}$  to it. Pray, what else ought he to have added? The *rectus casus* of the name is variously written  $\text{CONchabhAR}$ ,  $\text{CONchubhAR}$ , or  $\text{CONchobhAR}$ . Dr. Petrie should have written  $\text{CONchobhAIR}$ , to agree with the original inscription.

"This inscription was printed in the year 1845 in my 'Irish Grammar,' page 234, from the original copy of it made by Dr. Petrie many years ago, as follows. It will show that he had correctly read this part of the inscriptions before the Cross of Cong was removed to Dublin.

$\text{OROIT DO Therrroelbach u chonchobuir do}$   
 $\text{RIg erend las a nderrnad in gressa.}$

in the spelling of the sixth words in the Latin sentences." This statement is not warranted by the fact—the passage "suppressed" by the Editors being as follows:—"6th. He has omitted to mention that the Latin sentence occurs twice;" and this "suppression" was perpetrated from a feeling of kindness for Mr. O'Neill, as the Editors were well aware

that Dr. Petrie *could not* be charged with the omission in question.—See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. iv. page 577.—Ers.

<sup>1</sup> According to the rule of Broad with a broad, he might have made this termination  $\text{bhur}$ ,  $\text{bhur}$  or  $\text{bhur}$ ; but he added the most usual termination of the gen. sing.

"The abbreviated words **OR PRO ANIBZ** are found on tombstones of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and I have frequently written them out, **ORATE PRO ANIMABUS**, omitting the horizontal lines. In doing this I have no dread of *enlightened criticism*. And, to tell you the truth, I have no regard for any unenlightened attempt at criticism, either now or at any future period.

"I have looked at and studied the next inscription with great attention; and I have no hesitation in giving my opinion, that the true reading is as follows:—

Oratio pro Domnallo filio Flannacani Ui Dubthaigh Episcopo  
**OROIT DO DOMNULL mac FLANNACAN U DUBTHAIGH EPISUP**  
 Connactiæ pro successore Commani et Ciarani  
**CONNACHT DO CHOMARBA CHOMMAN ACUS CHIARAN**  
 apud quem factum est 70 opus hoc.  
**ICA NERRNAD IN GRESSA**

[**NERRNAD**, "D" omitted by the engraver.]

There was no such family surname as **O'Dubhdenit**. The **ENIT** is positively **EPIS!** and the **UP** is then easily accounted for. But where does Mr. O'Neill leave '**UP CONNACHT**'? Donnell O'Duffy was Bishop of Connacht, and successor of Ciaran, and he died in 1136.

"Dr. Petrie is here again accused of having changed **OR** into **OROIT**, **MC** into **MAC**, **DUBDENIT** into **DUBTHAIGH**, and **UP** into **EPSCOP**!! It was much more rational to change **EPISUP** into **EPSCOP**, than to manufacture, out of the abbreviated form of **U DUBTHAIGH**—a real historical name, and the abbreviated form of his dignity—a surname which never had any existence, except in the fanciful mind of Mr. O'Neill.

"In the next inscription Dr. Petrie is again accused of having changed **OR** into **OROIT**, and **MC** into **MAC**!! O'h-Echain was Comharba of St. Finnen of Clooncruff, in the county of Roscommon.

"Mr. O'Neill finally sums up Dr. Petrie's errors thus:—

"'1st. Throughout the inscriptions, Dr. Petrie has introduced spaces between the words, and stops also, for which there is no authority in the originals.'

"To this most erudite piece of criticism I reply, that Dr. Petrie was not giving a fac-simile of the originals, but readings and translations, in which, of course, he used the spaces and stops of modern printers. He is next charged with having 'added *thirty letters* which are not, nor ever could have been, in the originals.'

"Now, does it not follow as a matter of consequence (in the logical sense of the word) that if Dr. Petrie has lengthened out abbreviated words, he must have introduced letters which were not, and could not, have been in the originals? If I write out in full, dispensing with contractions, the words **L. CÆSARE & C. FIGULO COSS.**, must I not necessarily increase the number of letters?—**LUCIO CÆSARE ET CAIO FIGULO CONSULIBUS**, increasing the twenty letters of these abbreviated words to thirty-four letters.

"In the last item Dr. Petrie is accused of having omitted all the horizontal lines ! ! This is worse than puerile ! When he lengthened out the contractions he was of course obliged to omit the horizontal lines. What will Mr. O'Neill say to me, who have omitted more than one hundred thousand horizontal lines in my edition of the 'Four Masters,' and changed  $\overline{M}C$  into  $\overline{M}C$  and  $\overline{M}IC$  in more than ten thousand instances, and changed  $\overline{C}H$  into  $\overline{C}HAI\overline{C}$ , and  $\overline{C}ONC\overline{O}$  into  $\overline{C}ONC\overline{O}B\overline{A}R$  and  $\overline{C}ON\overline{C}HO\overline{O}A\overline{I}R$  in more than two thousand places ? If any one should ask me why I did so, I would simply reply, 'Because I fancy I knew what I was doing ; your question is anile !'

"Criticisms of this description are truly disgraceful to enlightened scholars, and sincere inquirers after truth. What is really wanting in Dr. Petrie's paper are faithful fac-similes of the ornaments and inscriptions, and I confidently assert that there is not a man now living, or has ever lived in Ireland, better qualified to make these fac-similes than Dr. Petrie himself ; for he is the first in Ireland who made these ornaments and inscriptions his particular study, and the first in Great Britain who read the latter with perfect certainty. He is, in fact, the Mabillon of Irish history and inscriptions, and the father of true Irish antiquarian research ; and it is, therefore, very ungenerous in any of us, his pupils, followers, and inferiors, to write a single word to detract from his honours.

"Mr. O'Neill, in illustrating the Ancient Crosses of Ireland, is, I am glad to see, now doing very good and creditable work ; but he and I, and the other antiquaries of the royal lines of Heber and Heremon, should remember the old proverb, '*Never dirty the fountain from which thou hast drunk ;*' and we should also keep constantly before our eyes the following instructive lines of the Roman satirist :—

" "—————Molle atque facetum  
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camenæ.  
Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino,  
Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,  
Inventore minor : neque ego illi detrahere ausim,  
Hærentem capiti multâ cum laude coronam."

HOR. SAT. lib. i. 10.

Mr. E. Fitzgerald forwarded the following "Jottings in Archæology," which he promises to continue on some future occasion :—

"That quaint old proverb, 'A little chink may let in much light,' is a motto worthy the patronage of all dabblers in archæology. A passing note of an old saying, miracle, tradition, or legend, is worth recording, and may yet lead to important results in future researches. With this view a few random jottings from the county of Waterford are here given.

"Strange as it may appear, though St. Declan, of the Decies, is pointed to in Irish history as one of our first Christian missionaries, yet the traditions of the district point to an earlier saint as his predecessor, namely, St. Colman. In the old Irish Life of St. Declan it is said that his parents were converted to Christianity by the preaching of Colman, and that he baptized Declan, and prophesied that he would become an eminent man.

In 'Frazer's Magazine' for September, 1845, a writer, referring to the subject, doubts this old record, and says that this could not be, for Colman (of Cloyne) did not commence his mission for a century later. Now, why another Colman may not have existed a century or two earlier in the county of Waterford there is no reason given; the writer evidently making no inquiry into the oral history of the place, nor searching if any relic existed which connected the name with the district; as, on examination, instead of doubting, we have strong evidence to corroborate the old testimony, both in tradition and existing remains, which shows that a St. Colman at a very early period did exist, and flourished in this locality: for we find about three miles north of Ardmore a townland in the 'old parish' called Kill-Colman, and on it *his* sacred tree and holy well; and a fact worth the attention of our Irish hagiologists is, that Declan's labours seem to have been confined to the locality of Ardmore, whilst Colman's were concentrated in the Parostha Shana Pubol, i. e. the old parish of the people, by which name this district is known and always spoken of, and is said to be the oldest parish in Ireland, apparently handing down to us, in the name, a proof of the priority of Colman's mission to that of Declan's,—actually carrying us back into the fourth century.

"Now, that St. Colman's tree should survive to our times is of course a miracle among the peasantry, and, therefore, it is held sacred, inasmuch that its actual indestructibility is commonly asserted, and that, no matter how it may be mutilated or otherwise injured, it immediately recovers itself,—sprouting out fresh as ever. This feeling is so firmly fixed in the minds of the people, that, though the surrounding fields in times of scarcity may be scoured for fuel, and though the vicinity of the tree may be strewn with decayed branches, yet they are left untouched and unsought; no wonder, therefore, to meet it enshrined in story, and among many forms the following Legend of St. Colman's Tree is a favourite one:—

"As St. Colman one day was walking near his old church, he stuck a little dry stick which he carried in his hand into the ground; in a short time it took root and grew into a fine spreading tree, and remains there ever since, a holy tree, to be seen by all, and, no matter what may happen to it, 'tis always the same, never can be destroyed. Now, though this was well known everywhere, yet one day an ignorant countryman should go and break off a great "brusna" to boil his supper with, and had it on his back trudging away home, but, "God betune us and all harm," when he came in sight of his cabin, what should he see but it all in a blaze? In an instant his bundle was on the ground, and away he ran to save his house; but, what do you think?—God bless us! but there it was, and not a *smell* of fire even on it. He now goes back for his bundle, greatly wondering at the sight he was "after seeing,"—and on his way homeward he trudged again; but turning his eyes towards his "ould bohogue" there it was, I be bound, all on fire just as before: down go the sticks, and away he runs a second time to save his house; but when he comes up, there it was, I'll engage, and not a sign of fire about it. Well, the fellow now goes back, cursing to himself he shouldn't be made a fool of any more, and once again was on his way with his bundle on his back; but when he turned his eyes towards the old cabin again, sure enough, there it was all in shooting flames; but this time he was determined not to be made a fool of, so kept

on his way ; but a fool, I can tell you, this time it made of him, for when he came up, there it was lying in ashes,—a just judgment against him.’

“Tubber-Cholmane, or St. Colman’s well, is near the tree, and is noted for curing pains in the head ; it was much more frequented formerly for performing ‘rounds’ at, but is still used for that purpose. About three miles north of this well, also in the ‘old parish,’ is Tubber-a-Trisnane ; this well is much resorted to by pilgrims for giving rounds at, and is famous for curing stomach and bowel complaints ; it lies about half a mile south of the ruins of the old parish church. At Piltown, some four miles west of Ardmore, is St. Bartholomew’s well ; this well is about two miles from Youghal, across the bay, and is greatly resorted to for ‘giving rounds’ at. It is celebrated for several cures, but especially for sore eyes ; there is a patron held here every 24th of August. When I visited it last, a couple of months ago, a very intelligent young man of the neighbourhood pointed out to me two or three houses some twenty yards from the well, which he said were built on the ground that was formerly taken in by the pilgrims in their circuit of ‘rounds,’ and that to his own knowledge the parties who made the encroachment all dwindled away to nothing,—none of them ever had a day’s luck afterwards. But Tubber-Deglane, at Ardmore, within a few paces of the ruined church on the cliff, i. e. the Teampull Deiscart, or Disirt, as it is usually termed, is the most celebrated well in this province for ‘rounds’ and miraculous cures. Its powers of healing are still frequently put to the test with all sorts of sprains and mutilations of the human body, especially on the patron day here, which is held on the 24th of July. There are also said to be three holy wells on the strand at Ardmore, which were formed by a miracle of St. Declan’s, but these cannot be seen except at extreme low tides, and at low water mark ; they are noted for curing inward complaints in those who are fortunate enough to get a glimpse of them at the propitious moment. At each of the wells mentioned here, except those on the strand, the visitor will find numerous coloured objects tied to the trees and briars in their neighbourhood. At my visit to St. Bartholomew’s well, the fine old venerable thorns which overshadowed it bore a most motley appearance, actually crowded with old red, blue, and green ribbons and rags, as if torn from the dresses of the pilgrims, and tied up as a finale to their ‘rounds’ and prayers. An old crone engaged in giving her ‘rounds’ told me they were tied up by each to leave all the sickness of the year behind them. Now, such matters as these are well worth our attention. A short time since, in a letter from William Hackett, Esq., of Middleton, who has given much of his learned attention to our early mythology, he says :—‘In this part of Ireland almost all the churches had a holy well near them,—in some instances close to them. All our holy wells were originally sites of idolatry, and, as such, attendance at them has been of late, universally discountenanced by the clergy of all denominations. I stand at a holy well, and see an old woman attaching a rag to the branch of a tree. I know that an Indian rajah who had presented the image of a cow, as large as life, all of solid gold, to a temple, completed his devotion by the same rite of tying a rag to a tree. I read of a Brazilian Indian doing the same, 1200 miles west of the Atlantic. The same is done at this day by the Arabs on Mount Hor, at the tomb of Aaron. Rich mentions a holy well either at Babylon or Nineveh ; there was no tree, but nails were in the

walls covered with these rags, not given as votive offerings, but in a sense identical with that of the old woman here in Ireland. In this lowly and inexplicable rite I fancy I see a vestige of the early patriarchal religion—the first universal worship in the world. Any arbitrary practices common to all Pagan religions must have had a common origin, and the common origin of which all Paganisms were corruptions was the patriarchal religion. But although wells must have been in Oriental regions appendages of patriarchal worship, the veneration for them and the rituals observed at them have come down to us through a medium loaded with Paganism. Therefore I say, these Irish holy wells were fanes of idolatry.’

“In a paper read last November at the annual meeting of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, by Mr. W. T. Henwood, late Chief Mineral Surveyor, H.E.I.C., in the north-west provinces of India, he shows clearly that the Pagans of Upper India *still* use in their worship logan-stones, tolmens, rock-basins, cromleacs; and, on the subject of holy wells, says:—‘Even to the present day numerous small rags may be found fluttering on the shrubs near Madron well in the early part of May, votive offerings from parents, who still bathe their weakly children in the spring. In many passes of the Himalayan range there are trees on which hundreds of similar tokens are displayed, with what object I have not learned.’ This is a most pleasing and practical corroboration of Mr. Hackett’s views and researches.

“At Ardmore we have a celebrated sacred stone still in great repute, i. e. the Cloch-Nave-Deglane [Cloch naoimh Deaglain]. It is lying among the rocks on the strand, and is the centre of great attraction on St. Declan’s patron day; the pilgrims, after their ‘rounds’ at it, as part of the rituals, are obliged to squeeze themselves under it three times. This stone is noted for several cures, but especially for pains in the back (but it is believed, no one with anything on them either borrowed or stolen can ever get themselves safe through from under it). I have several times seen this operation performed, both by males and females, though with much difficulty, as the stone lies on low sharp rocks, and pretty close to the ground.

“Another famous stone is also at Ardmore, but latterly is little known, as it has been buried this some time in a garden in front of Mr. Bagg’s cottage. This stone must be classed among those connected with the sports and pastimes of days gone by, though I have not seen any resemblance to the ceremonies connected with it among Strutt’s descriptions; it is called the Cloch-Daha, i. e. the stone of Daghda, King of the Tuatha De Dananns (there is a monument at Ballymote, county of Sligo, called Bod-an-Daghda). This relic lay on the road-side, nearly opposite the present new church; it is a stone of about 2 feet long by 18 inches in breadth, and 18 inches in depth, and is hollowed into an oval trough-like shape,—probably an old Pagan ‘rock-basin,’ and may be the Cloch-Deaglain mentioned in the saint’s Life, which bore the impression of his infant head. There is a hole in its centre, in which, on Ash Wednesday, the sporting bachelors of the village stuck a wattle with a quantity of tow tied to its top; they then scoured the village and vicinity, and brought with them all the old maidens they could muster, and made them dance round the Cloch-Daha, holding the pendent tow, and spinning it whilst dancing; they then terminated their amusements by dragging them



through the village seated on old logs of wood. Our old 'shanhie' says that 'all the sports and old Irish usages were put down ever since the crackpates of '98.'

"By the way, the readers of the Society's 'Proceedings' are already aware that the Ogham monument discovered in the east end of St. Declan's Oratory has been taken down, and a common brown stone substituted in its place; this, no doubt, will contribute wonderfully to mystify and puzzle future visitors to that locality, who will be led to look for it in its original position from seeing the account of it given in the 'Transactions' (vol. iii. page 227, first series), especially as it had been hinted in certain circles in Dublin that it was a *forgery*! But, in all honour to the common cause, and to set matters right for the future before the archæological public, the perpetrators of this transfer should place, in a conspicuous position in the building, a record of the transaction engraven on stone.

"Alas for the poetry of antiquity, which the hoary appearance of this antique little structure was so long and so well calculated to call forth! A spruce new roof and fresh-pointed walls have now completely altered the character of St. Declan's Oratory into a common-place looking modern building. Many years will elapse before

" 'Time's effacing fingers,  
Where the power of beauty lingers,'—

will once again fling her charms of mellowing lichens and silver mosses over this primitive relic of early Christianity. But certain well-known archæological works on the Rock of Cashel, &c. &c. disarm further comment.

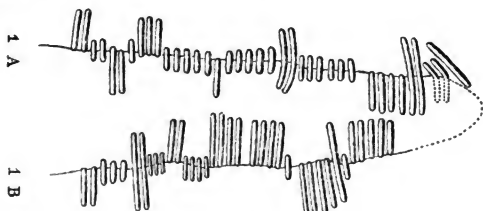
"However, one object gained by the removal is the discovery of a third inscription on one of the concealed angles of the stone; and as the great object of examination is now attained, it is to be hoped, the greatest stretch of centralization will not induce a future attempt to remove this remarkable relic farther from the site where discovered.

"Strange to say, when the discovery of this Ogham was first made known, insinuations were thrown out that it was a forgery got up by me. And, now that another inscription has been found on its inner angle, I am credibly informed that it is actually pronounced an 'old discovery'! No doubt, here has been made a hit, for truly I have a strong suspicion myself that *it is* an 'old discovery,' aye, as early as the times of St. Declan, very probably made by the builders of the oratory, who found it, no doubt, on some Pagan tumulus or other in the neighbourhood, possibly on the heights of Ardo.

"As already announced in the November 'Transactions,' another pillar-stone inscribed in Ogham has been found in this locality. Michael Tierney—an intelligent tradesman, who was engaged in clearing round the edges of the oratory Ogham, in order that Mr. Charnley and Archdeacon Cotton might take rubbings from it, after its discovery had been first made public—seeing the interest taken in the matter, was led to make a close search through the old churchyard, where he found it lying on a low wall at the side of a grave. Both Oghams are now deposited in a very suitable place for inspection.

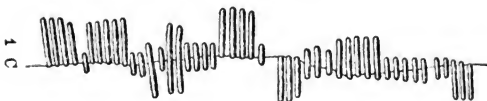
<sup>1</sup> See vol. iii. pp. 419-20, first series.

"The decipherment of the inscriptions given below, according to the ordinary Ogham scale, is by Mr. Windele. Between the present reading of the oratory Ogham, and that given in the 'Transactions,' vol. iii. p. 227, first series, a considerable discrepancy exists, partly occasioned by additional scores being discovered, from having the stone brought under closer scrutiny.<sup>1</sup>

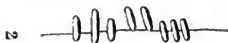


NO. 1 A.  
 bolacibigunpꝛꝓh

NO. 1 B.  
 luꝓbeccarꝓaar



NO. 1 C.  
 caaromazecarꝓarꝓor



NO. 2.  
 amabu

"All our native Ollamhs who have examined this inscription seem most reluctant in giving any decisive opinion on the subject, evidently showing the great difficulty which still besets the path of investigation in this section of Irish archæology. But it is to be hoped, where such a proficiency has been made by our English archæologists, in deciphering what seems

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Windele, who also examined this inscription in November, 1855, is of opinion that the tenth letter, u, on the first line, is doubtful. He regards the fourteenth charac-

ter on the same line as a vowel, o; as above represented, it would be a consonant, ꝓ. The stone was here broken away by the builders of the oratory, when setting it in the gable.

almost as difficult,—the long-lost language of Assyria, inscribed in those obsolete cuneiform characters so closely resembling our Ogham,—that our Irish investigators will not suffer their neighbours across the channel long to outstrip them in this interesting study, nor allow this evident stigma longer to remain as a stain on their country's escutcheon.

“The illustrations on the last page are reduced fac-similes of rubbings taken directly from the inscriptions—the dotted parts indicating a breach in the stone. I am glad to be able to add here an attempt at the translation of No. 1 inscription, by a distinguished Irish scholar, whose modesty makes him nameless here; and though he places no faith himself in the reading, pronouncing it merely conjectural from the obsolete antiquity of the language used, yet I think it most important to give the translation of one who has given much of his life to such studies, if it were only to stimulate others to give us better. Our anonymous Ollamh reads No. 1, taking in the three lines of inscription, A, B, and C, which occupy the three corners of the stone, commencing at B and ending at A, thus :—

bolatı bızu urzoh  
Contracted in sickness in water.

lugub ecc ar maapcaap o mago capuar  
Lugud died [he] was a horseman of the field of battle.

Otherwise, ‘Lugud died in sickness contracted in water, he was a horseman of the battle field;’ the last three letters, he thinks, ‘may form a termination for the last word, or may be a distinguishing term for the locality.’

“The Ogham No. 2 simply sets forth the proper name of amabou. On the head of this stone is incised a cross which measures  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 5 inches; and it is worth noticing here, that the stone found to hand and in the churchyard is marked with a cross, whilst the one out of reach in the gable of the oratory is left untouched by the Christianizer's stamp. This stone is of compact quartzose light sandstone, and much weather-worn, the scores coarsely and deeply cut; it measures 5 feet in length, 1 foot 3 inches across its widest end,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches and 11 inches in other parts, and has quite the appearance of a pillar-stone broken off at the base.

“Some time since, Mr. Hitchcock, with his usual nice discernment, expressed a wish to know if the sandstone of the Ardmore Oghams was peculiar to the district (see vol. iii. p. 282, first series). This question, as well as I am aware of the matter, must be answered in the negative. Limestone, clay-slate, *brown* sandstone, *grauwacke*, and a variety of dark and many-coloured conglomerates, are the stones I have observed in the district; but it is not unusual to find stones for particular purposes brought from a distance at all times of the world's history; for instance, the stone of most of our ancient buildings is seldom that which belongs to the locality. At Ardmore, the material of the ruined church, Round Tower, and oratory is chiefly of light freestone; several of the stones in the oratory are of the hard quartzose light-coloured freestone, and are much weather-worn, very similar in material and appearance to Ogham No. 2. Indeed, our old Irish architects seem to have had a wonderful *penchant* for freestone, and though good limestone abounded in their neighbourhood, actually on the spot, as at Ardmore, yet they preferred going miles for the freestone. I have been informed by a most respectable authority, that the quarry

from which the stones for the Round Tower at Ardmore were taken, is on the mountain of Sliabh-greine, about four miles distant from the Tower, and that some of the curved stones, broken whilst being wrought, are still lying in the quarry. A curious coincidence, in connexion with the above, a short time since I was told by a peasant, quite unsought—A Legend of the Round Tower—which directly pointed to Sliabh-greine as the quarter from which the stones for Ardmore Round Tower were brought, as he said 'the stones for Ardmore steeple were brought from Sliabh-greine' mountain without horse or wheel, and laid in their places without sound of a hammer.' 'And how could they be brought without horse or wheel?' I asked. His reply was, 'that a row of men from the quarry on the mountain, to the Tower at Ardmore, stood within reach of each other, and handed the stones from one to the other all the way to the top of the Tower.'

"In company with Mr. Windele, a month or so since, I visited Ardmore, and whilst poring over the newly discovered Oghams, and correcting our sketches, we were informed of numerous inscriptions in an unknown language, about three miles distant, in the parish of Grange, cut on the rock or table of the Cor-iska-Finn; several in our group of gapers asserting that the writings on the rock were never deciphered by any one since they were cut, and that they had a strong resemblance to the scorings we thought so much about. Of course, here was a bait of far too tempting a nature for us to think of resisting, and away we drove, most anxiously impatient to feast our eyes on these mysterious engrossings, especially as we now passed along, every site seemed propitious, and teeming with archaeological interest, for we now entered the parish of Grange, and soon sighted Sliabh-greine—the mountain of the sun. In a short period the Carn-na-daimh-dheirg—the cairn of the red ox—made its appearance in the distance—food for Mr. Hackett to feast his eyes on—and we sighed for his assistance, to track out for us the primæval 'cow road' to it; and surely sighings are not always vain, for in a brief period after our excursion, part of a note from the very gentleman contained the following extract, quite in point:—'Just opposite to Ardmore Tower is Sliabh-greine, and on a pointed summit is a cairn called Carn-na-daimh-dheirg, the cairn of the red ox. About the base of the mountain, in a north-west direction from the cairn, is a place called Macha-na-bo-báinè, the milking-place of the white cow, from a white cow that used to go there to be milked every day, and return by a road the track of which is known through the mountain, until it came out on the public road, and went on to the Bohur-a-Mhachaire near Cappoquin.'

"In Smith's 'History of Waterford,' 2nd ed., p. 355, this road is also noticed; he describes it as a double trench, or dyke, which he supposes to be the trace of an ancient highway from Cashel to Ardmore, between which two places was formerly frequent intercourse; it is called by the Irish Rian-bo-Padric, or the track or trench of Patrick's cow, from their legend that it was the work of Patrick's cow, when she went to Ardmore in search of her calf which had been stolen. And, among the ancient sculptures in

<sup>1</sup> This mountain is not called Sliabh Grián by the natives, but Sliabh ḡCpufinn, the same name by which Tory-hill, in the county of Kilkenny, is called in Irish. I do not

believe that it is evidently a corruption of Sliabh ḡpéime, i. e. *mons solis*. Grián means ground and gravel, and also a sandy bottom of a river.—J. O'D.

bas-relief on the west end of the ruined cathedral at Ardmore, is also a figure of a cow, which I have little doubt is intended to symbolize some significant passage in our early Irish mythology, similar to the serpents and nondescripts so often found sculptured on our ancient crosses, &c. which, no doubt, will yet be all fully brought to light by our archaeological delvers. About midway between Ardmore and Cappoquin, at a place called Geoshe (the interjection used in driving a cow), is a cross-road and a public-house, and here we have got the white cow as a sign; no doubt also traditionally significant.

"A short time since, in travelling up the steep hill over Tallow, on our way to Lismore, I came on the trail of the legendary cow, for the driver of the car, looking down on the fine vale below, exclaimed, 'Ah, then, sirl isn't it the fine valley? and isn't it allowed by every one to be the most serpentine river in the whole country?' alluding to the remarkably crooked river Bride, as it wriggled its tortuous way along the centre of the vale. 'And sure Drimmin herself gave it up to the Inches to have the finest and sweetest grass in the whole kingdom; for she travelled all Ireland over to find it out; and more's the pity that they should give her offence, for she gave as much milk as a whole dairy, so much, that they couldn't find keelers to put it in, until at last an old woman (and was there ever any good came of them?) should schame the fine baste by milking her into a sieve; no wonder, then, that she felt insulted at this, seeing all the fine milk going waste! so that Drimmin that very night went off, and was never heard of in the country afterwards.' But this is wandering from the object of our research at the Cor-iska-Finn—the carn of the red ox and Mr. Hackett very properly brought us to check.

"However, to resume from where we digressed, we had now on our right a fine rath or fort, and positively in the same field an ancient un-inscribed pillar-stone, at once suggesting to our minds the patriarchal days of Jacob, when he planted the first pillar-stone that we have any record of being raised over mortal, on the grave of his wife Rachel; but here probably planted over the remains of some defunct Fenian hero. This impression on the mind was made stronger, for we now wound our way down into the Gleann-a'-smoil, so famous in the Ossianic legends, and after a little cross piloting, and a stop or two, found ourselves at the Cor-iska-Finn, i. e. 'the winding water of Fionn;' and here was the meeting of three wild glens, and the winding water of Fionn gliding musically along its crooked course; and here, it is said, was once the habitation of Isheen (Oisín), and here he first met the holy St. Patrick, and recounted to him the number of the Fenian heroes; hence, a hamlet in the vicinity, it is said, still retains its name of Clarkstown from the circumstance. We were now under the famous rock, and 'the hero of a hundred fights'—I beg pardon, of a hundred Ogham discoveries—our own Windele, on the rack of impatience to add somewhat still to his well-earned fame in this important field of archaeological discoveries; and, after scrambling some thirty feet up its side, stood in this romantic recess, and on the summit of this mysterious rock table, covered over with hieroglyphics and entangled inscriptions, our guide actually asserting they were cut there by the 'good people;' indeed, some of our first informants hinted they were in Hebrew, forcibly bringing to the mind the early days of Job, when he wished his words engraven on the

rock; but could it be possible that this good fortune was reserved for us—an inscription in Hebrew as ancient as the times of Job? But, gentle reader, what was our amazement to read *plainly*, among other inscriptions, after a little simple rubbing—

E<sup>n</sup> LOVGLEN 1760 · WILLIAM SPRATT 1770 · 1786 I FUDGE · G FUDGE 1786

Well, after all our elevated anticipations we made a—*discovery*, worth all our wanderings, but it ended in FUDGE! However, we found on inquiry, that these glens in the ‘troubles of ’98’ were the great muster-places of the people, and no doubt here, on the rock of the Cor-iska-Finn, as it commanded an excellent view, and was sufficient to shelter two or three men, was the resort of the misguided leaders of those foolish men.”

James Carruthers, Esq., of Belfast, communicated the following notices of coins found in Ireland, being in continuation of a similar paper read at a former Meeting of the Society<sup>1</sup> (see vol. iii. p. 61, first series):—

“Found some years since, in the county of Donegal, a large parcel of English and Scotch coins, minted by DAVID II., HENRY VI., ELIZABETH, JAMES I., CHARLES I. and II., JAMES II., and WILLIAM & MARY.

“1825.—This year there was discovered at Fethard, county of Tipperary, a leaden box, which contained a number of gold coins, and some silver of CHARLES I.; also a crucifix.

“April, 1830.—In this year, 500 silver Roman coins were found by James Quigg, in the townland of Tonduff, one mile from the Giant’s Causeway; they were all sold to strangers visiting the Causeway. Subsequently the same person found two large hoards of coins, of what kind never was known in this country, as the finder shortly afterwards went abroad.

“1839.—When deepening the Kinnegad River, near Clonard, county of Meath, was discovered a small antique vessel, highly ornamented with brass; in it were several silver coins of ELIZABETH, WILLIAM & MARY, and many of JAMES II.’s gun-money.

“1849.—In a grave near Redbay, Cushendall, county of Antrim, two Anglo-Saxon coins were discovered; one of them BEITHULF, King of Mercia (Ruding, vol. iii. plate iii. No. 3); the other, CEOLNOTH, Archbishop of Canterbury (Ruding, vol. iii. plate xiii. No. 7).

“1850.—Found at Tobermore, county of Tyrone, a silver half-penny of JOHN BALLIOL, King of Scotland.

“1852.—A coin of ROBERT BRUCE was found near Armagh.

“1854.—Found near Belfast, 120 ounces of the coins of CHARLES I.; all in poor condition.

“February, 1854.—At Portrush, county of Derry, was discovered a hoard of one hundred silver coins of EDWARD I., minted at the following places: LONDON, CANTOR, DVREME, BRISTOLLIE, and DUBLINIE.

<sup>1</sup> We have been requested by Mr. Carruthers to state that he wishes to disclaim the paragraph of his former paper, relative to

the find of Roman coins at Coleraine. It was added by the Editors from a newspaper cutting.—Eds.

" April, 1854.—In this month were found, in the townland of Ballinrees, parish of Macosquin, near Coleraine, county of Londonderry, 2000 silver Roman coins, and 200 oz. 15 dwts. silver fragments. The coins consisted of the following varieties:—68 of JULIAN II., 2 of JOVIAN, 34 of VALENTINIAN, 48 of VALENS, 68 of GRATIAN, 27 of VALENTINIAN IV<sup>N</sup>., 33 of VICTOR, 41 of THEODOSIUS MAGNUS, 52 of MAG. MAXIMUS, 37 of EVGENIUS, 22 of CONSTANTINUS II., 132 of ARCADIVS, 112 of HONORIUS, 2 of CONSTANTINE in Britain, and 1305 variously clipped. The fragments consisted of ingots, two of which were stamped with the names of Roman mint-masters; and the remainder were portions of broken plate.

" May, 1854.—A large parcel of gun-money was found in the county of Cork.

" December, 1854.—At this time was discovered, at Ballintogher, county of Sligo, about 100 gold coins of CHARLES II., WILLIAM & MARY, and GEORGE I.

" 1855.—During this year a small parcel of the groats of DAVID II. and ROBERT II. of Scotland, was discovered near Carrickfergus, county of Antrim.

" 1855.—This year a few ounces of the silver coins of ELIZABETH and JAMES I. were found in the county of Antrim.

" 1855.—During this year an angel of EDWARD IV. was discovered near Dromore, county of Down.

" 1855.—A few months ago were found, near Ennis, many coins of ELIZABETH.

" June, 1855.—About this time there were discovered, near Belfast, four gold rings, commonly called ring-money; each weighed about one ounce.

" June, 1855.—Some workmen, when laying pipes for gas in North-street, Carrickfergus, county of Antrim, discovered about three pounds weight of PHILIP & MARY's base Irish money.

" July, 1855.—At this time a gold coin of EDWARD IV. was found at Castleberg, county of Tyrone.

" August, 1855.—At this time some workmen, having removed the stones which composed a cairn on Scrabo Hill, near Newtownards, county of Down, discovered a stone, 8 feet long, broad in proportion, and so heavy that to remove it they were obliged to blast it with gunpowder; when a grave was exhibited, formed of blocks of stone, in which was a human skeleton greatly decomposed, at one side of the head of which was a smoking pipe, commonly called a Dane's pipe; at the side, about two and a half ounces of very rude, thin, silver Danish coins.<sup>1</sup>

" August, 1855.—During this month a large quantity of silver coins was discovered at Castlewellan, near Newcastle, county of Down, about 200 of which were sold in Belfast, and were composed of the following varieties:—English groats, half groats, and pennies of Edward I., II., and III., the latter of the mints of DURHAM, regal and episcopal, YORK, and LONDON, one of which reads VILA DUNOLMIE (see Hawkins, No. 302); also some pennies of DAVID II. and ROBERT II. of Scotland, and some counter-

<sup>1</sup> See also vol. iii. p. 373, first series, for Hitchcock, Esq., together with an engraving of one of the coins.—Eds.

feit sterlings, minted by various princes in Europe, to imitate the money of the Edwards of England."

Mr. James G. Robertson communicated the following observations on the same subject:—

"1856.—In January, whilst a farmer was breaking up some waste land near Carrickfergus, he found between two stones a large number (about 120) of silver pennies of EDWARD I. (London and Canterbury mints), and one penny of JOHN; they were in fine preservation, and the metal remarkably pure.

"In the vicinity of Mullinahone, county of Tipperary, there has been recently discovered a lot of old coins; as far as I can learn, confined to specimens of the gun-money of JAMES II."

The Rev. Constantine Cosgrave sent drawings of some antiquities in the collection of Mr. Lighe, elected a Member this day. Mr. Cosgrave also presented a six-pence of Edward IV., and an English groat of Elizabeth, the latter dated 1567, found in the castle of Ballymote; also, a bead of the necklace, and some human teeth, found in the ancient interment described in the subjoined communication. The bone carvings represented in the drawing consisted of a heart, surmounted by two praying figures and a cross, of rude but rather modern workmanship; a bronze bell, of the class denominated by Dr. Petrie ancient sheep-bells; and a portion of the crest of a helmet, also of bronze, the character of which, so far as might be judged from the drawing, was decidedly Etruscan. The following communication was received from Mr. Cosgrave, in reply to a letter from the Rev. James Graves, requesting to know the scale to which the drawings were made:—

"The drawings of the bell, carving, &c. having been originally made without any intention that they should be viewed apart from the originals, more care was taken to represent the several parts of each with relative correctness, than to ascertain the exact scale by which they were represented as a whole; and, in fact, it was only when you asked for the scale, that we were reminded how important the omission was rendered by the different circumstances. I think, however, you will be as nearly as possible correct by considering each about half the size of what it is intended to represent.

"As you will have seen, the bell is spherical, with a longitudinal opening at the side, remote from the handle, which is sufficiently narrow to prevent the egress of the included metal ball by which the soniferous vibrations are communicated to the entire. There are also small apertures in that part adjoining the insertions of the handle. It was discovered in a bog near the Abbey of Ballymote, and probably belonged to that institution.

"The carving is of bone, and was found embedded in a part of the wall of Ballymote Castle. Many evidences would seem to show that the compartment of which this wall formed one of the enclosures was used as a private chapel by the powerful family which once boasted the possession of this noble pile.



"The portion of the helmet was discovered at Kiltulach, near Ballyhaunis, county of Mayo, in one of those mounds which are popularly known as Danish cars, but which were evidently pre-existent to the Danish occupation of this country. It forms but a small portion of a rich store, whose revelation and whose ruin were coincident. The helmet which it ornamented was part of a complete suit of armour which invested a skeleton, enclosed in a sepulchral excavation adjoining the car alluded to. The overlying flag was accidentally displaced by a ploughshare in passing over it. The dropping in of the plough, and the consequent restiveness of the horses, completely annihilated the greater part of what time had rendered so little capable of resisting such rough treatment. That part which is represented by the drawing did not crumble away on being touched, like the others. I am told that the helmet, as a whole, was somewhat pot-shaped, and peaked in front.

"Some time since I chanced on a singular monument, which I take to be sepulchral, and the extreme rudeness of which bespeaks a very great antiquity. It consisted of an immense flag, supported by stone pillars set deeply in the earth, and having their upper extremities elevated only slightly above its surface. Each of those vertical supports was made to bear its proper share of the entire burden by the insertion of stones between the superincumbent slab and such as were too low. The weight of this slab rendering its removal a matter of impossibility without an extraordinary force, I caused it to be excavated underneath, through those unoccupied spaces which were found between each pair of pillars. After a little time we came to a flagged bottom; and on this were arranged, in several regular rows, a number of small circular enclosures formed by flat, upright stones, and each overlaid by a thin slab of the same material. In these enclosures were placed very large quantities of bones, all, except the teeth, presenting a charred appearance. I have preserved a large number of these bones, but there still remain many more than any one person would care to trouble himself with. I also found a sort of rude necklace which appeared to consist rather of some partially petrified substance than of actual stone. The beads of which it consisted seemed carefully wrought and polished. Their substance being of a somewhat laminated texture, it was difficult to find one so entire that it had not parted with some of its exterior plates. I send you one of them, and also one or two of the teeth. The monument is situated in the immediate vicinity of Keash, at a place whose Irish name signifies Myles's Carn."

Mr. Prim contributed the following:—

"The following letter, written in the middle of the last century, may, I think, fairly claim to be preserved, by being placed on record in the Society's 'Proceedings,' as it serves to illustrate the state of society in Kilkenny at that period, when the system of secretly countenancing and protecting highwaymen was pretty general amongst the better classes throughout all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, but seems to have prevailed to so much larger an extent in the county of Kilkenny as to cast a particular stain upon the character of the district. Towards the close of the previous century, the Government itself set a bad example in this respect, by granting 'protections' to notorious robbers, for services to be

performed in the way of apprehending and delivering up to justice, or giving such information as would enable the authorities to capture, other depredators, frequently their own associates in crime; and thus 'set a thief to catch a thief' became a proverb. The Grand Jury of the county of Kilkenny appear to have acted on this proverb, when, in the year 1686-7, they 'presented' the propriety of taking into the King's protection the leaders of a gang of Tories, or outlaws, then infesting the county, 'as the best course to suppress robberies and felonies in and about these parts of the kingdom,' and when those desperadoes were not alone pardoned their own offences, but were allowed the use of 'their horses and travelling defensive arms' whilst engaged in the service of the State for the suppression of other criminals.<sup>1</sup> This system seems to have continued for many years subsequently; and where the Government of the country, and those charged with the administration of the laws, were to be found entering into compromises and compacts with the most notorious offenders, it can scarcely be wondered at if individuals, even of a superior class of society, should have been occasionally found ready to screen or harbour the outlaw, to insure his assistance against other robbers, in a most unsettled time when the State was totally unable to protect the subject from such visitations. Such an effect ought to have been expected as the natural consequence of the system; and James Freney, the celebrated highwayman of the last century, to whom reference is made in the letter to which I now direct attention, has borne evidence to the fact, that the arrangement of permitting protections to be given to robbers was the cause of all the crime which was so rife in Kilkenny and the surrounding counties at the period when he flourished and bequeathed to literature his 'Life and Adventures.'<sup>2</sup> It would seem that, at the time when the letter was written,

<sup>1</sup> See a paper, by the Rev. James Graves, on The Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory.—"Transactions," vol. i. page 245, first series.

<sup>2</sup> Freney, or some one for him, the style not being that of an illiterate man, wrote and published his "Life and Adventures" about the year 1750. It still forms one of the chap-books for which the "flying stationers" find a most ready sale amongst the peasantry all over Ireland; but as in that form only is it to be met with, to most of the Members of the Society the dedication prefixed to the volume will, doubtless, be new, and can scarcely fail to be interesting: I therefore transcribe it here:—

"To the Right Honourable Somerset Hamilton Butler, Earl of Carrick. My Lord, as I owe my life to your Lordship, by whose interest and intercession I obtained his Majesty's most gracious pardon, I am in duty bound to dedicate the following account of my past life to your Lordship; and your own well known zeal to serve your country, for which the Grand Jury of the county of Kilkenny, in the most public manner, at the close of their presentments, returned you, on

behalf of the county, their most sincere thanks, entitle you to a preference, before all others, to the patronage of this account of my past life, in which I have avoided as much as I could enlarging on the pains and expenses your Lordship was at in abolishing that notion and scheme of protection which had for too many years prevailed in the county of Kilkenny, and was the real source from whence the practice of horse, cow, and sheep-stealing and house-breaking sprang, and continued so long in that county; for, while the many honest and well-meaning men, either through indolence or backwardness, suffer a few who regard only their own profit, and not the welfare of their neighbours, or the public, to make use of indirect means to screen and save the guilty, your Lordship's zeal and resolution has roused up others to imitate your example, and to concur in preventing such pernicious schemes from taking effect as formerly. This is a truth so well known and allowed of, that anything I could say to prove it might look ridiculous, and, I fear, offend your Lordship, who choose to do good merely for the sake of doing good, without any notion or desire of ostentation or

the nobility and principal gentry of the county had resolved to make a determined effort to put down highwaymen and their protectors, and in that effort they eventually succeeded, although the agency through which it was effected was still that of pardoning and patronizing the principal rogue, on the condition of his aiding to convict his accomplices. The letter was written by Alderman William Colles, the originator of the trade in Kilkenny marble, and inventor of the ingenious machinery by which the cutting and polishing of the stone is carried out. It is addressed to Francis Bindon, of Limerick, an eminent architect of the day, from whose designs the mansions of Woodstock and Bessborough were erected, Mr. Colles having been the contractor for the building. I am indebted for a copy of the document to the great grandson of that gentleman, Mr. Alexander Colles, Millmount.

“ ‘*Kilkenny, August 13<sup>th</sup> 1749.*

“ ‘D<sup>r</sup> Sir,—I this moment received yours of the 11<sup>th</sup>, and as our assizes Ended Last night I shall Give you as Circumstantial an acc<sup>t</sup> of what was Done at Them as I can. On Monday the Grand Jury Was Sworn. On the Panell of which the High Sherife Took care to Put none but Gentlemen of y<sup>e</sup> Best fortunes and Characters in y<sup>e</sup> County; S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> ffownes was forman.—One Corrigan who got his pardon last Assizes for prosecuting Stotesbury was found guilty of horse stealing: as also James Bulger<sup>1</sup> and another proclaimed man Known by y<sup>e</sup> name of Bresteen<sup>2</sup> were arraigned on the Proclamation and being Convicted of being y<sup>e</sup> same persons were executed that afternoon at 5 o'clock, and Bulger was, on thursday Hanged In Chains on y<sup>e</sup> Road to Callan where Burgess was shott.<sup>3</sup> On Wednes-

being rewarded on that account; both of which I am sensible you have too great a soul not to despise. I shall pray for the welfare and happiness of your Lordship and your family, who am your Lordship's most humble servant,

“ JAMES FRENEY.”

The concluding paragraph of the autobiography, in which the robber accounts for his having given it to the public, and complacently takes credit to himself as a benefactor to society, is also worth copying. It is as follows:—

“Then (after he had been pardoned upon giving evidence which brought the gang that he had led in a long career of crime to the gallows), Lord Carrick and Counsellor Robbins, in order to enable me with my family to quit the kingdom, proposed a subscription to be set on foot, in order to raise a sum of money for that purpose, and it accordingly was; but the gentlemen of the country refused to subscribe, and therefore that scheme came to nothing. Therefore, to enable me to quit a kingdom which is tired of me, and which I do not choose to live in, if I can avoid it, I have been advised to try if the publication of my past life will enable me to take myself and family to some foreign coun-

try, and to earn our bread in some industrious way; and hope the services done my native country by Lord Carrick's spirit and resolution, roused up by my means, will make amends for my former transgressions.”

<sup>1</sup> Bulger was lieutenant of the gang of which Freney was captain, and was much in his confidence. Freney declined to surrender himself and receive the royal pardon for a considerable time, because the betrayal of Bulger was made a stipulation by Lord Carrick, on the part of the Crown.

<sup>2</sup> The real name of this desperado was Patrick Hackett. He was concerned in most of Freney's robberies.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Henry Burgess was one of the sheriffs of Kilkenny for the year 1748, Mr. Robert Shervington being his colleague. He lost his life in an attempt to arrest the highwaymen. Having information that Freney and Bulger were sleeping in the house of a man named Walsh, near the demesne of Desart, he went to seize them, with a large party from Kilkenny. Freney gives the following graphic account of the circumstances attending the event:—

“About nine o'clock I went and awoke Bulger, desiring him to get up and guard me whilst I slept, as I guarded him all night;

day, Stack<sup>1</sup> was Convicted of Robbery and Martin Millea<sup>2</sup> a man of substance was found Guilty of Harboursing Ja<sup>3</sup> Freney, on full Evidence, as was on Thursday one Larresy<sup>3</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> same Crime, and Two others, not proclaimed, for Robberys, besides 4 or 5 small offences.—So that we have eight under sentence who are all to be Executed on Saturday next. Stotesbury<sup>4</sup> appeared and Pleaded his pardon; & has given Security to

he said he would, and then I went to bed, charging him to watch close, for fear we should be surpris'd. I put my blunderbuss and two cases of pistols under my head, and soon fell fast asleep. In two hours after, the servant girl of the house, seeing an enemy coming into the yard, ran up to the room where we were, and said that there were an hundred men coming into the yard, upon which Bulger immediately awoke me, and taking up my blunderbuss he fired a shot towards the door, which wounded Mr. Burgess, one of the sheriffs of Kilkenny, of which wound he died. They concluded to set the house on fire about us, which they accordingly did; upon which I took my fuscée in one hand, and a pistol in the other, and Bulger did the like, and as we came out of the door, we fired on both sides, imagining it to be the best method of dispersing the enemy who were on both sides of the door. We got through them, but they fired after us, and as Bulger was leaping over a ditch, he received a shot in the small of the leg, which rendered him incapable of running; but getting into a field, where I had the ditch between me and the enemy, I still walked slowly with Bulger, till I thought the enemy were within shot of the ditch, and then wheeled back to the ditch, and presented my fuscée at them; they all drew back and went for their horses to ride round, as the field was wide and open, and without cover except the ditch. When I discovered their intention I stood in the middle of the field, and one of the gentleman's servants (there were fourteen in number) rode foremost towards me, upon which I told the son of a coward, I believed he had no more than £5 a year from his master, and that I would put him in such a condition that his master would not maintain him afterwards, to which he answered that he had no view of doing us any harm, but that he was commanded by his master to ride so near us; and then immediately rode back to the enemy who were coming towards him. They rode almost within shot of us, and I observed they intended to surround us in the field, and prevent me having any recourse to the ditch again. Bulger was at this time so bad with the wound that he could not go one step without leaning on my shoulder. At length

seeing the enemy coming within shot of me, I laid down my fuscée and stripped off my coat and waistcoat, and running towards them cried out, 'You sons of cowards come on and I will blow your brains out,' on which they returned back, and then I walked easy to the place where I left my clothes, and put them on, and Bulger and I walked leisurely some distance further. The enemy came a second time, and I occasioned them to draw back as before, and then we walked to Lord Desart's deer-park wall. I got up the wall, and helped Bulger up; the enemy, who still pursued us, though not within shot, seeing us on the wall, one of them fired a random shot at us, to no purpose. We got safe over the wall, and went from thence into my Lord Desart's wood, where Bulger said he would remain, thinking it a safe place, but I told him he would be safer anywhere else, for the army of Kilkenny and Callan would be soon about the wood, and that he would be taken if he staid there. Besides, as I was very averse to betraying him at all, I could not bear the thoughts of his being taken in my company by any party but Lord Carrick's. I then brought him about half a mile beyond the wood, and left him there in a break of briars, and looking towards the wood, I saw it surrounded by the army."

Bulger having been disabled by the wound, was soon after arrested near the spot where he and his single companion had kept fourteen armed men so long at bay.

<sup>1</sup> John Stack was one of Freney's gang, and was arrested and convicted through the means of his captain.

<sup>2</sup> Martin Millea is described by Freney in the chap-book as an "able farmer residing at Jerpoint." He was a receiver of stolen goods, and a harbours of highwaymen, but had endeavoured to betray Freney for a reward; however, the robber's information was afterwards taken against him.

<sup>3</sup> James Larrassy was another member of the gang apprehended by means of Freney.

<sup>4</sup> Stotesbury does not appear to have been one of Freney's gang, and I have not been able to ascertain the crime with which he was charged. The name was that of a respectable family settled in the city or county of Kilkouny.

Transport himselfe in 6 months. Mr. Walshe was Tryed for the Killing Mr. Barton, but no prosecutors appearing was acquitted<sup>1</sup>. Ja' ffreny Rec<sup>d</sup> Sentence but is to be Transmitted to Wexford there to be Convicted of the Robbery of Mr. Palliser<sup>2</sup> & is to be pardoned In order to Convict one Roberts<sup>3</sup> a Notorious Receiver of Stolen Plate. Roberts is to Remain in Gaol till next assizes without bail, as is alsoe one Jo<sup>n</sup> Reddy<sup>4</sup> a Proclaimed man who was formerly pardoned in y<sup>e</sup> County of Mayo & is accused of Robbing with those gang of Rapp<sup>5</sup> since he got his pardon; but y<sup>e</sup> evidence ag<sup>t</sup> him could not be procured this assizes. My Lord Bessborough was in Town & sat on y<sup>e</sup> Bench during the Tryalls of y<sup>e</sup> Principall Rogues, as did alsoe Lord Carrick, Lord Mountgarett, Lord Mayo, Lord Castledurrow and Lord Desart. Bulger was stole off y<sup>e</sup> gibbet on fryday night by persons unknown. Freney's Evidence was not made use of on any of the Tryalls, but his wife and sister gave Very

<sup>1</sup> This was, doubtless, a duel case, but I have been unable to ascertain the particulars.

<sup>2</sup> Freney and his gang robbed the house of Colonel Palliser, in December, 1746, taking therefrom a purse of ninety guineas, a £4 piece, two moldores, some small gold, a large glove containing twenty-eight guineas in silver, and a quantity of plate.

<sup>3</sup> There is reason to believe that George Roberts acted as the agent of a man of respectable position in society, and possessing influence in the county. Freney states that two of his own accomplices being in gaol, and about being tried for their crimes, Roberts, having met him, told him he "had a friend who was a man of power and interest" who would save the criminals for a sum of money. "I told him," says Freney, "that I would give him ten guineas and the first gold watch I could get," whereupon he said that "it was of no use to speak to his friend without the money or value, for he was a mercenary man." Freney then relates how he gave him a quantity of stolen plate, being a tankard value £10, a large ladle value £4, with some table-spoons "when he engaged his friend would act the needful," and the Spring Assizes, 1748, coming on soon after, the men were tried, but "the physick working well, six of the jury were for finding them guilty, and six more for acquitting them, and the other six finding them peremptory, and that they were resolved to starve the others into compliance, as they say they may do by law, were for their own sakes obliged to comply with them, and they were acquitted; on which Counsellor Robbins began to smoke the affair, and suspect the operation of gold dust, which was well applied for my comrades, and thereupon left the Court in a rage, and swore he would for ever quit the country, since he found people were not satisfied with protecting and serving the rogues they

had under themselves, but must also show that they could and would oblige others to have rogues under them whether they would or no." Shortly after, Freney offered Counsellor Robbins to surrender on receiving a pardon, in return for which he would perform certain services, one of which was:—"Secondly, I would discover of a justice of peace's servant who by his master's permission corresponded with me on very particular terms, and received from me, for the use of his master, one silver tankard, one silver taddle, and three silver spoons." That it was Roberts to whom he here alluded is evident from the following statement:—"At the Spring Assizes following (1750), George Roberts was tried for receiving Colonel Palliser's gold watch, knowing it to be stolen, but was acquitted on account of exceptions taken to my pardon, which prevented my giving evidence. At the following Assizes, when I had got a new pardon, Roberts was again tried for receiving the tankard, ladle, and silver spoons from me, knowing them to be stolen, and was convicted and executed." The "Justice" seems to have been suffered to escape.

<sup>4</sup> John Reddy had been a member of the notorious Kellymount gang, but had been pardoned on discovering of his accomplices. He it was who subsequently initiated Freney, when a young man, into the mysteries of highwaymanship. He was ultimately hanged at the Summer Assizes, 1750.

<sup>5</sup> "Rapps" is probably written here as a contraction for rapparees, the name given to the disbanded militia of James II., who degenerated into bands of robbers, and were generally armed with a pole tipped with iron, whence, as some say, is derived the Irish name by which they were designated. The abbreviation above given is, perhaps, the origin of the term "rap," modernly applied to a dishonest man or a counterfeit halfpenny.

material Evidence ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Harbourers; the most part of y<sup>e</sup> Gentlemen of y<sup>e</sup> County Gave undeniable proofs of their Hearty Endeavours to Retrieve this County from the Scandalous Imputation It Lay under, as if the Bulk of y<sup>e</sup> County were favourers of the Rogues; and those few ag<sup>t</sup> whom any Imputation of that Kind Lay were greatly discountenanced by the Rest but nothing Could be so far fixed on any particular person as to bring them to Publicke Tryall'.—The assizes Ended Last Night with the Grand-jury's Both of the County and the Citty Returning Lord Carrick Public Thanks, for his activity, care, & Vigor In suppressing this Gang of Rogues w<sup>ch</sup> appeared to be much more numerous than was supposed; four more who were formerly unknown being Presented by y<sup>e</sup> Grandjury In order to be proclaimed. . . . .

“ Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> Humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

“ W<sup>m</sup> COLLES.

“ To Francis Bindon, Esq., at  
“ Ennis, p<sup>r</sup> Clonmell.

“ As I have already alluded to the highwayman Freney, and have quoted so largely from his ‘Life and Adventures,’ in the notes which I have appended to the foregoing letter, perhaps I may be permitted, by way of appendix to the document, to mention a few further particulars about that notorious personage. Freney, although usually enumerated amongst the ‘gentlemen robbers’ who achieved an unenviable reputation in the last century, was, in reality, of humble birth, his father having been the confidential servant of Joseph Robbins, Esq., of Ballyduffe, whom he faithfully served; the son also acted in a menial capacity in the employment of the Robbins family, till he became dissipated, and took to the road. He was, however, most probably, descended from one of the first Anglo-Norman families in the county—the De la Freynes, of Ballyreddy, who, having long held a leading position, and for centuries, almost without intermission, filled the important office of seneschal of the Liberty of Kilkenny, by forfeiture of property for their political attachments, ultimately descended, in some branches of the race, to the lowest rank. But with the predatory predilections of the old feudal chieftains, Captain Freney, as he was called, also inherited much of the chivalrous feeling of his knightly ancestors, and his name has been handed down to us as a most daring and successful freebooter, but unstained by any act of revolting atrocity. He was particularly gallant towards the ladies whom he encountered in his professional excursions, and a woman had no fear of being robbed by him; whilst even in his treatment of the other sex, he

<sup>1</sup> The proverbial saying respecting Kilkenny in the last century, that it was “*Agar* (eager) for prey, *Flooded* with iniquity, and every *Bush* concealed a thief,” was, no doubt, a foul libel, suggested merely by the play upon words which it afforded, against three of the first families in the county, remarkable for the position in the Peerage attained by one, and the brilliant oratory and sterling patriotism of members of the other two; but

that a stigma rested on some of the better class of inhabitants of the district for alleged support and sympathy given to the marauders who levied black mail on the King’s lieges in those parts at the time, is pretty evident from the above paragraph, as well as the statement that the high sheriff took care to put “none but gentlemen of the best fortunes and character in the county” on the panel of the Grand Jury.

frequently behaved with much forbearance, and even generosity,<sup>1</sup> always sparing the purse of the poor man, and most scrupulously returning to the wealthy person whom he had 'delivered' a sum sufficient to bear his expenses to his journey's end. His exploits on the highway are not only chronicled in his own curious autobiography, but are preserved in the traditions of the peasantry, and have been read, recounted, and sung throughout Ireland. I would here beg leave to introduce to the Members of the Society one of the rude contemporary ballads of which his adventures formed the theme. I often heard it recited by an aged female relative, who remembered frequently to have seen, and even conversed with the 'bold Captain Freney' in her youth; and I recently was fortunate enough to obtain the words from an old servant of hers, from whose lips, also, Mr. William Ranelow, organist of St. Canice's Cathedral, kindly noted down the air, for the purpose of its preservation in the Society's 'Proceedings.' I may remark that, although this old ballad is now almost forgotten in the county of Kilkenny, where, no doubt, it was originally composed, it may be found amongst the peasantry in other districts. A Kilkenny friend of mine, whilst exploring the matchless scenery of the Lakes of Killarney, about two years since, was no less surprised than interested at hearing his boatmen, amongst other songs, sing, in full chorus, that of—

<sup>1</sup> I am tempted to copy one characteristic anecdote from his own "Life and Adventures," as, whilst it would appear to be almost incredible, I am in a position to vouch for its truth. He says:—

"I remained in and about that neighbourhood (Thomastown) for a considerable time, but met with no booty worth mentioning, till at length I heard that there was one Mr. Anderson collecting hearth-money in the neighbourhood. . . . In some time afterwards I espied Mr. Anderson at a mile's distance collecting at a country village on the mountain, with two constables and his clerk, whereupon my spy, Matthew Grace, desired to be admitted along with me, but not having the second horse, I told him I chose to run the risk of robbing Mr. Anderson alone, rather than fatigue Beefsteaks by carrying him behind me, and desired him to remain there a little while, and he would see me playing with Anderson and his attendants on the side of the hill. I rode towards the hill, but Mr. Anderson spied me coming, whereupon he rode with speed towards the constables and his clerk, who were some distance from him; but I soon overtook him, and at the same time told him that he was much overseen to think of escaping from me with that old white horse he rode. He said that his reason for riding so hard was for fear I should rob him before the constables and his clerk would see me. I then spoke to him, saying, 'Zounds, deliver, and don't be arguing cases, for I always hate

quibbles and long arguments in my profession.' He then said he would, but as he had an eye to business as well as myself, he begged of me to suffer the constables to reckon the money, that they might make affidavit how much I had taken from him, otherwise it might be of ill consequence to him, it being the King's money. Moreover, he said he was afraid he would lose his place. Whilst the constables were reckoning the money, he told me he had nothing belonging to himself but his watch, which he offered to make me a present of, but I told him as it was his own, I would not deprive him of it. He then told me he would rather lose as much money of his own than the King's money. I told him that I believed his Majesty had pickpockets enough before, therefore I would not deprive him of his money, upon which I returned it, and rode away."

It is as difficult to understand the whimsical chivalry of the highwayman who would not deprive the King of his money, because his Majesty was so largely plundered by others, as his audacity in proceeding single-handed to rob four men, who, from the dread inspired by his fame, were ready to deliver up their trust to him without striking a blow for it. However, Mr. Henry Anderson, of Dunbel, collector of hearth-money a century since, was my maternal great grandfather, and the family tradition authenticates the robber's statement, and gives a degree of authenticity to the remainder of the narrative.

## BOLD CAPTAIN FRENEY.



## I.

One morning as, I being free from care,  
 I rode abroad to take the air,  
 'Twas my fortune for to spy  
 A jolly Quaker riding by;  
     And it's oh, bold Captain Freney!  
     Oh, bold Freney, oh!

## II.

Said the Quaker—"I'm very glad  
 That I have met with such a lad;  
 There is a robber on the way,  
 Bold Captain Freney, I hear them say."  
     And it's oh, bold Captain Freney, &c.

## III.

"Captain Freney I disregard,  
 Although about me I carry my charge;<sup>1</sup>  
 Because I being so cunning and cute,  
 It's where I hide it's within my boot."  
     And it's oh, bold Captain Freney, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The ballads *composed* by the Irish peasantry may be recognised by the peculiarity of rhythm of which the above is a specimen. In the Irish language the vowels alone are

required to agree in sound, and this rule has been transferred by the peasantry to their English versification. Other examples of this rhythm occur in the ballad.



## IV.

Says the Quaker—" It is a friend  
His secret unto me would lend;  
I'll tell you now where my gold does lie—  
I have it sewed beneath my thigh."  
And it's oh, bold Captain Freney, &c.

## V.

As we rode down towards Thomastown,  
Bold Freney bid me to 'light down.  
" Kind sir, your breeches you must resign;  
Come, quick, strip off, and put on mine,  
For I am bold Captain Freney," &c.

## VI.

Says the Quaker, " I did not think  
That you'd play me such a roguish trick  
As my breeches I must resign,  
I think you are no friend of mine."  
And it's oh, bold Captain Freney, &c.

## VII.

As we rode a little on the way,  
We met a tailor dressed most gay;  
I boldly bid him for to stand,  
Thinking he was some gentleman.  
And it's oh, bold Captain Freney, &c.

## VIII.

Upon his pockets I laid hold—  
The first thing I got was a purse of gold;  
The next thing I found, which did me surprise,  
Was a needle, thimble, and chalk likewise.  
And it's oh, bold Captain Freney, &c.

## IX.

" Your dirty trifle I disdain."  
With that I return'd him his gold again.  
" I'll rob no tailor if I can—  
I'd rather ten times rob a man."<sup>1</sup>  
And it's oh, bold Captain Freney, &c.

<sup>1</sup> It would appear from Freney's "Life and Adventures," that the Quaker and the tailor of the ballad were in reality one and the same person. He says:—

"Nash brought me word there was a Quaker gone by, and that if I did not hasten he would reach Thomastown before I could overtake him. I accordingly pursued, and soon overtook him, desiring him to stand and

deliver. He drew out of his pocket some gold and silver, amongst which was a thimble. I asked him what he was. He said, a tailor. I then asked him what the deuce sent him in my way, charging him not to discover that ever I attempted robbing him; and at the same time gave him his money and thimble, saying I would rob nobody but a man."

x.

It's time for me to look about;  
 There's a proclamation just gone out;  
 There's fifty pounds bid on my head,  
 To bring me in alive or dead.  
 And it's oh, bold Captain Freney!  
 Oh, bold Freney, oh!

"After Freney's pardon, unlike most persons of his class, he never relapsed into a course of dishonesty. Having been unable to procure the means of emigrating, Lord Carrick's influence procured for him a small public office, that of a tide-waiter at the port of New Ross, and he always maintained a character for integrity and propriety in that situation. He lived to so good an age, that many people still alive remember to have seen him in their childhood; and, so far from any stigma being considered to rest on his character, he was rather viewed as a celebrity, and his conversation courted and encouraged by people of the better class of society.' His grave, in the churchyard at Innistogue, is pointed out as an object of interest by the peasantry of the locality, but is unmarked by a grave-stone."

The following paper was then submitted to the Meeting.

## THE FRANCISCAN FRIARY AT ADARE.

BY RICHARD R. BRASH, ESQ., ARCHITECT.

**ADARE**, Adair, Athdara in Irish, Ath-daïre, the ford of oaks, or of the oak-wood, from ath, a ford, daïre, an oak, is a post town situated in the barony of Coshma and county of Limerick: it is a small, picturesquely situated town on the river Maig, or Maigne, a tributary of the Shannon.

The Irish Annals give very little information respecting the early history of this place. In the thirteenth century it came into

<sup>1</sup> O'Keeffe, the dramatist, tells us that he met Freney whilst he was acting with a theatrical company in Kilkenny, and thus describes him:—

"One day, I was, with some others, taking a repast in a tavern there [Kilkenny], when a little man walked in; he was elderly, and had but one eye. Some person asked him to take a glass; he did so. This man was the once remarkable and, indeed, notorious, bold Captain F——, of whom were made ballads. He was the audacious and resolute leader of the Rapparees. When a General

with a troop of horse went to take him prisoner, Captain F—— called out, and said he would surrender, if the General would ride up to him alone; the other complied; the Captain placed his pistol to the General's breast, and took from him his purse and watch, in view of the whole troop of soldiers. His companions suffered by the law, but the Captain himself was made county keeper, and was of great use in preventing those outrages, of which he himself was once the most daring ringleader and perpetrator."—"Recollections of the Life of John O'Keeffe," vol. i. p. 218.

the possession of the house of Desmond. A. D. 1310. A grant of murage and customs was made by Edward the Second to the bailiffs and good men of the town of Athdaire. A. D. 1376. Edward the Third exempted the provost and commonalty from all service and customs, until the town, which had been recently destroyed by the Irish, should be rebuilt. A. D. 1326. The second Earl of Kildare erected a castle on the site of a more ancient one belonging to the sept of the O'Donovans.

A. D. 1579.<sup>1</sup> Adare was garrisoned by the English forces.

A. D. 1583.<sup>2</sup> John Carrach, the son of William, son of Theobald Burke, an heir to a property along the river Suir, in Tipperary, who continued in treason till this time, came in on protection. After the death of the Earl of Desmond, he went in pursuit of prey into the country of the Geraldines, and did not halt until he arrived at Adare in Limerick, where he collected all the cattle of the place. The guards of the town rose out to attack the plunderers. John, with his small party of horsemen, having turned on the guards, was struck on the head with a sure aim by the shot of a ball through his helmet, so that he was thrown from his horse. His party, however, carried off the prey, but left John behind them. He was afterwards brought to Limerick, where he was hanged by the Commissioners of Limerick.

The Franciscan Friary, the cloister of which is the subject of the accompanying illustrations, is romantically situated in the magnificent demesne of the Earl of Dunraven, to whose antiquarian zeal and care is owing its present state of preservation. The hand of educated taste is visible in the judicious reparations which it has undergone. Would that all our architectural remains had such careful custodians as have the abbeys at Adare.

This Friary does not date from a very ancient period: its foundation is very accurately given by the Four Masters, as follows:—

“A. D. 1464. A monastery for Franciscans was founded at Athdara (Adaire), in Munster, in the diocese of Limerick, on the banks of the river Mague, by Thomas Earl of Kildare, and Judith, the daughter of James Earl of Desmond, where they erected a tomb for themselves.”

Fitzgerald and M'Gregor,<sup>3</sup> in their History and Topography of the County of Limerick, state that it was founded by Thomas Earl of Kildare (for Grey or Observantine friars) and Joan his wife, daughter of Thomas Earl of Desmond, and that it was consecrated on the 29th of September, 1464, when the noble founders presented it with two silver chalices and a bell, which cost ten pounds. They

<sup>1</sup> “Annals of the Four Masters,” 1846.  
<sup>2</sup> *Id. m.*

<sup>3</sup> Fitzgerald and M'Gregor's “History of Limerick,” vol. i. p. 386.

further inform us, that Thomas the Earl died in 1478, and his Countess in 1486, and that they were buried in the choir.

These authors evidently quote from Archdall's "Monasticon," but they erroneously state that the above-named Countess was daughter of Thomas; whereas she was daughter of James Earl of Desmond. The following notices from Archdall,<sup>1</sup> in reference to this foundation, will be found interesting: he states that it—

"Was founded in the east part of the town in the year 1465, by Thomas Earl of Kildare and Joan his wife, daughter of James Earl of Desmond; the church of the friary, built at the sole expense of the Earl and Countess, was consecrated 29th September, 1464, when the noble founders presented it with two silver chalices and a bell, which cost £10. The Earl also made a grant of the ground whereon the friary was erected, with a garden, an orchard, and a certain large enclosure, together with eight messuages, seven acres of small measure, and convenient pasturage. Thomas the Earl died 25th March, 1478, and his Countess lived to the year 1486, when she was interred in the choir.

"Raymond de Burgh, who died on the 29th of July in the year 1562, chose this friary for the place of his sepulture.

"At the general suppression the prior of this house was found seized of the same, with a pidgeon-house, seventy acres of land within the precincts, also of the tithes thereof, and two ploughlands adjoining the friary, one called Upland, or Bernard, and the other the Castle and half ploughland of Robertstown; the village and half ploughland of Kilkerey, alias Kilcoyle, alias Kilbride; the field of Gormore near Adaire, and sixteen acres adjoining; the meadow or marsh of Corkinminister, lying on the south side of the friary; the mill and water-course of Castle Roberts; a mill and water-course in Adaire; two salmon-weirs on the river Mage, and an eel-weir in the parish of Adaire; the meadow of Nonyshaghragherees, situated on the south of the friary, and a garden plot near to the same; the rectory and vicarage of the town and parish of Adaire, together with all the tithes issuing from the following towns, viz. Adaire, Finittstown, Lissemarr, Choro, Toagh, Kilnockane, Liskcalla, Graige, Derryvenane, Knockane, Ballylongford, Currowe, Kilrogan, Comyns, Boalbally, Castle Robert, Reynroe, Cloghrane, Killivaraghe, Rower, Faningstown, Liscollybehy, Gowlane, Ballymacclery, Glanenoë, half of Ballygeill, and from all the lands in the parish of Adaire.

"This friary, with its possessions, containing sixteen acres of land, a church, &c. three parks, a water-mill and water-course, with a fishing-weir on the river Mage, was granted to Sir Henry Wallop, Knight, 4th November, 37th Queen Elizabeth, together with twenty acres, one small park, and one carve of land in the fields of Adaire; two messuages, twelve acres, and half a carve of land in Castle Roberts, and a ruinous castle; three messuages, two cottages, twenty-four acres of arable and six of pasture; a water-mill and water-course, and half a carve of land in Kilcoile, alias Kilcrill; with the tithes of the rectories of Adaire, Ballifuiter, Choro, Cloghran, Twoth, Curragh, Killnage, Roer, Kilcrill.

<sup>1</sup> Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," pp. 416-17.

Ballyrobert, Ballyfanyge, and half of Balligoell, all in this county, and within the parish of Adaire (alterages excepted), and a fishing weir on the river Mage, parcel of the possessions of the monastery of the Preaching or Dominican Friars of Adaire. Thus it is mentioned in the records, but no traces of this friary can now be found, save a lofty square steeple.”

From the extracts now given, it appears that the possessions and endowments of this Friary were extensive and valuable: the remains also of this monastic building indicate its importance, and the great care bestowed on its erection.

There is no doubt of the correctness of the dates assigned to this erection in the foregoing extracts. The architectural details of the whole building point unmistakably to the middle of the fifteenth century, and afford a silent but conclusive corroboration of the dates assigned to its erection in the documents already recited.

The religious edifices erected in Ireland during the middle and latter part of the *fifteenth* century will not bear comparison with similar structures of the same era in England and on the Continent. In them we look in vain for the *panelled* and richly embattled tower, the lofty and *many-transomed* window, the traceried ceiling, the canopied niche, the gorgeous panelling, which indicate the peculiar architecture of the period. With us everything is plain, ornament rarely attempted, and sculpture almost exclusively confined to tombs and monuments: the details are characterized by simplicity, yet are oftentimes chaste in design and elegant in execution: the mouldings are few in their members, yet well grouped and effective, more care being taken in the execution of the masonry in this than in the two preceding periods.

The building under notice is an admirable illustration of the architecture of the period, and as such is worthy the attention of the architectural antiquary.

The group of buildings at present in existence comprise the abbey church, the cloister, ambulatory, refectory, dormitories, kitchen, and the ruins of some minor buildings. The abbey church is in good preservation—thanks to the well-directed care of the Earl of Dunraven: it consists of a nave, chancel, and south transept, which has a western aisle and three chapels.

The entrance is at the south-west corner, by a plain, pointed doorway, with chamfered jambs, but without label molding; it is 3 feet 9 inches in width, and 6 feet 6 inches high to soffit of arch. Inside the doorway is a mutilated stoup. The nave is 64 feet in length and 19 in breadth, clear of walls: the west window is of three lancet lights, with label moldings: the north wall of nave appears to have been almost entirely occupied by a range of recessed altar-tombs, three of which remain, and are of similar design, differing only in dimensions and trifling details: under them are small arched vaults, used for interments, but no inscriptions remain, nor

any record to show for whom they were erected. The original windows in this side of the nave appear to have been built up, two only existing, which appear to be of a later date, being small, square-headed, of two lights, with chamfered jambs and mullions.

The single transept which generally exists in the abbey churches of this order in Ireland is, as usual, at the south side (see my article on the Local Antiquities of Buttevant, in the "Transactions," vol. ii. p. 83, first series); it is connected with the nave by two acute pointed arches, resting on a central octagonal shaft, with cap, and base moldings. In one of the side piers under the arch is a small pointed piscina, with square basin, the shelf of which projects, and is chamfered.

This transept has a western aisle opening to it by three pointed arches, without chamfers or moldings, resting on rectangular piers, perfectly plain, and having neither caps nor bases. The dimensions of transept are length, 48 feet; breadth, 30 feet, including the aisle, which is 8 feet in width. At the south end of aisle is a window of two lights with ogee heads, under a horizontal label externally. There is a small chapel off this aisle projecting westward, and at the south end it is 11 feet square in clear of walls, and has in the west wall one single-light, circular-headed window, with chamfered jambs. From the whole appearance of this aisle, and from the inferiority of its workmanship, I would pronounce this portion of the building to be of a much later date than the rest. The south window of the transept is of four lights, the chamfered mullions simply crossing each other without cusplings: it has a label molding externally. Immediately under, and to the east side, is a recessed altar-tomb similar to those in the nave, but having an elliptical arch. In the east wall, close to the south gable, is a small-pointed arch, piscina with molded jambs and arch, and basin of eight foils. The only window in the east wall adjoins the above-mentioned piscina, and is very plain, of two lights, with label molding externally. At the east side of transept are two chapels projecting outwardly: the first of these, to the left as you enter the transept, is 19 feet in clear from east to west, and 10 feet from north to south; it has two recessed altar-tombs at each side, of similar form to those in the nave, the only variation being in the carved finials over the centres, which are of different designs in each; it is lighted by one window in the east side, of two lights, same as that described in transept. A small plain square aumbry is at the right side of window.

The second chapel measures in the clear 10 feet 6 inches from north to south, and 13 feet from east to west; it has one recessed altar-tomb, same as before described, at each side, and an east window, as in the adjoining chapel. On the pier between the chapels are two projecting corbels, which appear to have supported

figures. From the nave you enter the chancel, under the arches of the centre tower. These central towers are a peculiarity in the abbey churches of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Ireland; they are generally rectangular on plan; sometimes square, of slight dimensions, varying in height from 50 to 100 feet, and divided into three or more stages by chamfered or molded strings; they are without buttresses, exceedingly plain in detail; they never exhibit the rich panelling and elegant openwork parapets of similar periods in England and on the Continent: the parapets are always embattled, and sometimes exhibit interesting varieties of that feature, as at Jerpoint, Limerick, and Quin. The masonry generally is carefully executed: it will be usually remarked that the workmanship of the tower is the best of the whole edifice. The tower of the Franciscan Friary at Adare is 72 feet in height, and is divided into three stages by two chamfered string-courses; it is lighted by a square, rectangular, and chamfered ope at the east side, close under the upper string; same at the west side; a two-light, square-headed window in the upper stage at the north side; a similar window at the south side in the second stage; and two rectangular chamfered opes under the last. The arch under tower leading into the chancel is pointed, 24 feet in height, and 9 feet 3 inches in width. At the left-hand side as you enter is a small door leading into the ambulatory. I have often been struck with the narrowness of the chancel arches existing in the abbey churches of this period; in many instances they are scarcely wider than ordinary doors, forming a sort of vestibule to the chancel.

The chancel is in length from east to west 44 feet, and in breadth 19 feet, exactly the same as nave, the length being very nearly two-thirds that of the nave. This proportion is very nearly observed in most of the religious houses of this period, and principally of the Franciscans and Dominicans. Thus at Buttevant the nave is 73 feet, while the chancel is 56, which, indeed, is about the proportion of 4 to 3. In the Dominican Abbey at Kilmallock the nave is 85 feet, and the chancel 67, being in the proportion of about 5 to 4. This disproportion between nave and chancel is in curious contradiction to the abbey churches of the Cistercian Order in this country. Thus at Holy Cross the nave is 95 feet in length, while the chancel is but 22 feet 6 inches. Again, in the abbey church of Boyle, belonging to the same Order, the nave is 155 feet in length, and the chancel but 25 feet. On the other hand, while the chancel arches of the churches of the before-mentioned Orders are of exceeding small dimensions, those of the Cistercians are, on the contrary, of ample width and lofty proportions. Thus, the chancel at Boyle is the whole width of nave, and over 40 feet in height. The east window is of four lights, of the usual plain and unornamented character which prevailed at the period, the mullions being

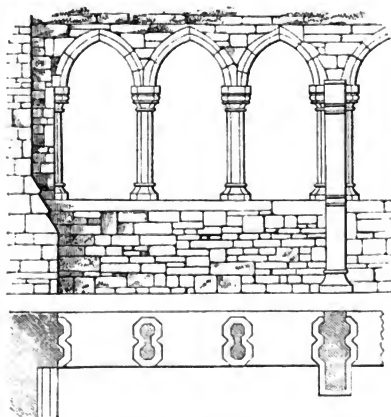
simply chamfered, without transoms, and intersecting each other in simple curves, without cuspings. Such windows are found at Askeaton, Quin, Rathkeale, Timoleague, and most other ecclesiastical erections of the fifteenth century in this country. Indeed, it is the characteristic window of that period of Irish church architecture which ranges with the Perpendicular of England, and the Flamboyant of France. Some of those windows, though simple in character, are exceedingly graceful in form. The windows at the south side are four in number, each of two lights, under a horizontal label, with chamfered jambs and mullions. This class of window more usually appertains to domestic buildings, though it is sometimes found in ecclesiastical works of the fifteenth century, and very generally forms the east window, of those simple and unpretending parish churches, the ruins of which are so numerous through the country. There is also one similar light at the north side.

The sedilia is in its usual position in the south wall, near the altar: it is of three bays, having pointed arches, well molded, with labels. The seats are all on the same level, and are divided by piers, which are finished on the fronts by semi-octagonal shafts, having finely molded caps and bases. In the dividing piers are two rectangular openings, with chamfered arrises—one near the springing of the arch in the most eastern division; the other at the bottom of the remaining one. A horizontal string runs along the wall over sedilia. At each side of the sedilia is one of the recessed tombs,—in fact, the south wall is occupied with them from the sedilia to the tower arch. These monuments have circular molded arches, with molded triangular canopies, the jambs being decorated with small buttresses in several stages, rising nearly to the top of canopy, and are terminated by carved and crocketed finials. In the back of the one adjoining the east gable is a rude semicircular-headed piscina: the original one I suppose to have been removed, to make way for this tomb, and the present meagre one inserted. There are three similar tombs in the north wall of chancel; and in the centre of the wall is a simple pointed doorway leading to the conventual buildings. A curious feature in this building is the number of recessed altar-tombs above described, of which there are seventeen remaining, several others having been destroyed: they are all of the same form, and nearly the same dimensions, one only, before alluded to, having an elliptical arch. There are some slight differences of details, but no inscriptions, or any evidence to show for whom or by whom they were erected. Monuments of an exactly similar character are to be found in many other abbey churches in the south and west of Ireland, as at O'Dorney, Lislaghtin, Quin, and many others: they are evidently of a late date, and are always insertions: I should ascribe them to the middle and latter part of



the sixteenth century, as they exhibit unmistakable evidences of the poverty of design and inferiority of execution which marked, in that and the latter half of the preceding century, the decline of ecclesiastical architecture in this country.

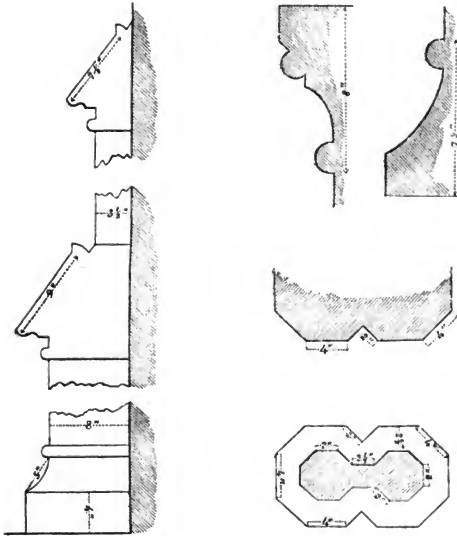
The cloister court is 34 feet square in the clear of the arcades which surround it: it is in its usual position at the north side of the church, from which there is an entrance to it by a doorway in the north wall of tower: it is surrounded on three sides by the conventual buildings, and on the fourth by the church. In the centre of the court is a venerable yew. The monastic Orders seem to have had a great predilection for this sombre tree, as we find it in the cloisters of Mucross, Askeaton, and Quin. This court is arcaded on three sides—the north, east, and west. The north side has four bays, each two divided by plain buttresses: each bay is subdivided in three lights, with chamfered arches, jambs, and mullions. The east side is similar to the above: the west side is of different character. The accompanying woodcut represents an elevation and plan of one of the bays, drawn to scale.



The following are some of the dimensions: height of buttresses, 6 feet 4 inches; of basement or sole on which the coupled columns stand, 2 feet 9 inches; thickness of same, 1 foot 7 inches; height of base of columns,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches; of shaft of ditto, 2 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches; of cap, 8 inches; entire height of octagon columns, 3 feet 6 inches;

span of arches, 2 feet 3 inches; height from ground line to soffit of arches, 7 feet 6 inches.

The material used in this work is a dark, close-grained limestone, and the details are sharply wrought and in good preservation. The accompanying diagrams show the details of this side of cloister, drawn to a large scale, exhibiting the plan of the coupled octagonal shafts, the arch molding, the profiles of the cap, and base of shafts, and a complete profile of one of the very curious buttresses, the molded weathering of which is well worthy of remark,



It is curious what enemies to mere uniformity the ancient builders were at Quin, Askeaton, and Mucross. The same difference exists in the various arcades of the cloisters. The ambulatory was not arched, but simply roofed against the surrounding buildings. The corbels that supported the plates of the lean-to roofs remain; and the cut-stone water-tables which protected the junction of the roofs and walls still remain. The width of the ambulatory was but 6 feet 6 inches. The student cannot help being struck with the extreme

simplicity and beauty of this miniature cloister, the dimensions of which are extremely small; yet are the proportions exceedingly symmetrical, and the workmanship remarkably well executed. I would recommend the visitor to stand in the cloister court, and, looking toward the north wall of the church, he will observe a very exquisite bit of design in the gable of a small building that forms a portion of the south side of the cloister.

Flanking the western ambulatory is the kitchen, a large apartment, 69 feet in length, and  $18\frac{1}{2}$  feet in breadth: it is solidly vaulted with rubble, and contains two dilapidated fireplaces, of large dimensions, each being 7 feet in width, clear of jambs. The arch of the perfect one is semi-elliptical, and is formed of three stones cut to the form of arch: the centre one keyed to the others by triangular keys worked in the solid.

Over the kitchen is an apartment of equal size, which appears to have been a room of state: it has also two fireplaces,—one in particular, in the south gable, is an elegant piece of workmanship, being remarkably well cut, and poised upon two large corbels projecting from the wall, the arch being composed of small, neatly cut and jointed voussoirs, over which is a boldly chamfered cornice, on the centre of which a lion is well carved, and on the ends knots of leaves. Four doors lead from this apartment to various parts of the conventual buildings.

There is nothing particularly worthy of notice in the remaining portions of the domestic apartments: they are on the usual plan of all such establishments of the period, and are plain in execution.

Adare abounds with mediæval remains, dating from the thirteenth century downwards—the Trinitarian Abbey Church, founded in the reign of Edward the First by John Earl of Kildare, restored at the expense of the present Earl of Dunraven, and now a Roman Catholic chapel—the Augustinian Abbey, founded A. D. 1316 by another John Earl of Kildare, considerably re-edified by the Countess Dowager of Dunraven, and now the church of the Establishment. There is also a large group of ruins called the Desmond Castle; together with the ancient parish church of Adare, and a small church of the fourteenth century,—the last three being situated in the demesne. Most of these remains being of considerable interest, I hope to be able to bring them before you at some future time.

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on  
Wednesday, May 14th (by adjournment from the 7th), 1856,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF ARDAGH in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Major Nasmyth, Assistant Adjutant-General, Kilkenny : proposed by Joseph Greene, Jun., Esq.

John Gough Nicholls, Esq., 25, Parliament-street, Westminster, London ; George Victor Dunoyer, Esq., 51, Stephen's-green, Dublin ; the Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C., 40, Parkgate-street, Dublin ; and the Mechanics' Institute, Clonmel : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Rev. David Coleman, R. C. C., Been, Kilcoleman, Mallow : proposed by Richard R. Brash, Esq.

John Miller, Esq., Caroline-street, Forres, Morayshire ; the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, M. A., Ruthin, Denbighshire ; and the Rev. James Hampston, P. P., Castletown, Berehaven : proposed by Richard Hitchcock, Esq.

The Rev. Charles B. Gibson, Mallow : proposed by Charles Haines, Esq.

The Rev. John Pyne, College, Maynooth ; and John Phelan, Esq., College, Maynooth : proposed by John Francis Shearman, Esq.

The Rev. James Hughes, College, Maynooth : proposed by the Rev. Michael Kavanagh.

The Rev. Richard Fitzgerald, R. C. C., George's-street, Waterford : proposed by P. Ellis, Esq.

Thomas Naan, Esq., Waterford and Limerick Railway Office, Mall, Waterford : proposed by John G. Davis, Esq.

The Honorary Secretary laid before the Meeting the printed Proceedings of the March Meeting, now in course of delivery to Members.

The Secretary reported, that in accordance with the resolution passed at the last Meeting, he had forwarded a set of the Society's "Transactions" to his Royal Highness Prince Albert, whose liberal donation to their funds had been already acknowledged; and he had received a letter from Mr. Becker, the Royal Librarian, conveying the Prince's "best thanks" for the books.

Mr. Graves stated, that having called the attention of the eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar, John M. Kemble, Esq.,—whose researches into the sepulchral usages of the Teutonic nations have thrown so much light on these obscure points of antiquarian investigation—to the important Pagan cemetery lately discovered on Ballon Hill, county of Carlow, as recorded in the Society's "Transactions" (vol. ii. pp. 295–303, and vol. iii. pp. 374–5, first series), he had received a communication from Mr. Kemble, of which the following is an extract:—

"I thank you very sincerely for the volume of 'Transactions' of your excellent Society, which I have duly received; and although, just at this moment, I have been too much engaged to do more than dip into it, I am satisfied that you are on the way to give us more *sure* and satisfactory information than we have yet got, on many important points of European antiquity. Ireland cannot, and did not, stand apart; although she, like all other nations, had her own independent development, the study of which is of the utmost value with regard to all other contemporary national developments. As soon as I have a moment to dispose of, I will give the fullest attention to the 'Carlow find.' It seems of great value."

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By Joseph Burke, Esq., Barrister-at-Law: a set of quadrilles performed at the balls of the Kilkenny Theatrical Society, composed by Mons. Simon, Sen.—an interesting memento of the Kilkenny "Gentlemen's Plays."

By the Society: "Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society," Vol. V. part 1.

By the Society: "Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin," Vol. VII. parts 1 and 2.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal," part 9.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," Third Series, Nos. 1 and 2.

By the Census Commissioners of Ireland: their "Report on Ages and Education" for the year 1851.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 685 to 692, inclusive.

By the Author, W. Lane Joynt, Esq.: "Some Reasons for the Establishment of a Free Library at Limerick."

By the Publisher: "The Literary Gazette," New Series, Nos. 4 to 11, inclusive.

By the Editor: "The Irish Reporter," No. 4.

By the Proprietor, John Gough Nicholls, Esq. : "The Gentleman's Magazine," Vols. XXXIX.—XLIV., New Series.

By J. Richardson Smith, Esq. : a fragment of a hauberk of chain mail, dug up in June, 1842, from about two feet under the surface, in the moss or bog of Rosslin, near Craighilly, situate one mile and a half from Ballymena, county of Antrim. The hauberk, when found, was said to have been perfect, but was probably dismembered for the sake of a number of small gold rings with which it was ornamented. To the fragment presented by Mr. Smith was attached one of those gold rings, which was flat, and ornamented with a number of small circles.

By Mr. J. Dunne, Garryricken : the matrix of a large ancient circular seal, found in the neighbourhood of Killamory, county of Kilkenny. The device was an altar supporting a chalice ; and a black-letter inscription, of which the words *sigillum . . . capellani* were only legible, ran round the edge. The matrix was of the metal termed *laten* : its circular form, and large size (measuring  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter), are unusual in the personal seal of an ecclesiastic—persons of that function generally adopting the pointed oval shape for their seals.

By the Rev. William Mease, Stradbally : an English groat of Queen Mary.

By the Rev. James Mease, Freshford : a Kilkenny penny of Edward Roth ; and a small copper coin, bearing the legend *MONETA REIPUB. SOLODORENSIS*. The latter was found between Freshford and Wellbrook, in the county of Kilkenny.

By Mr. M. Molony, Kilkenny : a copper siege-piece of Charles I., in good preservation.

By the Rev. Constantine Cosgrave, Keash, Ballymote : a Calais groat of Edward IV. The Rev. donor stated that the peasantry of his district know these coins by the name of *airgead na cpoipe caoile* ; i. e. "the money of the slender cross."<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Purcell, Jerpoint House, sent for exhibition a Russian Bible, of considerable antiquity ; as also a bronze cross and silver medal, brought from the Crimea by Captain Edward Hunt, 63rd Regiment.

The Secretary exhibited the fourth part of Mr. O'Neill's "Ancient Crosses of Ireland," containing magnificent lithographs of the great cross at Monasterboice, and the no less famous monument of a similar kind at Clonmacnoise, together with details of both. The progress of this important national work is truly satisfactory.

<sup>1</sup> We have been informed by Dr. O'Donovan that, according to the pedigree of Count O'Reilly, compiled by the Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman, the money called *Cpoipe Caoile* was said to have been coined by O'Reilly at

Crossakeel, a village in the county of Cavan. At Parliaments held at Trim and Naas, in 1447 and 1457, "the money called O'Reilly's money" was forbidden to be circulated. —Simon "On Irish Coins," p. 78.—Eus.

A communication was received from Mr. Hitchcock, as follows:—

“ I think the following suggestion, made at a recent meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, is well worthy our imitation, and, if circulated amongst our Members, may be productive of beneficial results:—

“ Mr. Stuart then read to the meeting a suggestion, in a letter to him from Mr. Chalmers, of Aldbar, viz., that the Society should ask country schoolmasters to encourage their pupils to pick up and bring to them all ancient remains which might come in their way. Mr. Chalmers stated, that at a school in his own neighbourhood this plan had been followed for some time, and already several fine flint arrow-heads, rings of stone, and similar remains, had been collected.’

“ This course, besides being a means of preserving the numerous objects of antiquity that are found, or the existence of which is known, by children, tends also to another and perhaps more useful end, namely—the creating and fostering in the children’s minds a respect for antiquarian remains in general, and a taste for the study of them, that will grow with their years. It is to be hoped, therefore, that our Members, and others, will turn the hint contained in the above paragraph to good account, and that, through their instrumentality, many interesting and valuable objects of antiquity may be rescued from obscurity or destruction. We need only turn back to page 138 of the last volume of the ‘Transactions’ to learn that a ‘unique’ and most valuable relic had been used as a plaything by children! Let us only look at it now, as it stands so beautifully engraved on the page, and ask ourselves, if it is not possible that many similar articles may still be treated, and finally rescued, in the same way.”

Mr. Graves communicated the following transcript of an original letter, preserved in the British Museum (Bibl. Cotton. Vespas., F. xii., fol. 1), written from Waterford, by Thomas Earl of Ormonde, to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at the close of the sixteenth century:—

“ My uryay good lord my duty remēbred, and whear your pleasur is I shold repayr to dubling [Dublin], for the matters in controuersy betwyxt therle of desmond and me, I haue sent for there complaynts that haue ben spoyled which when they are wrytten I will wyth sped repayer to your L. in the mean tyme I humbly pray your L. to pardon myne absens. my men are dayly spoyled by therle of desmonds as your L. may perceue by the letter hear enclosed as knowth God who send your L. your hearts desyr. from waterford the xxv. of february.

“ your L. assured to comān

“ THOMAS ORMŌDE OSS.

“ my L. I pray you take order wyth therle of desmond for stayeng pers grace [Piers Grace] for he neuer seases from spoyling my tenants, when I am not in the cownty of kylkeny.”

Mr. Graves said, that this letter bore on the feuds between the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde, which was the cause of the speeding of a Royal Commission to inquire into the damages and spoils

committed by the adherents of these great feudal lords on the tenantry and lands of each other respectively. The report of the commissioners has been already printed in the Society's "Transactions" (vol. iii. pp. 340-3, first series), and is dated October 31, 1567. The date of the Earl of Ormonde's letter is thus, probably, fixed to the February of the same year, or, according to the old style, the year preceding.

Mr. R. Caulfield, Cork, contributed transcripts of two original documents. The first gives a curious glimpse of the domestic economy of a private gentleman in Ireland, in the seventeenth century. It was as follows:—

"A true & perfect Inventory of all and singular the goods, creditts and chattells of Thomas Roinane late of the cittie of Corke Alderman deceased which since his death have come to the hands and possession of Alice Ronan aîs Mead the relict of the s<sup>d</sup> deceased and James Ronan Cozen German of the s<sup>d</sup> deceased and administrators of all and singular the s<sup>d</sup> goods, creditts, and chattells of the said deceased, valued and praised by those whose names are hereunder written by virtue of a comission out of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Court of Prerogative for causes Ecclical and ffacultyes to them directed as by the s<sup>d</sup> comission bearing date the ffifth day of June Anno dñi one Thowsand sixe hundred fortie and one, more at large may appeare as followeth. viz.

## PLATE.

Imprimis one silver guilted salter . . . . .	iii <sup>li</sup>
Item one silver wyne Bowle prized . . . . .	l <sup>s</sup>
„ three small silver wine boules . . . . .	l <sup>s</sup>
„ one silver beere boule . . . . .	xl <sup>s</sup>
„ one dozen silver spoones pr toto . . . . .	iii <sup>li</sup>
„ one Gould Chaine . . . . .	v <sup>li</sup>
„ two Gould Juells prized . . . . .	iii <sup>li</sup>
„ one Gould signett . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
„ one silver chaine . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>

## HOUSEHOLD-STUFF.

„ three drawing Boards . . . . .	iiii <sup>li</sup>
„ sixe stooles covered with Turkey Cushions prized toto . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
„ ffoure plaine stooles . . . . .	vi <sup>s</sup>
„ Twelve chairs great and small . . . . .	xl <sup>s</sup>
„ two presses . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
„ two Round Tables . . . . .	xvi <sup>s</sup>
„ one Turkey Carpett . . . . .	iii <sup>li</sup>
„ three carpetts . . . . .	xxx <sup>s</sup>
„ two long fformes . . . . .	v <sup>s</sup>
„ two cupboards . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
„ seaven Bedsteads . . . . .	iiii <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
„ three feather Beds with Boulsters and Pillowbeeres . . . . .	x <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
„ three flockbedds with boulsters . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>



Item	ffoure paire of Linnen sheetes . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
"	three Ruggs . . . . .	xv <sup>s</sup>
"	three Caddowes . . . . .	xii <sup>s</sup>
"	two paire of Curtaines . . . . .	l <sup>s</sup>
"	ffoure Table Cloaths . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
"	two dozen Diap napkins . . . . .	xxx <sup>s</sup>
"	two dozen linnen napkins . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
"	two dozen and halfe pewter dishes . . . . .	l <sup>s</sup>
"	a bason and Ewre . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
"	two voyders . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
"	Dauske potts . . . . .	xii <sup>s</sup>
"	two pottle and a quart <sup>e</sup> pott . . . . .	vi <sup>s</sup>
"	sixe Brasse Candle sticks . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
"	two paire of Ad-Irons . . . . .	vi <sup>ii</sup>
"	one great Kettle for Brewing . . . . .	vi <sup>ii</sup>
"	one great Brewing pann . . . . .	l <sup>s</sup>
"	one Brass pann . . . . .	xl <sup>s</sup>
"	two aqua-vitæ potts . . . . .	v <sup>ii</sup>
"	one brass meate pott . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
"	one small brass pann . . . . .	xv <sup>s</sup>
"	three brass skillotts . . . . .	xl <sup>s</sup>
"	one paire of Iron racks . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
"	one paire of Iron And-Irons . . . . .	v <sup>s</sup>
"	ffoure Iron broaches . . . . .	vi <sup>s</sup>
"	one Gred-Iron . . . . .	ii <sup>s</sup>
"	one dripping pan . . . . .	iii <sup>s</sup>
"	one ffrying pan . . . . .	iii <sup>s</sup>
"	one brass chafing dish . . . . .	ii <sup>s</sup>
"	one brass mortar and an Iron pistoll . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
"	ffoure Chests . . . . .	xl <sup>s</sup>
"	two truncks . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
"	two pewter Chamber potts . . . . .	iii <sup>s</sup>
"	one dozen fflower potts . . . . .	iii <sup>s</sup>
<b>CORNE.</b>		
"	Ten barrells of mault . . . . .	v <sup>ii</sup>
"	ffive barrells of wheat . . . . .	l <sup>s</sup>
"	two acres of wheat sowed . . . . .	iii <sup>ii</sup>
"	one acre of great barley sowed . . . . .	xl <sup>s</sup>
"	two acres and halfe of oates . . . . .	xl <sup>s</sup>
"	one acre and halfe of beanes and pease sowed . . . . .	xxx <sup>s</sup>
"	one acre of Beare barley sowed . . . . .	l <sup>s</sup>
<b>CATTLE.</b>		
"	ffive great cowes . . . . .	v <sup>ii</sup>
"	ffive heifers . . . . .	iii <sup>ii</sup>
"	one bull . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
"	two calves . . . . .	v <sup>s</sup>
"	two garrons . . . . .	xl <sup>s</sup>
"	a hundred Irish sheepe . . . . .	x <sup>ii</sup>
"	ffiftie lambs . . . . .	l <sup>s</sup>

The other document contributed by Mr. Caulfield, he considers to contain a list of the original settlers planted at Bandon by the great Earl of Cork. It was copied by Mr. Caulfield from a large vellum book, containing twenty-five sheets folio, very beautifully written. On the cover was the following title:—"The Rentalle of the Manno<sup>r</sup>, Rectories, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, conveyed by mee, Richard Earle of Cork, for and to the use of my fourth sonn, Francis Boyle, and the heirs males of his body, lawfully begotten. The great God of heaven blesse and prosper him and his posteritie. Amen." It will be seen that the colony was essentially a military one. The Rental was as follows:—

"A Rentall of such Tenem<sup>n</sup> in the Citie of Dublin and of the Castle, port or Gatehouse called francis gate in Bandonbridge, and of the Mannor Townelands and Mill of Ballymodan ats Ballybandon, ats Cloghm<sup>s</sup>ymonfleeming, and of the townes and lands of Rathdrughtes, Inishroe, Rinnsymon and Garranvragher with the Mill and weares as Richard Earle of Corke Lord high Treasurer of Ireland and one of the Lords of his Ma<sup>t</sup> most hono<sup>ble</sup> privy Councill in England, have laid out, plotted, assigned, and in part conveyed, and by my last will bequeathed and doe hereby give, grant, will and bequeath unto my now third sonn francis Boyle for tearme of his lyfe without ympeachm<sup>t</sup>, of stripp or waste. And after his decease unto the first yssue male of his body lawfully begotten, and to the heyres males of such first yssue male of his body lawfully begotten with such other remainders over, as in my septpartite deed the Manno<sup>r</sup> of Beaver ats Cargalyne are lymited and expressed.

R. CORKE.

Thomas Cole merchant for a mess' w<sup>th</sup> a shopp and Cellar in Castlestreet neer to my Gallery p dimid' Anno. x<sup>th</sup> x<sup>th</sup>.  
 Zacharias Shortred Upholster for a mess' with a shopp and Cellar neer to my Gallery p di' A<sup>o</sup> xi<sup>th</sup>.  
 The Manor of Ballymodan.  
 The Castle port or Gate called francis Gate in the walles and Burrough of Bandonbridg not rented.  
 James Ellwell for one pf of Knockanreough Corbrydy half a pf of Cloghm<sup>s</sup>ymon and ix acres of other land and two houses and gardens p dim' Anno. xxi<sup>th</sup> xvj' ix<sup>th</sup>, [at] All s<sup>th</sup>, 2 fatt capons, herriott, best beast, 2 footmen well armed.  
 Edward Rasleigh ass' to Edward Turner for half pf of Knocknegeeg p di' anno iiij<sup>th</sup>, [at] xmas i<sup>th</sup> of sugar or ij' vi<sup>th</sup>, herriott, iiij<sup>th</sup>, 1 footman with a calyer.  
 James Daunt for a house and garden di' a<sup>o</sup>. xii<sup>th</sup>.  
 John Vick for Benjamin Lamberts house and garden p di' a<sup>o</sup> xv<sup>th</sup>.  
 Cornelius δ fflowloe for a house and garden di' anno xv<sup>th</sup>.  
 Widow Turner for iij Tenem<sup>n</sup> gardens and v acres p di' a<sup>o</sup> xxxv<sup>th</sup>.  
 Widow Turner for lx foot of ground for a mess' and vj foot p di' a<sup>o</sup> xv<sup>th</sup>, [at] xmas i<sup>th</sup> of Cynnamon, herriott x<sup>th</sup>, 1 footman w<sup>th</sup> a calyer.

- Richard Hoskins for a house and garden con<sup>t</sup> liiij foot in length p di' xiiij' vi<sup>a</sup>, [at] xmas ii fatt capons, xiiij' vj<sup>a</sup> for a herriott.
- Richard Randall for a house and garden p di' a° vj' viij<sup>a</sup>.
- Richard Randall for John m<sup>c</sup>Teigs house and garden p di' a° x'.
- William Hill for a house and garden p di' a° xx', [at] x<sup>p</sup>mas i<sup>h</sup> of loafe sugar or ij' vj<sup>a</sup>, herriott xx', 1 footman armed.
- Danyell Kent for a house and garden p di' a° x'.
- Widow Joyce for a house and garden p di' a° x'.
- Thomas Rudda for a house and garden p di' A° xxv'.
- Dermond ô Cromyne for a house and garden p di' a° iiij<sup>a</sup>.
- Widow Lewellin for do. p do. x'.
- William Brooke for ij. mess' and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre p di' a° xxij', [at] x<sup>p</sup>mas ij Capons or ij' vi<sup>a</sup>, herriott xxij, 1 footman w<sup>h</sup> calyver.
- John Luke for x acres of land p di' a°. xxv', herriott xxv'.
- Thomas Corkwell for a house and garden payable at Midsomer and x<sup>p</sup>mas xx'.
- John Martyn for do. payable at do. x'.
- Teig m<sup>c</sup>hugh for do. p di' a° x'.
- Teig ô dallaghane for do. p do. v'.
- Phillipp m<sup>c</sup>Cragh for do. p do. vj' viij<sup>a</sup>.
- John m<sup>c</sup>Teig for do. p do. v'.
- John Rake for do. p do. v'.
- Henry Prowte for do. p do. vj'.
- Gillian ô Crowley ass. to Killyneny Donnell for p do. do. v'.
- Widow Witherhead for xiiij acres of land p do. xl', [at] x<sup>p</sup>mas i<sup>h</sup> sugar or ij' vi<sup>a</sup>, herriott xl', one footman armed with a pike.
- Nicholas Withers for x acres of land pte of Inchynicrisby xxv', [at] x<sup>p</sup>mas ij fatt Capons, herriott xxv', one footman armed.
- Idem. for a house and garden p di' a°. xiiij' iiij<sup>a</sup>.
- Widow of Teig m<sup>c</sup>Cnoghor ô Murrey for the halfe p<sup>t</sup> of Carrigbrydy xl', [at] x<sup>p</sup>mas ij fatt capons or ij' vj<sup>a</sup>, herriott best beast or xx', 1 footman w<sup>h</sup> a pike.
- John ô Murrey eldest sonn of W<sup>m</sup> for the halfe p<sup>t</sup> of Kilvallen and xx' p Ann for x<sup>h</sup> lent him to fetch him out of prison p di' A°. xi'. herriott best beast, 1 footman with pike or muskett.
- William m<sup>c</sup>donnogh more ô Murrey for the halfe p<sup>t</sup> of Monyrawce xxv'.
- Morrhough ô Shehie for a Tenem' and garden con<sup>t</sup> 1 foot p di' A° xxv'.
- John m<sup>c</sup>Teig Lodweeke ass' to Richard hoskins for a mess' alone con<sup>t</sup> 14 foote p di' A° xiiij' vj<sup>a</sup>, [at] x<sup>p</sup>mas ij fatt Capons or ij', herriott xiiij' vi<sup>a</sup>, 1 footman armed.
- James Roche and Margaret his wyfe for a mess' alone con<sup>t</sup> xlviij foot payable at Midsomer and x<sup>p</sup>mas xii'.
- There are ix severall Tenem<sup>h</sup> of Ballymodan waste which should have yealded each halfe yeare vi<sup>h</sup> xviiij'.
- The heire of S' John Meade for ij p<sup>t</sup> of Rathdrughes pcell of ffynin m<sup>c</sup>owen Cartyes land p di' A° xii<sup>h</sup> x'.
- Richard Mansfield for the p<sup>t</sup> of Inishroe and Killm<sup>c</sup>symon mortgaged to me by John fleming for 160<sup>h</sup> payable at x<sup>p</sup>mas and All S<sup>m</sup> iiij<sup>h</sup> v'.
- John fleming for the mill weyres and several pkes called Garranvragher pcell of kylm<sup>c</sup>symon mortgaged to me for xxij<sup>h</sup> di' a° xxij'.

R. CORKE."

Another communication from Mr. Hitchcock was as under:—

“Perhaps the following notice of the recent discovery of a curious piece of the ancient gold ring-money of Ireland may be worth transferring to the pages of the Society’s ‘Transactions’ from the less enduring columns of a newspaper. It is taken from the ‘Tyrone Constitution’ of the 18th of April last, a copy of which the proprietor has kindly sent to me, as well as a few additional particulars, which, with his leave, I append:—

“A curious gold ornament, or rather rare specimen of the ancient ring-money of Ireland, was recently dug out of the ground by a labouring man in this neighbourhood. It is a thick ring, of very fine gold, roughly severed across, like the many specimens of the ring-money which have been found, but appears to have been formed of about thirty pieces of gold, soldered together before being bent into the ring shape, the solder appearing as dark bands round the massive hoop. This curious piece of antiquity weighs upwards of fifteen pennyweights, and is in the possession of Mr. Nelis, proprietor of this paper.’

“Mr. Nelis further informs me, that the piece of ring-money was turned up in a field, about two miles from Omagh, about a fortnight ago (he writes on the 24th of April). The man who found it will not say more on the subject, or point out the exact place, believing, he says, that he may yet ‘dig up more of it some other time.’ The Rev. Professor Haughton, of Trinity College, Dublin, closely examined the ring, and gave it as his opinion, that it was a rare specimen. The solder appears darker on the inside of the ring, where not touched, than on the outer surface, which is exposed, and, of course, rubbed or worn a good deal. Mr. Nelis adds, that he will at any time be happy to submit the ring for inspection. To Vallancey, I believe, is due the credit of having first suggested that these open rings were used as money; and to the late Sir William Betham the ingenious discovery, that they are all weighted so as to be multiples of twelve grains, or half a pennyweight.<sup>1</sup> Our present example—whether its weight be fifteen or sixteen pennyweights—forms no exception to this rule. With reference to the vast quantities of gold ornaments which are being daily found in Ireland, there are some curious remarks in the recent Address of the Rev. James H. Todd, D.D., as President of the Royal Irish Academy. He considers it probable, that, as geology affords no evidence of auriferous streams or veins in Ireland, capable of supplying so very large a mass of gold, some tribe or colony, who migrated into this country, must have carried these ornaments on their persons. This is a very interesting question, and, if followed up, as no doubt it will be, may throw considerable additional light on the history of the early inhabitants of Ireland.”<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Hitchcock also forwarded a communication on the recent Vandalic destruction of a megalithic circle and rocking-stone at Moyness, Nairnshire, Scotland—the greater part of the stones of which they were composed having been split up to build a farmhouse! The local paper (the “Forres, Elgin, and Nairn Gazette”)

<sup>1</sup> See his two papers on the Ring Money of the Celts, in the “Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,” vol. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> See a series of letters on this subject, now publishing in the “Wexford Independent” newspaper, by Mr. Redmond, of Liverpool.

had ably and energetically raised its voice against the deed of shame, and (but too late to save the fine rocking-stone, and preserve the circle intact) the influence of the noble proprietor of the estate had been brought to bear—further demolition being forbidden by Lord Cawdor.

The Rev. W. D. Macray, Chaplain of New College, Oxford, communicated the following documents, transcribed by him from a copy preserved amongst the Rawlinson MSS. (C. 98, f. 20), in the Bodleian Library :—

“28<sup>o</sup> Julii, 1592, *Greenwiche*.

“A Memoriall of sundry things comaunded by her Majesty to be well considered by the L. Deputy, the Chauncellor, the Chieffe Justice, with others of the Councell as are meet to be vsed therein.

“1. It is geven to her Majesty by credible advertisement that thorough the whole Realme, yea and in the Englishe Pale, there ar Jesuyts and Semynarie Preists all labouring to bring the people to mislike of the government and to favor forreine invasions, which Jesuyts and Semynaryes ar in many places openly maynteyned and folowed, exercising the Popes authority by graunting of pardons, by reconsiliacons and such like trayterous accõns, and in some places, namely the Englishe Pale, secretly maynteyned in the houses of some noble persons, and in many gentlemen houses partly disguised in apparrell of servingmen. And because the generality of this report may seme doubtful, there ar to be delivered to the L. Deputy in an other paper a particuler declaracõn of the names and qualities of the persons and places where they haunte and ar to be found whereuppon the L. Deputy shall seriously consider how in secrett manner the said persons and their maynteynors and the like in any other places maie be apprehended and committed to prisoun, and without any unnescessary delay punished according to the quality of their offences, and to the terror of others redy to offend.

[Then ensue instructions on the following heads:—

2. Respecting composition money and the victualling of soldiers.
3. The taxing of Tipperary for the composition money, and a petition from the Earl of Ormond on behalf of the Baron of Dunboyne, and some others, imprisoned for non-payment thereof.
4. The non-payment of various sums charged upon the composition money due in Connaught.
5. Reducing the number of military pensioners.
6. Restricting the granting of pardons.
7. About sheriffs.
8. Survey to be made of the lands lately attainted within the province of Leinster and the English Pale.
9. Suits for Irish causes in England referred to the Courts in Ireland.
10. Grants and valuations of land escheated to the Crown.
11. Strict injunctions to the L. Deputy, Chancellor, and Chief Justice to proceed without delay in the execution of certain articles sent in the preceding year.
12. The like injunctions for putting in execution instructions sent

in January, 1582 (?), 'whereby captains and souldyers and warders of castells and the clearke of the checques were directed how to reforme sundry great disorders.')

"Signed by the

" L. CHAMBERLAINE.	" L. KEEPER.
" L. COBHAM.	" L. THREASURER.
" L. BUCHURST.	" L. ADMYRALL.

" SIR ROBERT CECYLL."

[On the next leaf, fol. 26, are the following informations respecting various Roman Catholic bishops and clergy; the MS. extends to folio 29 b.]

"First in Ulster is one Redmundus O Galligher Buihopp of Dayrie, alias Daren, legate to the Pope and Custos Armaghnen, being one of the three Irishe Buihoppes that were in the Councell of Trent. This Buihopp used all manner of spirituall iurisdiction thoroughout all Ulster, consecrating Churches, ordeyning Preists, confirming children, and geving all manner of dispensacions, rydeing with pomp and company from place to place as yt was accustomed in Quene Maryes dayes. And for all the rest of the Clergy there, they use all manner of service there nowe as in that time, and not only that but they have changed the tyme according [to] the Popes newe invencion. The said Buihopp O Galligher hath bin with diverse Governours of that land uppon proteccion, and yet he is suffered to enjoy the Buihoprick and all the aforesaid authorities these xxvi yeres past and more,<sup>1</sup> whereby yt is to be understood that he is not there as a man without aucthority or secretly kept, &c.

"And where yt is said that the Pope hath no benefitt sent him from Ireland, yt is likely to be trewe when nothing is sent to her majestie herselfe from that lande being so nere, although some rent is paid to her majesty's use there and spent in her affaires; even so yt is with the Pope, he haveing his attorneyes and legatts there for the like purpose.

"There is one Cornelius M<sup>c</sup>Bardill Buihoppe of Clogher those xxii yeres past,<sup>2</sup> using the like aucthority alwaies, saveinge for the space of three yeares in Sir Jo. Perrott's tyme that he hath bene restrayned from the most parte of the dyoces by vertue of a comission from the said Sir Jo. Perrott. And this Cornelius hath bene diverse tymes before diverse Governours, and ys not yet reformed or compelled to yeald any obedyence to her Majesty's lawes.

"There was one Rapotences Buihopp, who dyed three yeres,<sup>3</sup> used the like auctorite there,<sup>4</sup> sithens he came from the Councell of Trent, being with diverse Governours of that land, and never reformed nor brought to acknowledge his dutye to her majestie.

"In O'Reilly his country, beinge but xxx myles or thereabouts from Dublin, is Richard Braday Buihopp of Kilmore, and although there is a kinde of custodium granted to a Preist there in her Majesty's name, yet he is in the possession, useinge all manner of iurisdiction therein, although the country is governed by English lawes and officers.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Consequently he succeeded to the bishopric about 1566. Archdeacon Cotton meets with no mention of his name before 1591.—"Fasti Ecclesie Hibn." vol. iii. p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> He, therefore, succeeded, on the translation of Bishop Magrath to Cashel, in 1571.

Not mentioned by Archdeacon Cotton.

<sup>3</sup> Donat Magonail, or M<sup>c</sup>Cougail.—"Fasti," vol. iii. p. 350.

<sup>4</sup> These words are here interlined.

<sup>5</sup> Brady was deprived by Sir John Perrott in 1585.—"Fasti," vol. liii. p. 156.

“ In the same Ulster ar at the least att this daye more then xvj monasteries wherein ar diverse sorts of fryers and munckes. And although some of the Governours for the tyme being hath bene in some of them, yet the fryars and munckes remayn there still, using their habytt and service as in Rome it selfe is used, and in prouffe that all the premisses ar trewe lett olde Cap<sup>m</sup> Peirs who knoweth that country theise xi yeres and Mr. Edward Harbert now sheriffe of the county of Cavan, and Sir Henry Harrington Knight, and Cap<sup>m</sup> Rise to be examined whether this be trewe or not.

“ In Mounster also ar these persons folowing: first, Doctor Creagh, Buishopp of Cloven and Corck,<sup>1</sup> who came into Irelaund in the tyme of the late Rebellyon of the Erle of Desmound, being in accion of rebellion with him. He is kept in the country theise xi or xii yeres past without pardon or proteccion, and although he appeare not in any publicque assembly where English men be present, yet he useth all manner of spirituall jurisdictiones in the whole Province, being the Popes legatte, consecrating Churches, making Priests, cōfirming children, decydeing matrimony causes, and whosoever wille say that this Creaghe is but a pore simple fellow, unable to doe harme any way, he is but a disembling subiect, for yt is well known that this Creagh is one of the most daungerous fellows that ever came to that land, continewed longest there of any of his sort, and hath don more harme already there within theise two yeres then Doctor Saunders did in his tyme, for Doctor Saunders could not [*sic*] procure the cominge of the Spanyards only (which, thankes be to God, were some cutt of) but this Creaghe draweth the whole country in generall to disloyalty and breakeing of the lawes, his credit is suche.

“ There is one James Karney, supposed Buishopp of Imley that came over from Roome the last yere.

“ There is one Sir Teage O'Swillyvan an earnest Precher of popery still preaching from howse to howse in Waterford, Clomell, and Fildreth,<sup>2</sup> and in the country about those townes.

“ There is one Doctor Thomas Ractor borne in fildreth, and lately come from Roome.

“ There is a Semynarie borne at Cassell named William O Gorhye who came with the said Buishopp and Doctor the last yere.

“ There is one James O Clearie a Semynarie who came with the fore-said company the last yere, and brought a dispensacion for the towne of Galway for the killing of the holye Spanyarde.

“ There is one James Buenagh of ffidder a Semynarie, lately come from Roome and now dwelling att ffidder and thereabouts.

“ There is one Sir William Ocheroby a Semynary lately come from Roome, and nowe dwelling att Clomell, Cassell, and ffidder.

“ Now foloweth the names of some other sort of Semynaries and Preists, some of them being ordeyned by the said Doctor Creaghe, and some of them seduced from their loyalty, and reconcyled by him to the Popes lawes, they beinge sworne to observe the Quenes majestys injuncions before, and being accordingly lawfully instituted.

“ Sir Conly McNy Marie an earnest precher Semynarie.

<sup>1</sup> William Lyon was the recognised Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Fethard, an ancient walled and borough town in the county of Tipperary.—Ers.

" Sir Morice Keatinge Semynarie chapleyne to the said Doctor Creagh, one of his ordynary messangers to great men when occasyon requireth.

" Sir Donough Oge O Naghane, one of the said Doctor Creaghs chapleynes.

" Sir Garrett Reken, preist att Clomell.

" Sir Peirs Kelly, ordayned preist by the said doctor Creagh.

" Sir Darby Callavan att Caher.

" Sir James Morice, preiste, reconcyled to Papestry.

" Sir Donough O Casshey Chauncellor of Lymricke, according to the Romish institucions.

" Sir Rory O Fahy, preist.

" Sir Rory M<sup>c</sup>Cragh, very famyliar with the said Doc. Creagh.

" Sir Walter, preist, dwelling att Clomell.

" Sir Patrick Yonge, preist, dwelling att Cassell alwayes with Nicholas Haly.

" Sir Phillipp Stackbolde, preist, dwellinge at Kiltenan.

" Sir Dyonis, preist, dwelling att Boyton Rathe.

" Sir Richard Gyanane, preist, tooke uppon him the minstery once, and afterward reconcyled to papestry by Doctor Creagh.

" Sir Thomas Coherery, preist.

" Sir Morice Ohillane, preist, one of the cheifest maynteynors that the said Doctor Creagh hath in the whole Knights country.

" Sir Mathewe O Dellanye, preist, dwelling att Loghonoy.

" Sir Georg Power, preist, dwelling att Kilkeny.

" Sir Patrick O holen, preist, dwelling with Robt. Rothe at Kilkeny.

" Sir Morice O Hownime, preist.

" Sir Richard Bowdrave, preist.

" Sir Richard Eneas, a preist in Waterforde.

" Reight ho., I have lately receved specyall intelligence that certayne riche merchaunts and good gent. within the citeye of Waterford do specyally releve and maynteyne the underwrytten Semynaries and massing preists in manner foloweing.

" first, James Sherlocke, who hath bene mayor the last yere, doth reteyne in his howse one Doctor Teige O Swillivan a Jesuyt Semynary, which preist hath divers tymes preched publicly in the howse of one William Lyncolle and other places in the Cittye and in the country and also in Clomell.

" Peirs Graunt fitz James of Waterford, merchaunt, and Richard fitz Nicholas of the same, merchaunt, do reteyne by them bothe one Sir David, preist of Kilmallock.

" John Leay fitz Nicholas, Peirs White, Robert Comerford and John Browne fitz Henry of Waterford, merchaunts, do by them reteyne one Sir Morren, preist.

" Belle Butler, wife unto Thomas Comerford of Waterford, merchaunt, who is himselfe in Spayne theise xii monethes, and one John Myller and John White fitz William, merchaunts, do reteyne one Sir John White, preist.

" Thomas Porter and John Miller of Waterford, merchaunts, do reteyne in their howse Teige O Cane, preist.



“ Richard Agnes, preist, reteyned by the whole city in generall, who doth dwell in the new buyldinge of Alexander Brewers of Waterford, merchant, who sometymes professed religion, and now revolted.

“ Thomas Wadding, councillor att law, dothe reteyne in his howse one Kealinge, a preist.

“ Lett Mr. John Leynard and Mr. Patrick Dwyn (?) of Waterford, the Threasurer of the same and the [blank in MS.] Sir William Fele, preist, John Cuffe, merchant, and Thomas Bennett, clerke, be examined of the premisies, whoe doe know of the wickednes comitted by the aforementioned parties.

“ This speycall note I thought to add to such other notes of the like nature as I did deliver to your honours, to the ende that the same meight be sent to to the L. Deputy by Richard Power, gent., whoe is very willinge and able to enforme his L. of many great matters towching the like and other necessary things for the reformation and quietnes of that country, whom I besече your ho. to send awaye with expediacion, for I hope that the L. Deputy will gett good servyce within fewe dayes by the said Richarde his dilligence.”

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

## THE RECORDS OF THE ANCIENT BOROUGH TOWNS OF THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B.

NEXT in importance to the records of the State must be placed the archives of the municipalities, which it was ever the policy of the English Crown to erect as a balance to the feudal power of the nobles, and as a means to encourage trade and commerce. The former supply the bold and unerring outlines of the historic picture; the latter afford many a graphic detail. Of course, it is not in every instance that the municipal archives equally reward the explorer's pains, being frequently a mere record of names and dates (in themselves, however, not without local interest), but even the most dry and meagre amongst them rarely fails to afford some trait of the men and manners of the period, which it is worth while to preserve; and in many cases they abound in interesting and graphic details. The natural, and perhaps pardonable vanity of the men who felt themselves to be clothed in a “little brief authority,” yearned to place on record the wisdom which they flattered themselves they possessed, or prompted the perpetuation of the memory of some benefit, real or supposed, conferred on the body politic. Hence, the laws for the regulation of the “community” with which the more ancient municipal records abound, and the testimony they bear to the erection, repair,

and, alas! too often the demolition of some public building or monument. As a rule, it may be asserted, that the more ancient the record or minute-book of the municipality, the more rich the mine of historic materials it will afford. As the communities lost their importance, the display of civic wisdom becomes more rare—the modern books supplying little beyond the names and dates of officers elected to serve the public, either in the Parliament of the State, or the civic body.

In a paper communicated to this Society some time since (vol. i. p. 427, first series), Mr. Prim has traced the history of the corporate records of the city of Kilkenny from the earliest period to which they refer down to the present day, showing that all of any consequence (with the exception of one precious volume, the "Red Book") have been preserved, and are in the safe keeping of that most worthy and efficient officer, the present Town Clerk of Kilkenny. What Mr. Prim has effected for the chief municipality of the county, I purpose, so far as the information I can command will allow me, to undertake with reference to the five borough towns which received charters from James I., and returned members to the Irish Parliament, down to the period of the Union, viz. Thomastown, Gowran, Callan, Knocktopher, and Innistiogue. It is true that the towns of Jerpoint, Rosbercon, and Kells, in ancient times, received charters from the king, or from the feudal lords who held the tract of country which surrounded them, but, not having been subsequently recognised by the Crown, and not having preserved their ancient corporate organization to modern times, none of their municipal records have come down to our days.

Thomastown, and its alias, baile-mic-Anrdóm—the first, the name used by the English, and the second by the Irish-speaking natives of the place—preserve the Christian name and surname of Thomas Fitz-Anthony, its founder, and the lord of the manor of Grenan. Indeed, the name by which the municipality was originally incorporated was derived from this castle and manor of its feudal sovereign, for it is termed Grenan in the charter granted to the town by Thomas Fitz-Anthony, and also on an impression of the ancient seal of the town, still preserved in the Ormonde Evidence Chamber, bearing the following inscription, SIGILLVM COMMUNE BURGENSIVM DE GRENAN. The style of this seal and the form of the letters (old Lombardic) may be seen from the accompanying engraving.



Its date must be early in the thirteenth century, probably contemporary with Fitz-Anthony, who was Seneschal of the Liberty of Leinster, before it was partitioned amongst the daughters of the last Earl Mareschal. The name of Grenan, however, seems to have been gradually laid aside, the town receiving several charters from the Crown, which are of record amongst the national muniments both in London and Dublin, in most of which Thomastown is the denomination given to the town—some charters, as that granted by Queen Mary, using the alias of Grenan.

That the burgesses of Fitz-Anthony's municipality recorded their doings, and exercised their collective wisdom in the framing of by-laws for the government of the town, there was little reason to doubt, but every search after the whereabouts of the minute-books for a long period proved ineffectual. Town commissioners not having been appointed in Thomastown under the Municipal Reform Act, when the old Corporation expired there was not any public body authorized to receive the records of the borough, and, on inquiry made, I was informed by Mr. Muggeridge, then agent to Lord Clifden (the "proprietor" of the Corporation at the time of the Union), that he was unaware of the existence of any ancient records connected with the town. So matters rested until, at the death of the late Sydenham Davis, Esq., the last sovereign under the old regime, I was enabled to consult the modern minute-book of the Corporation which had remained in his possession, and, as will be subsequently seen, found there little to repay my scrutiny. However, the gentleman who now represents Lord Clifden in the county of Kilkenny, Edward Golding, Esq., J.P., having become a Member of this Society, and wishing to give every aid in his power to local antiquarian investigation, unsolicited, made search amongst the records committed to his care, and having discovered some of the ancient minute-books of Thomastown, Gowran, and Callan, he kindly offered to submit them to the inspection of the Secretaries of this Society. In accordance with Mr. Golding's invitation, accompanied by my brother Secretary, Mr. Prim, I went a short time since to Gowran Castle, and examined the documents. I now proceed to lay before the Meeting some of the results of our investigation.

Lord Clifden possesses but one minute-book of the Corporation of Thomastown, and with it is preserved a small ancient seal, composed of impure silver, or white metal, of which a woodcut is here given. It dates about the period of Charles I., and bears a shield charged with the iron grating of a town, or castle, gate—the following inscription running round the edge, in small Roman capitals, THE ARMES OF THE CORPORATION OF THOMASTWNE. The book of the Corporation of Thomastown



in Mr. Golding's custody is begun at both ends, opening at either side with the date 1693. The first page, at one end, commences with an entry in which the form of the oath of fidelity is set out, followed by several oaths of office; to which are subscribed the signatures of Christopher Hewitson, sovereign of Thomastown for the year 1693, and of all the burgesses and freemen. These are followed by numerous entries of admissions of persons, from time to time, to the freedom of the borough, and the first entry which takes place in the form of regular minutes of proceedings bears date 29th September, 1707, when the swearing-in of the sovereign for the year is recorded; this is followed by the proceedings of a court leet, held before the sovereign, Joseph Robbins, Esq., and the recorder, Christopher Hewitson, Esq., bearing date 14th October, 1707. The subsequent entries refer almost exclusively to admissions of freemen, and the last date is 25th June, 1727.

Turning to the other end of the book, the first entry is that of the holding of a court on the 29th September, 1693, at which Joseph Robbins was sworn sovereign (apparently in succession to Christopher Hewitson), and William Millbanke, portrieve. Regular entries of the swearing-in of sovereigns and portrieves, but recording no proceedings of the slightest importance or interest, follow, to the year 1702, after which some blank leaves occur, and then succeeds a minute of the proceedings of a jury empannelled to inquire into certain "enormities committed within this Corporation," which brings us back to the 26th July, 1698. The nature of the "enormities" is not stated, and the next entry is the election of the sovereign for the year 1709. In fact, the clerk seems to have entered everything up and down, very nearly at random, for, having carried on the record of the election of sovereigns from 1709 to 1723, without interruption, he makes a note of a coroner's inquest on the body of a child, found drowned in the river Nore, on the 8th April, 1694, there being, however, nine blank leaves between. The proceedings of the courts leet, and the elections of sovereigns and of representatives to serve in Parliament for the borough, are then regularly carried forward from the 17th October, 1693, to 29th September, 1743, which is the latest date recorded.

We can gather from the nature of the entries, that at the period during which they were made, Thomastown was not governed in the manner usual in boroughs regularly incorporated by royal charter. In place of the sovereign and council of chief burgesses ordering and directing all the affairs of their municipality by the passing of by-laws at meetings of their body, the custom seems to have been to empanel a jury at a court leet, who decided as to the requirements of the town, and made presentments of them, apparently with the view of their being sanctioned and given the force of law by the approval of the lord of the manor. This inference

is to be drawn from the form in which the jury passed their resolutions: thus, on the 14th of October, 1707, it is entered, that they "humbly submit" William Walsh is a proper person to fill the office of pound-keeper, he having been chosen to that office "by the body of this Corporation;" and they "humbly think" that Patrick Cantwell and Edmond Delany are fit and proper persons to be appointed constables for the ensuing year. The term "we present" is, however, more often used, and occasionally it is declared, that "it is this day ordered" that certain levies be made on the inhabitants for public purposes. One entry styles those making the order "the grand jury and body politic of the Corporation." The entry is as follows:—

"Curia tent. 8bris 17°. 1693°.

"It is this day ordered by the Grand Jury and the bodie politike of this Corporation, that forty shillings be raised of this Corporation, and the Liberties thereof immediately, for to repair the market house."

At the same time a Bristol barrel and other measures were ordered to serve as standards for the market.

Records of this kind usually serve to throw much light on the state of trade and commerce of the community at the period to which they belong; but there is little in this book to satisfy inquiries on that subject. That the Corporation looked to the regulation of the markets is obvious from the above entry and one or two others. At a court held on the 29th November, 1698, it was determined that tolls and customs should be taken for all goods going into their town for sale "precisely as in Kilkenny city; and that no goods be bought till brought to the market." However, it was probably found that such charges tended to injure the market, for on the 18th October, 1715, another jury found as follows:—

"We present that all persons shall have libertye to buye and sell Custome free on every markitt day (being Munday) for one year, and that no actions shall be issued on the said day within this Corporation against any p'son y<sup>e</sup> shall come to buy or sell in y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> markitt."

It was still found necessary to lay on a tax somewhere to repair the pavements injured by the traffic, and so it appears to have been inflicted on the carmen of the town, the same jury thus presenting:—

"We present that the carrmen within this Corporation shall paye one penny each carrman to Edmond Cullyn for mending the breaches in Loganstreet, and the said Edmond Cullyn does ingadge to finish y<sup>e</sup> same effectually."

A more general reparation of the streets was found necessary in some years after, and, under the date 8th February, 1725, we have the following:—

"Wee present that each of the inhabitants within the said Corporation Doe forthwith pave before each of their holdings in length according to the same holding and in breath three yards, under the forfeiture in the statute in that case made and provided, to be levied on each person failing herein."

There were probably several trades' guilds, incorporated by charter from the sovereign and burgesses of the town; but from this book we only trace the existence of one, the Company of Cotmen, which, however, tends to show that a large traffic was at the time carried on by the transit of goods from Ross to Thomastown, *en route* for the market of Kilkenny, and *vice versâ*, by means of small boats, called cots,<sup>1</sup> plying on the Nore. Under the date 14th October, 1707, it is stated that a charter had been granted to the "Company of coat-men," empowering them to choose a master every year to be their director, and make such acts and laws as might be proper for the regulation and benefit of their body, and they had accordingly chosen Christopher Hewitson, Esq., as their master; but some of them having violated the rules which he had made, it was resolved that they should be forgiven for the time; but if they again transgressed, the fines laid down should be levied against them.

Some evidence is afforded of a desire to attend to sanitary regulations. On the 25th October, 1699, it was ordered that "one shilling be taken, by way of distress or otherwise, from every townsman that keeps a dunghill on the pavements of the street longer than untill the next courte day." A small stream then ran through the centre of the main street of Thomastown, which has since been arched over and concealed from view—a work which was carried out within the memory of some of the inhabitants still living. In the olden time the presence of this stream seems to have been prized as an acquisition to the town, and care was taken to keep it clear from pollutions, and the water fit for use. On the 14th October, 1707, a jury made this presentment:—

"We humbly thinke fitt y<sup>e</sup> brooke leading through this town should be cleansed by the inhabitants, one out of a house, and y<sup>e</sup> by the first of 9ber next."

Again, on the 11th October, 1720, it was presented—

"That any person that shall be found wasting or in any ways dirting the brook running thro the streets of y<sup>e</sup> Corporation shall pay the sum of two pence, by distress."

<sup>1</sup> Cots are still used on the tidal and upper waters of the Nore, Suir, and Barrow. They are narrow, flat-bottomed boats, generally from 15 to 20 feet in length, and sharp at both ends. They are propelled by a pole in shoal water, and by a paddle, of peculiar

shape, in the deeper parts of the river. A skilful cot-man will guide his frail boat, with perfect safety, either up or down the most turbulent portions of the stream. These cots are now generally used in fishing for salmon with nets. Cot, in Irish, means a small boat.

On the same occasion the jury presented—

“That every owner (after the 20th day of October) of a hog or hogs within y<sup>e</sup> Corporation y<sup>t</sup> shall leave y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> hog or hogs unvrung shall pay y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>u</sup>me of one shilling by impounding y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> hogs till y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> s<sup>u</sup>me of one shill' be p<sup>d</sup> by such owner, so as to be payed in three days.”

Fines were not the only punishments inflicted by the Corporation. The sovereign had other means of dealing with more serious offenders against the common-weal than those who merely fouled the brook, kept their pigs unvrung, or did not comply with the regulations of the master of the Company of Cot-men. So much is apparent from the following entries:—

“25 die 8bris 1699—It is this day ordered that two shillings and six pence be raised of the town and liberties to put the stocks and whipping post in order.”

“11 die Oct. 1720—Wee present ye sum of five pounds ten shillings sterling to be raised on the Corporation of Thomastown and Liberties thereof, for the building a parish pound in the s<sup>d</sup> Corporation, as also to erect and build a payr of stocks & whipping post for the use of the said Corporation. The s<sup>d</sup> work to be done by the fifth of April next; the money to be forthwith raised—Christopher Hewitson, jun., Esq<sup>r</sup>, and John Nixon, gentleman, to be overseers of the said work.”

We may also gather from the following presentment, made on the 16th February, 1716, that an armed guard was maintained for the defence of the town and the protection of the community:—

“We present that four shill' be raised on the inhabit<sup>r</sup> of this Corporation for a grate for the guard-house, and that two shill<sup>r</sup> each week be leyvd of the s<sup>d</sup> inhabts. for firing for y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> guard-house.”

There are numerous undertakings entered into by persons elected from time to time as members of Parliament for the borough, that they will not seek any remuneration for their services from the Corporation or constituency. The most early of these entries bears date in the year 1695, and is thus set out in due form, and signed and witnessed:—

“We, the undernamed, being unanimously chosen to serve this Corporation as Burgesses in the Parliament to be held at Dublin the 27th day of August next, do hereby, of our own voluntary act discharge this Corporation of all salary, allowance or demands whatsoever, on account of our attending their service in Parliament, so long as we, or either of us shall attend the same.

“Witness our hands and seals this

30th of July, 1695,

“In the presence of  
AMYAS BUSHE, Sovereign.  
HENRY WEMYS.”

“CHRISTOPHER HEWITSON.  
“ARTHUR BUSHE.

A mace was one of the necessary insignia of office in every municipality; it was generally of silver, and so was apt to excite the cupidity of thieves. A random jot made by the town-clerk in one of the fly-leaves of the book gives us a curious glimpse of the dilapidated state of the mace belonging to this Corporation in the beginning of the second quarter of the last century. The entry, which is dated February 8th, 1725, runs as follows:—

“There is now of<sup>1</sup> y<sup>e</sup> top of meace  
6 crossis and 5 Flower de luisis.”

The town mace, thus mutilated nearly a century and a half since, is not now in existence.

The minute-book of the Corporation of Thomastown which remained in the possession of the late Mr. Sydenham Davis at the time of his death, commences with an entry dated 3rd April, 1752, and ends with an entry bearing date the 29th September, 1840, which is a record of the re-election that day of Mr. Davis himself as sovereign of the town. The book contains little of interest, being confined to dry entries of the elections of municipal officers and members of Parliament for the borough previous to the passing of the Act of Union.

The Corporation of Gowran, or, as it was anciently termed, Ballygaveran, is as old, if not older, than that of its neighbour municipality, founded by Fitz-Anthony, having received its early incorporation from Theobald Fitz-Walter, first Butler of Ireland, in the reign of John. Carte has preserved the charter of Fitz-Walter in his Introduction to the “History of James Duke of Ormond,” and the charters granted to the town by several of the sovereigns of England remain of record, the last, apparently, being that granted by James I. The more ancient minute-books of the Corporation have shared the same fate as those of Thomastown, the earliest in Lord Clifden’s possession commencing with an entry, dated 3rd May, 1687, being a formal act of surrender, by the Corporation, of its charters, liberties, &c. to James II., addressed, in very submissive terms, to Tyrconnell, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and signed, *inter alios*, by Charles Agar. James, however, does not appear to have granted a charter to the borough. The next entry indicates the commencement of the new regime, for at a court, held on the 6th of October, 1690—

“It was unanimously agreed upon that King William having honoured this Corporation with his presence, ryding through the same after the rout of the Boyne, and deliveryng the rod and mace of the said Corporation to Charles Agar, one of our ancient Burgesses, that therefore wee elect the said Charles Agar to be our portrieve for the ensuing year.”

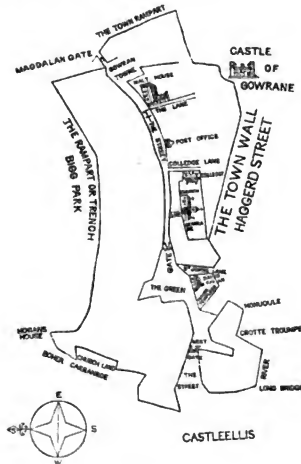
<sup>1</sup> “Of” is here written for “off,” a form which frequently occurs throughout the book.



The remainder of the book contains little of interest beyond the mere election of municipal officers and members of Parliament.

The second minute-book of the Corporation, in Mr. Golding's keeping, commences with the date of June 26, 1736, and ends with that of June 25, 1827. Its contents are similar to those of the first book, and tell us very little of the corporate proceedings beyond the election of officers, &c. We learn from it that there was a "tholsel" in the town, and that public notices were posted on the "market cross" up to 1746. There is also an entry which at the present day is of some interest, namely, the election of "the Rev. Dr. John Pelissier and Charles Pelissier" as freemen, on August 10, 1748, possibly some Huguenot refugee members of the family which has produced the celebrated Marshal of France, at present in command of the French army in the Crimea.

Amongst the Clifden papers is also preserved an ancient map of Gowran, which shows the extent of the walls of the town, the positions of the gates and market cross, and also of the college endowed



there by one of the Earls of Ormonde in ancient times. The map is dated March, 1710. The Society is indebted to Mr. Edward Taylor, C.E., for the fac-simile of this interesting record, which has been engraved for these pages on a reduced scale. This map is also of

interest as indicating the position of the castle of Gowran, the first seat of the Ormonde family in the county of Kilkenny, which is now razed to the ground.<sup>1</sup>

Accompanying the books of the Corporation there is preserved a brass seal, engraved with a castle, and the date 1697, and round the edge this inscription, in large Roman capitals, CORPORATION OF GOWRAN. On the stem of the seal is engraved, "Charles Ager, Portrifer." The accompanying woodcut represents this seal.



On a future occasion I purpose taking up the history of the corporate records of Callan, Innistiogue, and Knocktopher; and whilst expressing my thanks to Mr. Golding for his kindness in affording me access to the documents in his keeping, I trust I will not in vain express a hope, that the gentlemen who may be possessed of the ancient manuscripts of the two last named towns (I have already examined the records of Callan in keeping of the Town Commissioners and Mr. Golding) will kindly allow me to inspect them. I should say, that through the kindness of the late Thomas Innes, Esq., I was, by Colonel Tighe's permission, enabled to consult the latest minute-book of the Corporation of Innistiogue. Perhaps there may also, as in the case of Thomastown, be a more ancient minute-book of Innistiogue: if so, I am sure our patron, Colonel Tighe, will give every facility for its examination. Of the records of Knocktopher I, at present, know nothing. I perceive by the Report of the Commissioners on the Municipal Corporations in Ireland, issued in 1835, that the compensations granted at the period of the Union to the "proprietors" were divided between Sir George Shee, Bart., and Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart.—the latter, however, receiving the larger share, as being owner of the town. If Sir Richard Langrishe possesses its ancient records, I am sure he will allow them to be examined.

<sup>1</sup> The original map gives the boundaries of several properties, and has houses marked along the streets. In the copy made by Mr. Taylor the principal objects alone are given. The following is written on the margin of this map:—

"A Survey of the Towne and Lands of Gowrane in the County of Kilkenny belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Lewis Chaigneau of Dublin Merch<sup>t</sup> made in the presence of M<sup>r</sup> David Chaigneau M<sup>r</sup> John Bayly M<sup>r</sup> John Sandbeach Sam<sup>l</sup> Bingham James Quigly and M<sup>r</sup> James White the Surveyor; and the said Lands contain

Arable pasture and Meadow one thousand two hundred ninety seven acres thirty five perches Plantation measure over and above all deductions for intermixt lands and comon high roads as appeareth by a Table of reference hereunto.

"Surveyed in the month of March 1749 by a scale of 20 p<sup>ca</sup>.

"J. A. WHITE."

The tenement marked "House Templers" is a curious indication of the connexion of this town with the Knights Templars, to whom the rectory of Gowran belonged.

EXTRACTS FROM THE IRISH CORRESPONDENCE IN  
H. M. STATE PAPER OFFICE.

COMMUNICATED BY A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

THE details of the history of Ireland, at any period, are rather repulsive than inviting: the causes and reasons for which are so well known and obvious as to need no more than an allusion. Our business, as Irish archæologists, is merely to deal with such materials for developing the history of our country as fall in our way, and to leave the inferences to be drawn from them to others. If a close investigation into the minor occurrences of this national history is an object worthy of being pursued, it possesses, for its principal point of value, that of giving literary photographs of the actions of those men of two sections of the European races who were engaged in a fierce and deadly contest for the possession of Ireland. The native Gael were pitted against the invading Teutons in the struggle for life, and subsequently for religion. During the conflict neither Irish nor English were scrupulous. If the Celts in general were as savage and desperate as their contemporaries, the Mohawks and Cherokees, the invasive Saxons may be also said to have seized *their* prey with a high and lawless hand. Whether a voracious history in detail of such a state, not of civil society, but of civil war, is desirable or not, is a question into which we will not enter. It is remarkable that this condition of affairs was at its height during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth—a period when, though semi-barbarous Scotland was similarly convulsed, England and the western continental nations were, if not in uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace, at least enjoying the advantages of a comparatively polished civilization.

At the period alluded to, the Gaels of our country, excepting the chieftains, were still nearly as houseless, and almost as undressed and unlettered as their progenitors who had fled, some 1500 years previously, across the British Channel before the Cymri and the Roman eagles. Against them, their *new* enemies, when united with the old foes, the feudal but recusant Strongbonians, who were still strong in the land, formed a mighty and irresistible combination. Let us remember who, and what sort of men, these new combatants were. They were, for the most part, the younger brothers of the aristocracy of England, men of high or good birth—English gentlemen, of education and courage. Now, what is all this to our theme? This much, that we desire to draw the attention of our readers to the historic value of the Irish correspondence and documents in the office of H. M. Secretary of State, some portions of which, we hope,

from time to time to place before them. This correspondence is so voluminous and abundant that it may almost be said to be inexhaustible. Four archæological societies, one for each province, such as every good Irish antiquary would be glad to see established, would find ample materials in that repository for their publications during very many years. All these Englishmen, who were striving hard to make their fortunes in this kingdom, were penmen, and some of them wrote with vigour. Almost every occurrence of the day, throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, was described, often by more than one hand, to one or other of the great men in London. Nearly all requests, all "suits," as they were termed, came into the same channel. Besides this, their opponents, the native chiefs, were by no means unready or ineloquent with the pen. Whenever O'Neill or O'Rourke wrote, his language was pithy; and the subtle divines who formed his council, who directed his political movements, and gave expression to his desires, were often more than a match in composition for Queen Elizabeth's military officers. So that this "Irish Correspondence," which extends from the reign of our Eighth Henry to, in archæologic interest, the period of the Commonwealth, is a vast collection of despatches, letters, petitions, and state papers, such as, we believe, the like does not exist relative to the history of any other country on earth. Having dipped quite at random into it (although there are no blanks in this lottery) the few ensuing copies of letters are not the best brief selection we might have made:—

[LORD JUSTICE SIR NICHOLAS ARNOLD to SIR WILLIAM CECIL, dated  
*Waterford, 29th January, 1564-5. Extract.*]

"O'Nele, in myne opinion can never be able to make a conquest or an overthrowe of Tyrconnell, O'Donell's contrey, or to bringe the inhabitants thereof so to his devotion as he mought thereby get either strength or profit, unless he should dispeople Tyrone, his owne contrey, which were but an evill exchange for him, and I thinke he will never attempt it. And O'Nele, thinking himself either to be assured of the freendshipp of Tyrconnell, or not to have them enimes at his backe, may ever be the more bolde to expugne and expell the Scotts, whom otherwise he may be enforced to reiteigne for his owne strength and saulfgarde, the title between the Baron's sonnes and him depending, as it yet doothe.

"O'Nele, if his followers or friends of this nacyon were pulled from him, is like to imagine that he must be enforced either to lose land and lief, or to seeke ayde and reskue of straungers, Skotts or other, where he may get them; whereas if by Her Majesty's support he may be able to keep in hand all his followers, he shall not need to seek mayntenance of any straunger. And yet in my judgemen he may be the easier overthrowen, whensoever it may please Her Majesty to enter into the generall reformation of Ireland before which tyme (pardon craved for wryting playnely) it may do much more hurt than good to proffer to make conquest of any one Irishman or contrey more than is already conquered.

“And if O’Nele may be drawn on with gentle wordes, and some title of honour, and suffred to pull in as many followers as he can by any mean gett, he will rest, I think, contented; and his followers, what with their own deceitfull and unstable nature, and with the great impositions O’Nele would daylie laye on them in the mean time, would with more ease and less chardge be drawn from him to serve the Queene, than kept from him unto the tyme of service at her highnes’ chardge. For if either his followers shall be pulled from him, or his enemye O’Donell advaunced or preferred before him, he will so plague them from tyme to tyme as the unreasonable defence or protection of them once taken into H. M. hand, would stande H. M. in greater chardge than the reformation of this whole estate in tyme convenient would doe.

“And therefore, as I yett understand it, the making of O’Nele ryche and strong, and the assuring him of the Queene’s favour and protection, would rather overthrowe O’Nele, whenever her highnes would goe about the overthrowing of him indeed, than the keeping of him poor and doubtfull would doo. And yet in the mean time he may become so good a subject, as hereafter H. M. shall thinke meet rather to be cherished than thrown owt. . . . I think it more expedient and behoofull for H. M. (as the estate of this realm now standeth) rather to bear something with the weakness of O’Nele than with the renewing of the rebellion of the O’Connors and O’Mores (now almost utterly subdued) to styrre up the Brenye, which is O’Reiglie’s contry, the Tooles, the Byrnes, the Dempseys, and a number of others allready bent to do whatsoever mischief they may be able to do, yf they either might understand that they might put their cattell back into or toward O’Nele’s contry, when we should goe about to plague them, or that O’Nele would not joyn with us in H. M. service when they were to be plagued; which opynion of O’Nele’s obedience hath bene and yet is the chief cause of staye of them all this doubtful tyme from extremities: although they cease not daylie to do some myschief in one place or other of the Pale, as Cahir O’Reigly hath lately done in Meath, which I doubt not shall be recompensed shortly well ynough.

“(26th) Now that I have (as I trust dewtifullye) declared myne oppynion, I will with all humble diligence according my bounden dewtie, execute to the uttermost of my power whatsoever the Queen’s Majesty or your honor will commaunde. Assuring your honor I am with all the wilde Irishe at the same point I am at with beares and banddogs when I se them fight; so that they fight earnestly indeede, and tугge the other well, I care not who have the woorsse.”

[SIR WILLIAM CECIL (LORD BURLEIGH) *in reply*. 28th Feb., 1564-5.  
*Extract.*]

“SIR,—I see good cause to judge my good will well bestowed upon you, for that although I wrote to you of certain matters that had some unpleasantnes in them, yet you have conceived well of my intention, and answered me therein to my contentation, as I thinke also to induce others to remayne free from any like evill opinion, as I have perceaved was ment by the report made. Herein, Mr. Arnold, you are not to consider what

the world only will judg, but what the everlasting God seeth, from whose eyes no covering can kepe our offences. . . .

"Concerning the making of O'Nele great, I dare not enter into any judgment therein, finding my ignorance of that contry an impediment to my judgment. Although I can make report of arguments of the other side, and show a good tale in the sight of as ignorant as myself is. But that I think therein is this, I think good to stirr no sleeping doggs in Ireland, untill a staff be provided to chastise them if they will byte. Many things in common weales are suffered that are not liked. . . .

"The 26th [paragraph of your letter] sheweth you to be of that opinion that many wise men are, from the which I do not dissent, being as an Englishman. But being as a Christian man, I cannot without some perplexity enjoy of such cruelties."

Sir Nicholas Arnold, the writer of the first letter, was of a Gaelic-Welsh family, and resided, when in England, at Hyneham, in Gloucestershire. He had been sent to this country, in 1562, as one of two commissioners for taking musters of the garrisons. Upon the retirement of the Earl of Sussex from the viceroyalty, Arnold was appointed Lord Justice. He did not wield the sword of state vigorously, having accomplished nothing of note. It appears by the heraldic visitation made of the county of Wexford in 1618, that he married one of the co-heiresses of John Isham, Esq., an English gentleman, and seneschal of that palatinate: she was widow of Nicholas Hore, Esq., of Harperstown. Although Arnold seems to have been in favour with the writer of the reply, Sir William Cecil (best known as the powerful minister, Burleigh), his government proved so unsatisfactory to the Queen, that he held it but a short time. Her Majesty desired that sharper measures should be used against the formidable rebel, Shane O'Neill, than this knight was either willing or, perhaps, able to employ. Previous complaints had been made against Arnold, to which Cecil refers in his characteristic and admirable letter. The Lord Justice had recommended that a conciliatory and amending policy should be used towards the Gaelic chieftains. There can be no question but that, had such a propitious policy been adopted, much treasure and life would have been spared, and that the conciliated chiefs would have proved as loyal subjects as did the first Lords of Upper Ossory, Thomond, &c. who became firmly bound to state interests by grants of peerages and hereditary estates. Such a peaceful and Christian proceeding, however, was not acceptable to those who expected to carve out estates for themselves from the confiscations that would result from rebellion. Though fully according in the better spirit of Sir William Cecil's reply, we cannot still forget that he himself had exhibited hypocrisy in religion—a far more heinous crime than the so common sin of doing wrong for the sake of state expediency. We allude, of course, to his well-known adoption of the old creed during the reign of Queen Mary.

[CAPTAIN LAURENCE ESMONDE to the EARL OF SHREWSBURY.  
6th March, 1601-2. *Extract.*]

"RT. HON.—Having the opportunity of this gentleman, Mr. Crowe, going into England, and being well assured of his honest caryage, makes me presume to writt the more att large unto your honor. About six weeks past I lett my Lord Deputy understand of some factions, which I in the time of my imprysonment, found discontented against Tirone; and wrought so far with them as I made them swear to undertake the killing of Tirone, or, att least, to banish him out of his contry; so they might have good conditions of peace from Her Majesty, both for themselves and their followers. My Lord Deputy, after giving me many thanks, imployed me presently about that busynes, his Lordship being then at Cork; I posted away with as much speed as possible I could. But by the time that I came to the northern border, and sent to those gentlemen that were to undertake and perform the matter, Captain George Blount was sent to Tirone to treatt of peace; which they seeing, that had undertaken to executt the longe desired service, wold nott in anywise seem to deall in it, and were exceeding sorry that ever they made any such offer, assuring themselves that if ever Tirone could learn of it, he wold be throwly revenged of them and theirs.

.....

"My Lord Deputy employed me soon after to deall with Laynester traitors, and break their factions, which I did in that sort that I caused Donell Spaniogh, with all them of Low Leinster, to submitt themselves upon their knees, they were then able to make five hundreth foot and fifty horse, and have continued loyal since that time."

Laurence Esmonde was a younger son of Esmonde, of Johnstown, in the county of Wexford, an old Strongbonian family that owned a small property around the little tower which forms a portion of the magnificent chateau, now the residence of the relict of H. K. G. Morgan, Esq., and lady of Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart. The writer, a cadet of a Roman Catholic family, had embraced the reformed creed, and he served the Crown, long and loyally, until the troubles of 1641, when he unhappily adopted the parliamentarian side. He was created a peer by James I. It is somewhat startling to find a captain in H. M. service vaunting of his endeavour to procure the assassination of any one; and whether the proposed victim was that perilous rebel, the Earl of Tyrone, or merely some obscure but desperate robber, makes little difference as to the moral guilt of the atrocity of such an intention. Dr. Paley had not written his chapter to show that assassination, however expedient, is wrong. State expediency had in those days invented the principle that evil might be done for the sake of prospective good; and all conversant with the history of the period are aware that there are too many instances of attempts, both successful and futile, to remove dangerous individuals by the foulest methods. The first and most notorious of these

designs in Ireland was the Earl of Sussex's attempt to have the indomitable rebel, Shane O'Neill, poisoned. Some of the details are given in a late number of the "*Ulster Journal of Archæology*;" to which we may add that (as appears by Sir John Perrott's vindication of his conduct in attempts of a similar character, which he tried to justify by the atrocious precedent set by Lord Sussex) this governor of the realm induced one Thomas Smith, the only English physician in the metropolis, to prepare the poison, which was given to the dreaded Ultonian chief in a "double-drinking-bottle," by a servant of the Lord Deputy, one John Smith, who was afterwards stigmatized by the nickname of "Bottle Smith." There appears to have been several attempts to "cut off" the Earl of Tyrone by foul means. It is gratifying, however, to be able to quote Moryson, to the effect, that such was the reverence felt by the clansmen of this daring and patriotic chieftain, that not one of those who could approach his person was induced to betray him. Captain Esmonde obtained a grant of lands near Gorey, at the time when the Gaelic districts in the neighbourhood were allotted to undertakers of colonization. His family connexion, which included the Irish families of southern Leinster, enabled him to exert the useful influence over their leaders to which he alludes. Donell Spaniagh, or Donnell the Spaniard, was so called from having been educated in Spain with his kinsman, the historically celebrated Tom Stukeley, and was the popular head of the clan Kavanagh. It is not from his issue, but from another and more loyal line, that the present representative of the kings of Leinster, Kavanagh of Borris, descends. In some future number of the proposed "*Annuaire*" of the Society we may turn to the interesting personal story of the writer of the above letter, Laurence Lord Esmonde.

[GERALD BYRNE to SIR JOHN PERROTT. 18th April, 1590.]

"IT MAY PLEASE YOUR HONOR.

"Whereas you asked me whether Fergus O'Ferral's son had been with that traytour, Feaghe M'Hughe, and what I did know concerning the said young O'Ferral's repair to Leynster at that tyme; it may please you to understand that I being from home, the said Fergus his son came to my howse in harvest last, and not finding me there, went away presently, and staid baiting his horses in my way as I should return homewardes; and when I saw the company of horsemen in my way, I made toward them to see what they were, and there I found him and another horseman, well furnished with horse and armour, and a harper riding upon a hacney with them; and asking them from whence they came, and whither they wolde, they said that then they came from my howse, and wolde that night lie at Morgh M'Edmond's howse, a neighbour of mine, whose daughter was married to Feagh M'Hugh's son. From thence they would go to Feagh M'Hugh's howse. There they tarried certain days, and, at their departure, as I was informed, the said Feagh gave the same Fergus his son a horse, which was taken by Feagh a litill befor from Hugh Duffe M'Donell, one



of the Lord of Ormond's tenants in a prey. All which I thought it my dutie to advertize you of. And so, &c. 18 April, 1590.

"Your honor's &c.

"GERALD BYRN."

Probably the writer of the foregoing letter was a gentleman of the race of the senior clan O'Byrne, who were hostile to the Gaval-Ranall, the tribe of whom the celebrated warrior-rebel, Fiach MacHugh, was chief. As the O'Byrnes were subject, and, perhaps, also allied, to the house of Kildarc, the Christian name borne by the writer was frequent among them. Morgh M'Edmond probably was one of the sept of Mac-Edmond-Duff, the title of the chief of the Kinshelaghs. M'Donnell was captain of a small sept of gallo-glasses, and resided in Arklow Castle, which belonged to the Earl of Ormonde. The chief point of interest in the letter consists in the mention of the harper, who rode on horseback in company with the two young Gaelic cavaliers. We should like to have seen and heard him! Let us recall from memory a passage in a graceful poem on the Dargle, in which that romantic glen is described as the resort of Celtic sons of song, who came thither from all parts of Ireland to seek protection and patronage from the renowned Fiach Mac-Hugh:—

"To such a scene, to such a shade,  
Condemn'd, proscrib'd, the poet strayed;  
The warrior raised his buckler high  
To shield the son of harmony;  
And, as he sang with skill profound,  
A grove of lances bristled round!"

Many spirited odes, indited by "Fiach MacHugh's bards," remain still in a state of MS., from which we hope to transfer them some day to less perishable print. The site of his house at Ballinacor is still to be seen. His rude but hospitable hall stood on the hill-side, over the ground now occupied by the house and beautiful demesne of Mr. Kemmis, the solicitor to the Crown. It commanded the vale of Glenmalure, the O'Byrne's securest fastness, "where," it was said, in Queen Elizabeth's time, "law never approached." In Queen Victoria's days, however, this law officer of the Crown finds in this secluded valley a peaceful and agreeable retreat from the cares of his important functions. Farther up the wild and deep glen lies Farrancerin, rich in old wood and wild land, clothed with fern and heather, growing between its picturesque cliffs, rocks, and caves, which once delighted our eyes when in quest of the cavern where the brave Fiach was hunted down and slain by the English soldiery. Let us, antiquaries, honour the memory of this bold O'Byrne, despite the poet Spenser's contemporary vilification of him. Though of little power, he made a patriotic and noble struggle to defend his country from confiscators.

[LORD UPPER OSSORY to CECIL, *May, 1604.*]

“RIGHT HON: AND VERY SINGULAR GOOD LORD, MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,—This gentleman, Charles Duinne, son to O’Duinne, and one of the Masters of H. M. Courtte of Chancery in this realme, was noe meane comferte unto me to withstand the often combinations of Conne O’Neyll, sonne to the Earll of Tyrone, and the most partt of Leinster rebels, as often as they assaulted and destroyed my land, and thought to wyn my castells. Hee came in the last rebellion to this realme from his studies in Oxenford, whear he contynued xvii years, to perswade his name and neighbours not to shrinke in their loyaltie, with whom he much prevayled, to the advancement of Her Majesty’s service. If it stand with your honourable lycking to further his reasonable suite to his highness, I am perswaded your Lordship may make good use of hym in this realme, and will extend your honourable favour to such an one as may and will faithfully serve his highness under your Lordship’s honourable patronadge. Thus beseeching the Almighty longe to preserve your Lordship, I humbly take my leave. Dublin, the 1st of May, 1604.

“Your Lordship’s humbly to command,

“F. UPPER OSSORY.”

The preceding letter is commendatory of a learned scion of the ancient Gaelic family of O’Duinne, chieftains of the O’Duinnes of Irgan, in the Queen’s County, from whom the highly respectable family of Doyne, of Wells, in the county of Wexford, and others of the name, are sprung. These chieftains are still represented, and this instance of a distinguished Celtic race preserving its social position to the present day is almost a singular one.

[SIR THOMAS COLCLOUGH to MR. NICHOLAS WALSH, *Second Justice of the King’s Bench. Dated Tintern, Co. Wexford, 3rd May, 1594.*]

“MY GOOD BROTHER,—I heartlie comend me unto you. There is a Spaniard in the bay of Greenore which is a spie (as it is here thought). And uppon Thursday night last, in the evening, sent xx<sup>o</sup> of his men ashore, and did take Mr. Whittye of Ballyteige as prisoner, and carried him aboard with themselves, and there doe keepe him; and doe saie that they will carrie him with them into Spain. And besides that, they have done many mischiefes hereabouts. And therefore I thought it my duty to signify this much unto you, and doe thinke very necessary that you would procure the Mayor of Waterford to man oute a shipp to take him, which would noe doubt be very great service unto her Majestie, and well thought of. I did write to Wexford of it, and have sent their answer hereinlosed to you. And thus, with my hartie comendations unto you and my sister, I comitt you to God. Tinterne, the 3 of May, 1594.

“Your loving brother,

“THOMAS COLCLOUGH.”

In another letter, of the 1st June, the manner in which the Spanish pirates took Mr. Whittey prisoner is described. The captor would not accept a ransom, merely desiring to have "the credit in Spain of having taken a great gentleman prisoner." The vessel was but of 20 tons burden, and carried 30 musketeers, and two pieces of brass ordnance. The writer of the foregoing letter was son of Sir Anthony Colclough, a Staffordshire gentleman, who purchased a crown lease of Tintern Abbey and its estate. From 1579 to 1600, the seaboard of Ireland was kept in a state of constant alarm by apprehensions of descents of Spaniards. The captive gentleman was Richard Whittey, Esq., of Ballyteige, head of a Strongbonian family, among whom Sir Richard de Whyttey had been summoned to Parliament as a baron by Edward III. There is a handsome marble monumental stone over the grave of Whittey, of Ballyteige, in Kilmore church.

[MR. PATRICK FURLONGE to his nephew MR. CHRISTOPHER CHEVERS, in DUBLIN.]

"DEAR SIR,—My Lord of Fearnese is sonne, Mr. John Allen, showed me a letter his father sent him at 8 of the clock at night, wishing him to repair home with all speed, and letting him to witt that the Vice President of Munster and the Mayor of Waterford had sent to the Fort of Duncannon that they should be in all readines, and that the Spaniards were upon the coast. Whereupon I have maid stay of all our shipping and men, that none shall depart the town untill we hear farther. This much I would have written to Mr. William Usher in a letter I sent him, if I had heard thereof at the writing of the same, and sens I have not, I pray you acquaint him therewith, and such others as you shall think most meet. And even so with my loving commendation doth leave you. Wexford, the 29 of June, 1593.

"Your loving uncle,  
"PATRICK FURLONGE."

Probably the writer was Mayor of Wexford, and his nephew the owner of Killiane Castle, where a branch of the Chevers family, of whom a member was created Lord Mount Leinster by James II., resided. Our extracts from the State Paper Office may be resumed at some future time.

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on  
Wednesday, July 2nd, 1856,

JAMES G. ROBERTSON, ESQ., Architect, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Rev. Loftus Reade, Levally Glebe, Enniskillen; F. W. Barton, Esq., Clonelly, county of Fermanagh; and Thos. Johnston, Esq., Longfield, Carrickmacross: proposed by the Rev. George H. Reade.

The Rev. G. E. Corrie, D.D., Master of Jesus' College, Cambridge (for life); Captain Richard Beare Tooker, Royal Cork City Artillery; and Oliver Fitzmaurice, Esq., Duagh House, Listowel: proposed by Richard Hitchcock, Esq.

James F. Haly, Esq., Ballyfoyle, Kilkenny: proposed by John F. Shearman, Esq.

Thomas Ware, Esq., Cork; and John Spread, Esq., Summerhill, Cork: proposed by Richard Caulfield, Esq.

John Power, Esq., Mount Richard, Carrick-on-Suir; the Rev. P. Byrne, R.C. Admr., Carrick-on-Suir; the Rev. P. Morrissey, P.P., Ballyneil, Carrick-on-Suir; the Rev. David Power, R.C.C., Carrick-on-Suir; Mr. Michael Larkin, Tybroughny, Pilltown; and Mr. W. Morriss, Carrick-on-Suir: proposed by John H. Leech, Esq.

James F. Grant, Esq., M. D., Resident Medical Officer, South Dublin Union, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. J. O'Hanlon, R.C.C.

The Rev. John Lymberry, Fethard Castle, Fethard, New Ross; and William Oldham, Esq., Bedford House, Rathgar, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors :—

By John Greene, Esq., M. P.: "Antiquities of Shropshire," by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, Vol. III., also Vol. IV. parts 1 and 2.

By the Author, M. Boucher de Perthes: "Voyage a Constantinople par L'Italie, La Sicile, et La Grèce, Retour par La Mer Noire, La Roumélie, La Bulgarie, La Bessarabie Russe, Les Provinces Danubiennes, La Hongrie, L'Autriche et La Prusse, en Mai, Juin, Juillet, et Août, 1853." 2 Vols.

By the Author, the Rev. Duncan McCallum: "The History of the Culdees; the Ancient Clergy of the British Isles, A.D. 177-1300."

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," Nos. 4 and 6.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 49.

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: their "Proceedings and Papers," Session I., 1848-9 [reprinted].

By the Surrey Archæological Society: their "Transactions" for the years 1854, 1855, being Vol. I. part 1.

By the Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckingham: "Records of Buckinghamshire," No. 5.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 693 to 699, inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Literary Gazette," Nos. 12 to 15, inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Irish Reporter," Nos. 5 and 6.

By the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles, Rector of Clonmacnoise: a small, but interesting bronze brooch, found about a foot beneath the surface, near the ancient grave-yard of Clonmacnoise.

By the Rev. James Graves: a small bronze pin, found at Newtown, near Dysart bridge, Barony of Fassadineen, county of Kilkenny.

By the Rev. James Mease: a "Patrick's penny," in excellent preservation, found near Freshford.

By Mr. Michael Quirk, Irishtown: a farthing of Elizabeth.

By Thomas Lane, Esq.: an ancient tobacco pipe, found in pulling down an old wall near St. Francis' Abbey, in this city.

By J. G. Robertson, Esq.: a copy of an ancient Map of Ireland, A. D. 1572.

Mr. Robertson exhibited a crown-piece of the brass money of James II., on which the words *MAG. BRIT.* are omitted from the legend; and a base penny of Edward I. or II., found in a garden near the town-wall, Kilkenny.

By James S. Blake, Esq., J.P.: a specimen of the slates used in roofing Jerpoint Abbey, county of Kilkenny. Mr. Blake had been informed that a large vault existed beneath a garden, within the precincts of the abbey cloister. On search, however, it dwindled to a small sewer which ran from the chancel of the abbey church towards the river, probably the drain of the piscinas of the chancel and side chapels. The slate, which was found in the course of the excavations measured 2 feet by 11 inches wide, and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an inch thick.

The following communication was read, from Richard Caulfield, Esq., Cork:—

“I found the following inventory of the Insignia of the Corporation of Cork among the Sarsfield MSS. The document is not dated, but from the writing I would infer it to be of the latter part of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. William Sarsfield was Mayor of Cork in 1542, and again in 1556; Thomas Sarsfield in 1580; James Sarsfield in 1599; Thomas Sarsfield in 1603; William Sarsfield in 1606; Thomas Sarsfield in 1639. It was probably during the mayoralty of one of these that the Insignia were purchased. It was Queen Elizabeth who gave the Corporation the very beautiful collar of SS., which they now possess.

MACES, SWORD AND OTHER ENSIGNES OF Y<sup>e</sup> CORPORAÇON.

	£	s.	d.
Two maces q' 63 oz., at 5' 3 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	16	10	09
Making and engraving, at 2' 6 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	07	17	06
52 oz. in Sher' maces, at 5' 3 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	13	13	00
Making & engraving, at 2' 6 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	06	10	00
Pocket mace, 7 oz., at 5' 3 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	01	16	09
Making & engraving, at 2' 6 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	00	17	06
Waterbayliffes oare, 14 oz., at 5' 3 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	03	13	06
Makeing & engraving, . . . . .	01	15	00
City Seal, makeing & silver, . . . . .	01	10	00
Mayoralty Seael, . . . . .	01	05	00
Sword, 20 oz., at 5' 3 <sup>d</sup> —£5 05 00, making & engraving 2 <sup>n</sup> , Scabbard 35 <sup>s</sup> , gilding 3 <sup>n</sup> , Blade 10'	12	10	00

£67 19 00

“I have examined the present city Insignia of Cork. They are in the custody of the town clerk, and are kept in a large safe, in a room under the Court-house. They are very modern, bearing the date 1738, and are decorated with the royal and city arms, and bear the names of the mayor and sheriffs for that year: so that they cannot be the Insignia mentioned in the old list, which I presume was lost or destroyed during the siege in 1690. The present water-bailiff's oar is the gift of William and Mary, as you will see by the drawing. The maces were much battered or broken when the present Corporation got them, and they had to be repaired. The Corporation sword is quite modern. The old one was sold (most illegally) by the family of the former sword-bearer. It was the most ancient thing the Corporation possessed. I remember having seen it, and from the immense handle it had, I have no doubt but that it was the one mentioned in our list. No person can tell where it is now—all the family are dead. I suspect it is in London.”

Mr. Caulfield also forwarded drawings of the silver oar, the badge of the Cork water-bailiff, bearing at one side the royal arms, and the cypher of the letters M and W combined with two crowned K's. The other side bore the arms and motto of the city of Cork.

Mr. Herbert F. Hore sent fac-similes of signatures from the State Paper Office, being those of Viscount Butler, Governor of Carlow, 1604; Thomas, the tenth Earl of Ormonde, 1604; Garrett, Earl of Kildare, 1607; Mabel, Countess of Kildare, 1607; Sir Matthew De Renzy, 1608; Piers, eighth Earl of Ormonde, 1538; James, ninth Earl of Ormonde, 1539; Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, 1639; Richard Aylward, Mayor of Waterford, 1593; Christopher Cheevers, 1693; and Patrick Furlong, Mayor of Waterford, 1593.

The Rev. Duncan M'Callum forwarded two papers, one of which was entitled "The Celts the First Inhabitants of the British Isles;" the other, "Gleanings of Antiquity." The former, with part of which, we fear, the best informed Irish antiquaries will not agree, is as follows:—

"The great Celtic nation, who first peopled Europe, spread into various branches. The most powerful were the Gauls, who, again, sent colonies into many countries. In the year B. C. 270, some of them, under Brennus, crossed the Hellespont, and settled in the north of Phrygia and Cappadocia. They were called Galatians, and spoke the Celtic language in the days of Jerome. Six centuries after the emigration, the Apostle Paul addressed an Epistle to them. But, long previous to that emigration, Gauls crossed the narrow sea to the nearest land, about twenty miles broad. Observing it higher than the coast they left—now France—they called it Breatain; and they thence were known and denominated Breatanich—*Bretains*. Others followed, and the first, moving inland, lost, in the progress of time, sight of the mother country. Their posterity considered themselves to be indigenous. This shows the very remote period at which the first Gauls came into the south of the island. Those who settled on or near the coast, also called Breatanich, were in communication with their friends in Gaul, and sent aid to the *Venati* when Julius Cæsar invaded that country. His pretext for invading Britain was to chastise the Britons for sending assistance to the Gauls.

"While colony succeeded colony to South Britain, only one passed to the north of the island. This appears evident from the name Gaul—*Gauls*—which they have retained to the present day. Their route to the north kept them apart from their friends in the south. On seeing mountains before them, they called the country Albin, as their ancestors denominated the Alps and other mountainous countries abroad. Afterwards the Greeks adopted this name for the whole island, with an additional letter (*euphonia causâ*), viz., Albion—i. e. Great Britain. Hence, South and North Britain, and Britons.

"Although Great Britain and Ireland have been called the British Isles, the latter was properly called the Western Isle—Iarrion, contracted Erin, and Erenich, the inhabitants of Erin; as the inhabitants of Albin (now Scotland) were, in contradistinction, called Albanich, from Alba, Albin.

"It is not improbable that the first colony into Ireland went from South Britain. There are two causes that make this supposition more than probable—the one, that Ireland has been named one of the British

Isles, and the other is the short distance between the two islands, about sixteen miles. But, whether the Belgians (the Firbolg of Ireland) made their way hither in a different course—and which it was—cannot now be ascertained. They spoke a dialect of the Celtic language that differed from the other tribes of Gaul (see Cæsar's 'Commentaries,' books i. and vi.) But all their dialects differed so little, that the Irish and the Scots still understand each other.

"The Gaelic is allowed to be the purest dialect of the Celtic language now known, the Irish the most copious, and there are special reasons for it. The Gael always lived remote, and never mixed with any other nation. The Gothic race, that first appeared in the Hebride (Hebrides), landed, and held possession, during a long space of time, of part of North Britain, kept up a continual strife with the natives; they never mixed nor intermarried. The Scandinavians, who frequently invaded Scotland, were always obliged in the end to abandon the country. The Highlanders were never subdued. The Ostmen who settled in Ireland mixed with the natives, enriched the language of the latter by their own, and, although the Celtic always continued the national language, much of the foreign speech was received into it.

"When the Scots were divided into Highlanders and Lowlanders, the latter received so many foreign tongues, as to have made a new language, named the Scottish dialect. The former admitted none."

A communication was received from George Benn, Esq., of Liverpool, as follows:—

"In the 'Ulster Journal of Archæology,' vol. iii. p. 315–321, are two accounts, by two narrators, concerning the demolition of a large cairn on the hill of Scrabo, in the county of Down. In both is related the discovery in the cairn of a smoking pipe, or Dane's pipe, as it is sometimes called, the antiquity, or comparatively recent origin of which has given rise to much speculation, and is altogether an unsettled point. The discovery of this one, however, in a cairn so old, seemed to afford to the writer of one of the papers indisputable testimony in favour of the former opinion; to use his own words, 'it sets the question at rest for ever;' though, oddly enough for a question sealed and settled for ever by his means, he introduces, at the end of his paper, these very qualifying observations, which quite neutralize his statement:—'I cannot vouch for the accuracy of what I have written regarding the opening of the cairn and its contents; and having learned that some of the workmen have given a different version of the matter, I shall merely say that I took down, *verbatim*, the particulars given to me by Mr. Patton, jeweller, of Newtownards, as stated to have been received by him from the man who found the coins.' The other narrator, with more caution and correctness, and I think in a more just spirit of inquiry, says:—'I do not venture to found any argument on the discovery of the smoking pipe, because neither I nor any of my fellow-inquirers have actually seen it; and although this is not the first instance that has come before me of these pipes being found in places of undoubted antiquity, still I am not in possession of sufficient data to come to any conclusion on the subject.'

"Being myself completely in doubt regarding this question, but at the



same time disposed to consider that evidence hitherto had been more in favour of the modern origin of these articles than otherwise, and in spite of the authoritative dictum of one of the writers alluded to, believing that the way and manner of the discovery, the kind of second-hand evidence supporting it, added really nothing to our knowledge on the subject—that it brought this vexed question no nearer to an end, any more, indeed, than if a pipe had been found, or had been said to be found, at any other old carn or fort, a matter of frequent occurrence,—I ventured, in a short article, in the ‘Ulster Journal of Archæology,’ vol. iv. p. 4, so to express myself, hoping either for farther proof or explanation, or a concurrence in my own view when the manifest weakness of the evidence—the conflicting, the imperfect, the inconclusive evidence—was pointed out. Instead of this result, however, my surprise was great to find, in the March number of the ‘Kilkenny Archæological Journal,’ p. 50, these words from the same writer, Mr. Carruthers, who made the original statement, and on whose inferences I took the liberty of remarking:—‘August, 1855.—At this time some workmen, having removed the stones which composed a carn on Scrabo Hill, near Newtownards, county of Down, discovered a stone, 8 feet long, broad in proportion, and so heavy, that to remove it they were obliged to blast it with gunpowder; when a grave was exhibited, formed of blocks of stone, in which was a human skeleton, greatly decomposed, at one side of the head of which was a smoking pipe, commonly called a Dane’s pipe; at the side, about 2½ ounces of very rude, thin, silver Danish coins.’ Now, this is a circumstantial, explicit, unqualified statement, without note or comment, and is certainly at variance with the general scope and tenor of the account as given originally, and with the two quotations which I have made in the former paragraph. It would require the reader to believe, as a fact certain and established, that when this great carn was removed, a sepulchral chamber of very remote antiquity was disclosed, covered with a stone so stupendous as not to be moved till broken up with gunpowder; that when this was accomplished, there was discovered underneath a smoking pipe, a number of Danish coins, and the bones, including the skull, of a human being: all these objects, if the statement were to be relied on, being of course coeval, and all lying there, centuries upon centuries, before Sir Walter Raleigh or his tobacco was ever heard of. Now, if the writer, or any other observer of equal competence and ability, had *seen* all this (and it would have been no harm to have had the ocular demonstration of two or three witnesses to cumulate the proof of such a miracle), no doubt the evidence would have been complete: it would have been the most unexceptionable, important, and unexpected testimony to the great antiquity of Danes’ pipes which, so far as I know, has ever been brought to light, and might have convinced the most incredulous. It would have been quite a different kind of proof from vague traditions of the monks having smoked coltsfoot, and disputed resemblances to tobacco pipes on rude sculpture of a date anterior to the knowledge of the tobacco plant in Europe, and other uncertain statements of that character. It would have been tangible evidence, and would have formed a stable foundation for all future inquirers on smoking matters, proving not alone the universality, but the immeasurable antiquity of the practice. On seeing the extraordinary statement, therefore, reproduced in this

manner in the 'Proceedings' of the Society, I carefully read over again the two original accounts which appeared in the 'Ulster Journal of Archæology' of the demolition of the cairn, the discoveries which resulted, and all the attendant circumstances, and again affirm, that, besides the inherent improbability, they contain nothing whatever to warrant the broad, unqualified assertion embodied in the recent number of the former publication. The process of demolition or removal was not witnessed by the writer; but half a year after it was completed, and the ground entirely cleared, the workmen are interrogated as to these curious matters. So far from a skeleton having been found entombed in the systematic manner described, with a pipe near its head—perhaps in its jaw—one account says, that no skull was found at all; no pipe was seen by any of the recent investigators; some say the huge stone under which all these marvels were discovered was in a manner detached, that it had slipped away from its original position, and that the smoking pipe was found outside the enclosure altogether. At the lower end of the great slab spoken of, the coins were found, not covered by the large stone, but by others of a smaller size—forming, there is little reason to doubt, a concealed hoard of comparatively modern date. On the whole, therefore, the evidence is altogether hearsay, every way uncertain, in some respects contradictory, and of no value, at least fully to prove a case in any court either of law or archæology.

"I fear it is, to say the least, indiscreet to make statements so explicit and direct, except on the most undeniable proof. It leads to error and vain discussion hereafter. Subsequent arguments may be founded on what is in reality a fable, or at least an unsupported allegation. Archæology, no doubt, admits of much ingenious conjecture; but let it be given as such, to be tested and estimated, as in the end it will, by the learning or acuteness of other speculators; and let not statements quite incapable of proof be put forward, as positive and direct facts, to support any favourite or preconceived theory. It is for the purpose of not allowing the readers of the 'Proceedings' of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society to be misled by any incautious statement which has appeared in their valuable publication that I have again drawn attention to it; and that I repeat, for their information, founded on the showing of both the writers of the accounts themselves, that the true position or place of deposit of this pipe, or alleged pipe, within the body of the cairn, is undefined and unknown; and I may add, as a corollary to the above, my own private belief and opinion, that it is likely so to remain in *secula seculorum*."

The Rev. James Graves read a transcript of a letter from General Preston to the Marquis of Ormonde, dated from Kilkenny, and showing that acts of courtesy passed between the contending parties at a period when they were opposed in the field, as evidenced by the Royalist general having liberated General Preston's page. Whether the hanging of "one Lilly" can be fully defended, on the grounds pleaded by Preston, is a question. The spelling and etymology of Preston's secretary (the signature only being in autograph) are curious. The letter is addressed, "For the most honorable the Lord Marquess of Ormond, these, at Dublin;" and docketed, in

Ormonde's hand, "Colonell Preston's, dated the 26th of March, 1643." The letter was as follows:—

"RIGHT HONNO<sup>rs</sup>—I conceive by yo' Lōp's Lfe yo' take in ill parte the hanging of one Lilly w<sup>ch</sup> heeretofore served in yo' Army, but when yo' Lōpp vnderstand the cause, I beleeeve yo' wilbe better satisfied, the said Lilly havinge served in o' Army and runn away to yo'", and wee havinge taken him afterwards, wee caused the millitarie Lawes to bee putt in execution, accordinge to the Custome of the Countrie wherein I served, who gives noe quarter to such men as beinge vncapable thereof, as I hope yo' Lōpp will conceiue to be soe fittinge, and could wish y' yo' Lōp would vse all such as run away from yo' Army that yo' finde againe in the same nature, giveinge yo' Lōp thanks for sendinge my sonns page backe; I remaine  
Yo' Lōps most humble servant

T. PRESTON.

"*Kilkenny 26 Martij*  
1643."

Colonel Thomas Preston, a brother of Lord Gormanstown, had served many years in the Low Countries, in the service of Spain, where he had particularly distinguished himself by his gallant defence of Genep in 1641. He came to Ireland in September, 1642, and in the October following was appointed Provincial General for Leinster, by the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholics.—Carte's "Ormond," vol. i. pp. 367 and 369.

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

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THE SURRENDER, IN MARCH, 1649-50, OF BALLYSONAN, IN  
THE COUNTY OF KILDARE, TO THE PARLIAMENTARY  
FORCES.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B.

THE despatches forwarded by Cromwell and his officers to the Parliament of England, descriptive of their victorious career in Ireland, are all of more or less interest, full of quaint description, and valuable as the words of eye-witnesses and actors in the closing scene of the bloody drama of the Great Rebellion. Carlyle, in his Letters and Speeches of Cromwell, has collected the Irish despatches of the general-in-chief, and thrown the light of his genius around the vigorous, but uncouth, and often obscure, productions of that great man. But the communications forwarded by the subordinate officers of the expedition have never been collectively reprinted, and are only to be discovered in the libraries





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of private collectors of rare pamphlets, or, after laborious search, in one or other of our great public libraries.

Happening to possess a few of these despatches, published in London, under the "*imprimatur*" of the Long Parliament, I have selected that which relates to the siege and surrender of the "Strong Garrison and Fort of Ballysonan," the rather because the Society has been favoured, by H. W. King, Esq., a member of the Etching Club, with the use of a plate, engraved by that gentleman, which affords a contemporary illustration of Colonel Hewson's despatch.

Mr. King has favoured me with a letter, which gives the following account of the original of his etching:—

"The MS. from which my etching was made is in the possession of J. Y. Akerman, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries. It is comprised in a single sheet of paper, rather larger than modern foolscap. The enclosed verbatim copy of a list of references to the plan, together with my etching, are the whole contents of the paper, which is unquestionably of the date it bears (1648); and I should say that the plan was, most probably, executed by some officer engaged in the attack. I etched the plate simply for the purpose of preserving what is presumed to be an unique plan of the fortification. With respect to the etching, however, I ought to observe, that the point (A) in the description is about an inch beyond the verge of the plate in the direction in which the arrow points, and was indicated in the MS. by a field-piece. This I was compelled to omit, in order to bring the plate within the size of a quarto volume. In all other respects the etching is a fac-simile of the original, and wherever any lines cut a building or other point, apparently by accident, the errors occur in the original drawing. The omission of the dashes, indicating water in some parts of the fosse, also occurs in the plan. I adhered rigidly to the original, altering nothing."

The date given in Colonel Hewson's despatch does not exactly coincide with that on the plan; but there can be no doubt that both refer to the same military operation, as they mutually illustrate each other.

The following are the original references to the plate herewith given:—

"A Description of the Strong Fort of Ballisanon, in Leinster, taken in the 21th of September, 1648.

- A The first place of our battery of the Blacke castle.
- B The black castle.
- C The workes of the towne.
- D Gates of the outworkes.
- E An other outworke.
- F A gate where one of our pieces stood.
- G The high mount fortified which wee stormed.
- H The Church. On the other side stood our morttter picce.
- I The batery & pieces.
- K The counter Scarpe.

- L Couert way 12 foot broad, his breast work 9 foot broad at top.  
 M The graft 25 foot in five places and 12 foot deep.  
 N The Rampire, and parapett 30 foot thicke and in some places 25 foot high.  
 O The inner Moate in some places 40 foot broad.  
 P The draw bridges in number 5.  
 Q Bares or dames to keep in water.  
 R a house and bulworke bated.  
 S a bulworke bated.  
 T The walls about the castle.  
 V Houses that flankers the walls.  
 W The Castle.  
 X The Tower whereon there collar [i. e. standard] stood.  
 Y an new worke.  
 Z a tourne pike."

I now proceed to give the pamphlet *verbatim*,—the letters of the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth being included, as it bears, in part, on the same transaction as Colonel Hewson's despatch. The punctuation of the original has been corrected in one or two places, and a few notes added:—

"Severall Letters from IRELAND of the late good success of the Parliament forces there. ONE from Col. *Hewson* Governour of *Dublin*, sent to the *Honourable* William Lenthall Esq; *Speaker of the PARLIAMENT*. Wherein were inclosed the Summons, and other passages between him and the Governour of the strong Garrison and Fort of *Ballisannon*. Together vvith the Propositions tendred by them, and refused. As also the Articles upon which the same was surrendered. Dated the *First day of March* 1649. TWO other Letters from *William Basil* Esquire, Attorney General for the State in *Ireland*.

"March 18. 1649. *These Letters and Papers are appointed to be Printed and published. Imprimatur, Henry Scobel, Cler. Parliamenti;*

"London Printed for Robert Ibbitson in Smithfield near the Queens-head Tavern, 1649.

p. 1. "To the *Honourable* William Lenthall Esquire, *Speaker of the Parliament of England*.

"SIR,—When his Excellency marched from *Dublin* towards *Munster*, he left me intrusted with that Garrison, my selfe, and those left with me at that time being sicke: The first party that recovered were sent after the Army; to wit, about 800 Foot, and 200 Horse, which fought and beat the Enemy upon their march. Some more of those sicke men that were left recovering, and some recruits comming over; after I had surprised the strong Fort upon the Bog of *Allin*,<sup>1</sup> and taken *Castle-Martin*<sup>2</sup> in the County of *Kildare*, and placed a Garrison therein; about the end of December, marched with a party of 1000 Horse and Foot into the Island of *Allin*,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to identify this fort.

<sup>2</sup> In the barony of Kilcullen.

<sup>3</sup> In the barony of Great Connell; it gives name to the bog so called.

summoned *Killmaog*<sup>1</sup> therein, but finding it not feazable to storne without Guns, I marched to *Rabride*<sup>2</sup> and *Ponsers Grange*,<sup>3</sup> and tooke them, and placed two strong Garrisons there, which did give me good footing in the County of *Kildare*, then sent a party and took *Kildare*, *Hertwell*,<sup>4</sup> and *Cotlingstowne*,<sup>5</sup> three usefull Garrisons in the said County; and provisions being spent returned back to *Dublin*, there endeavouring to get Guns, Mortar peeces, and other necessaries ready to draw forth againe with all possible speed; in the interim I received Propositions from the Governour and Officers in the strong Garrison and Fort of *Ballisonan*, the originall whereof, I here inclosed present you with all under their owne hands.

"Which being by me utterly rejected, I marched upon Tuesday the 26 of Feb. with a party of 2000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, towards the County of *Kildare*, and took with me one Culverin, and one Demiculverin, and one Mortar-piece, the Enemy fired their Garrisons of Fort of *Lease*,<sup>6</sup> *Blackreath*,<sup>7</sup> & the forementioned Castle of *Kilmaog* in the Island of *Allin*; but I shall easily make it tenable againe, it being very usefull for your service, they also did blow up the Castle of *Athy*, where they had a strong Garrison, and broke up the Bridge. Upon the 28 Feb. I marched from the *Naas*, and about four a clock with the Van of the party, I came to *Bellisonan* a strong Garrison, double Works, and double moted, full of water one within another, and a mount with a Fort upon it, most of the Officers with me esteeming the taking of it to be unfeazable, it being late, and I unwilling to lose time, did send in a Summons, a copy whereof is here inclosed, & the inclosed answer under the Governours hand was presently returned, & the Town which was without his Works by him burned that night, I caused a Battery to be made and planted the Artillery, and made a Fort for the security thereof, having intelligence that the Lord of *Castlehaven*, with 4000 Horse and Foot would come to p. 2. raise me within two dayes, in which Fort I could secure the Guns and batter their Works, whilst I drew off to fight the Enemy if need were, we played our Guns and Morter-peece at the Fort upon the Mount, intending before night to storne it, having Ladders, and all necessaries ready, but before any breach was made, the Governour did send me a paper which is here inclosed, whereunto the inclosed answer was returned, and he treated with me about the surrender, which was concluded accordingly. The Articles signed with both our hands herewith, is represented unto you.

"And now Sir, you have without the losse of one man this strong place, and thereby most of the County of *Kildare*; those Garrisons in this County yet remaining, as *Castle Dormount*,<sup>8</sup> and *Kilkenny*, with others, I hope you shall have a good account thereof speedily from,

"*Bellisonan, March 3,*  
"1649.

"Your humble servant,  
"*Ioh. Hewson.*

"SIR,—I am now marching the Army to reduce that place you possesse unto the obedience of the Parliament of *England*, and it being

<sup>1</sup> Now *Kilmeague*, in the barony of Great Connell.

<sup>2</sup> *Rathbride*, in the barony of *Ophaly*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably that now called *Grange Clear*, in the island of *Allen*.

<sup>4</sup> Not identified.

<sup>5</sup> Now called *Cotlandstown*, in the barony of *Naas*.

<sup>6</sup> *Maryborough*, in the Queen's County, where are some remains of the fort.

<sup>7</sup> Not identified.

<sup>8</sup> *Castledermot*.



apparent to the world that God is making inquisition in *Ireland* for innocent blood, how farre you and those with you may be concerned therein, I shall observe by your Answer hereunto.

"These are to require you to deliver that place you now possesse, unto me for the end aforesaid: whatsoever your return hereunto may be, and the effect thereof, my Summons will justify the future proceedings of

" *Your Servant,*

" 28 Feb. 1649.

" *J. Hewson.*

" *For the Governour of Bellisonan.*

"SIR,—I am now in possession in this place by authority from my King, how you may demand it by authority from the Parliament of *England*, I know not: *England* denying their King, therefore your power I disobey: And for *God*, my *King*, and *Country*, will defend this place to the uttermost of my power,

" Sir, *your Servant,*

" 28 Febru. 1649.

" *Donno Kelly.*

" *For Col. Hewson Commander in chiefe  
of the Parliament party now in the  
Field of [ . . . ].*

p. 3.

" Propositions made by the Garrison, which were rejected.

" *VVE doe hereby employ Governour Donno O Kelly, for the delivery of the hereunder Propositions to the Commissioners Generall of the Parliaments Forces of Ireland.*

" *Imprimis, That the party commanding this Garison and Fort of Ballisonan, and all other that will adhere to them, are really and willingly to joyne to the Parliament Forces, upon such termes as are hereunder written.*

" 2. *That a Collonel, Lieutenant Collonel, and a Major besides Captaines, and under Officers, be employed of the said party, constantly in the standing Army, of the Parliaments Forces of this Kingdome; That in case any such Officers come in,*

" 3. *That they may have free liberty of their Religion, and two Priests admitted and employed for to serve the said Regiment now intended.*

" 4. *That neither Taaffe, nor Dillon shall be accepted of in the Parliaments party.*

" 5. *That their estates wrongfully detained and enjoyed by the said Dillon, Bourne, and Taaffes, may be allowed unto them by the state of Parliament.*

" 6. *That their Arrears since May last, may be allowed them, this and the aforesaid Propositions may be granted by the Generall, Lieutenant Generall, Major Generall, and Commissioners generall of the Parliament Forces of this Kingdome, that what those Counties assigned to them for their pay, are in Arreare since their comming to Ballisonan, may be forthwith caused to be paid.*

" 7. *That this granted they shall obey any, deriving power from the State of Parliament.*

" *J. Gordon.*

" *Connor Belly.*

" *Ch. Belly.<sup>1</sup>*

" *M. Donnogh.*

<sup>1</sup> "Belly" should, most likely, be printed "Kelly." The disunion between the Anglo-Irish and the natives, and the tendency of

the latter to join the Commonwealth party, which showed itself elsewhere at this time, is apparent in these "Propositions."

“ *Col. Hewsons last Summons.*

“ SIR,—Blood I doe not thirst after, yet so far a Souldier, as not to neglect present opportunity, I shall for the end in your Letter mentioned, send Captaine *Hewson* according to your desire, provided you send one or two fully Authorised to treat and conclude, and all to be concluded within halfe an houre, provided also you doe not worke at all to repaire what my Guns, and Morter peece have demolished ; and to that end that Cap. p. 4. *Hewson* may remaine in the Mount during that halfe houre. Sir, I shall be glad if your wisdome prevent what otherwise unavoidably will fall out, though not desired by

“ Your Servant,

“ 1 *March*, 1649.

“ *I. Hewson.*

“ SIR:—To avoyd the confusion of Christian blood we sent out a Drum to demand a Parley, my desire for the reasons aforesaid is, that you send in a Captaine of yours to treat with us, and we will send forth a Captaine of ours, who shall demand no more but what is honourable and just, and so Sir, I conclude ;

“ Your Servant :

“ *March* 1, 1649.

“ *Donno Kelly.*

“ Articles agreed upon: between the Honourable Col: *John Hewson* of the one part, and Captain *Donnogh Kelly* Governour of *Bellisonan* in the County of *Kildare* of the other part. 1 *March* 1649.

“ Imprimis, *That the said Garrison and Fort of Bellisonan, shall bee immediately delivered with all the Ammunition, and Provisions therein, except as in the insuing Article is agreed upon.*

“ 2. *That the said Governour Officers and Souldiers, shall continue in the Castle untill to morrow morning at ten of the clocke if they please, and then they are to march out of the said Castle and Fort with a Trumpeter for Convoy Tenne miles if they desire it, or to any of the next Irish Garrisons within ten miles as aforesaid, the Trumpeter returning without any prejudice. And the said Officers are to march with their Horses and Pistolls, and with their Colours flying, and Drums beating, and the Souldiers with their Armes, and Matches lighted, and each Musketeer one pound of powder with Bullet and Match proportionable.*

“ 3. *Whatsoever Oates and Pease shall appear to be in the Castle belonging to Mis. Fitz Gerald shall be restored to her.*

“ *And lastly, for the due performance of the aforesaid Articles, we doe hereunto set our Hands the day and yeare first above written,*

“ *John Hewson.*

“ *Donno Kelly.*

“ *For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker in the Parliament of England.* p. 5.

“ *Right Honourable;*—Upon the sixth instant, (information being given that five Companies of the Enemies Foot were come to Poores Court about eight miles from hence, on Wickloe side,) a Party was sent from this place under the command of Sir *Theophilus Iones* to beat them out, or fight

them, but before our Party got thither they demolisht all the buildings, they pull'd down the very walls, and fled away into the woods; we cannot keep any Garrison there, because there is no manner of shelter for our men there.

"The tenth instant, Letters from Sir *Charles Coote* (then at Belfast) brought the newes of reducing Castle Dooe.

"There was lately a generall Counsell of the Clergy at *Kilkenny*, who treated upon Propositions presented amongst themselves for carrying on of the War.

"The Plague continues in Galway, where there hath neare twenty thousand dyed since the first of *August* last; most of their Gentry there have perisht by it, among the rest *Jeffery Browne*, heretofore a Practiser at Law in England, Sir *Richard Blague*,<sup>1</sup> both prime actors, and chiefe in the supreme Counsell, with many others of their most eminent contrivers of the Rebellion are dead.

"*Ormond* was lately at Portumny with the Earle of *Clanrickard* in Conaught.

"On Wednesday last Captaine *Molineux* arrived here from Wexford, who brings the newes of our taking the Fort of Bally-hacke, over against Passage upon the River of Waterford, so that all trading by Sea to Waterford is wholly stopped up; besides, there is a very great feare and jealousy between the Townes-men of Waterford, and the Souldiers there who are of the Northerne Irish.

"We have certaine news from Munster, that my Lord Lievtenant hath been in the Field this good while, and hath taken Cashell and Callan (the latter being within six miles of Kilkenny) with severall other considerable Garrisons of the Rebbels about those parts, and now about if not in Clonmell.

"The Plague is very hot in Kilkenny.

"The Toryes have behaved themselves so barbarously towards those of their owne Party, that the Fryers and Priests have excommunicated them.

"The Governour on Tuesday last marcht into the County of Kildare, and we hourelly expect an accompt of the reducing of severall considerable Garrisons thereabout; great Guns are this day sent from hence unto him, the extreame wants of accommodations of all kinds for our men will I feare  
p. 6. weaken our Army, and impede the present carrying on of the service in the neglect of this opportunity, now the enemy is disperst and distracted, and a small matter will now effect that which a farre greater will not hereafter; I have not else to trouble your Honour, but humbly crave leave to rest, Sir;

"Your Honours most humble Servant:

"Dublin, 16 Feb. 1649.

"William Basil.

"For the Honourable William Lenthall, *Esquire*, *Speaker in the Parliament* of England.

"*Right Honourable*,—It hath pleased God exceedingly to blesse our Forces in this place, in their late march into the County of *Kildare*, where they have taken in the Fort and Castle of *Bellesonan* by surrender, sur-

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Blake.

prized *Athy*, being a *Passé* upon the *Barrow*, and a place of very great concernment, both for the enlarging of our Quarters, investing the enemy, and securing a *passé* to joyn with my Lord if occasion require. In all which the Governour hath placed Garrisons; as also in *Kilmaocke* being the Castle of the bogge of *Allen*, which the enemy had burnt and ideavoured to have sleighted, upon the rumour of his advance from hence; but the workes are now repaired and made tenable by ours.

“ Upon Saturday last he returned againe hither to *Dublin*, having left his Forces in the outquarters about the *Naas*, but intends another speedy march if accommodations may be by any meanes provided.

“ Our Forces about *Wexford* have recovered the Castle of *Iniscorsfy*<sup>1</sup> which was yeilded unto them, And have taken *Browns-wood* by storme, all within the latter were put to the sword.

“ Col: *Treavour* hath by expresse sent his resolution to desert the Irish, and hath leave from the Governour to come into our Quarters, and there to stay untill my Lords pleasure be further known.

“ I have not else to trouble your Honour but humbly remaine,

“ *Your Honours most humble Servant,*

“ *Dublin 2 March, 1649.*

“ *William Basil.*

“ *Imprimatur.*

“ *Hen: Scobell Cler: Parliamenti.*

“ *FINIS.*”

The taking of *Ballysonan* had an important effect on the campaign. The following are *Carte's* observations on the subject:—“ In *Leinster* there was scarce a castle, and strong house, which the husband or wife were not for giving up, and receiving conditions from the enemy. Thus *Ballysonan* and other castles were delivered up to *Hewson*, who was thereby enabled to march with a party from *Dublin*, into the County of *Kilkenny*; where *Cromwell* joined him at *Goucran*, which . . . was traitorously given up by the soldiers of the garrison. . . . These successes encouraged him to lay siege to *Kilkenny*.”—“ *Life of James Duke of Ormond,*” vol. ii. p. 113. *Kilkenny* fell, after a four-days' siege, on March 27th, 1649–50.

*Ballysonan* was a castle of the Earls of *Kildare*, situated four miles south-west of *Kilcullen Bridge*. It was anciently called *Ath Seanaith*, *Bally* being, in this instance, a corruption of *Bel-atha*, i. e. *os vadi*, or mouth of the ford.—“ *Four Masters,*” vol. i. p. 332, *note*. I have been unable to obtain a description of the present state of the castle, and trust that the circulation of this paper may induce some Member of the Society, having a knowledge of the locality, to supply this very important deficiency. The pamphlet is printed in small 4to, and comprises six pages and the title; I have added the original pagination in the margin. The dates, it need hardly be observed, are in the old style—1650 being the historical year all through.

<sup>1</sup> *Enniscorthy.*

ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF THE REV. EDMOND KAVANAGH,  
BY THE REV. JAMES O'LALOR.

EDITED BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL.D.

INTRODUCTION.—The following Elegy was composed in the year 1764 by the Rev. James O'Lalor, Lalor, or Lawler, afterwards P.P. of Oning and Templeorum, in the barony of Iverk, and county of Kilkenny, for his relative, the Rev. Edmond Kavanagh, P. P. of Ballyragget in the same county, who died in that year. The editor saw the autograph original when he was very young, but he fears that it is now either lost, or mouldering in the possession of some of his relatives. A very good copy of it was made by the late Mr. James Scurry of Knockhouse, which is now preserved in the British Museum; another by a Mr. Dempsey, about the year 1776, now preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; and a third by Richard Monck, Esq., of Banagher, in the King's County.

All the books and MSS. of the author were left to the late Mr. James Höberlin, of Coolnaleen, near Tory Hill, after whose death they passed to his nephew, Mr. Paul Egan, of Curraghmore, who is also dead; and the editor does not know whether or not they are still preserved. He wrote several other short poems of considerable merit, chiefly of a religious character, but they are probably all lost. He also wrote an Irish Grammar, a copy of which, in his own most beautiful handwriting, the editor saw many years since, but does not know where it is now to be had.

Of the history of the family of Lalor, or O'Lalor, very little is preserved by our annalists or historians. They are of the same race as the O'Mores, and were one of the seven septa of Leix, in the Queen's County. They were seated at Dysart-Enos, near the rock of Dunamase, from which they were driven by the English family of Pigott, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In Garrett Byrne's account of the massacre of Mullaghmast, where the inhabitants of the Queen's County slaughtered each other almost to extermination, a very curious anecdote is told of Harry Lalor, of Dysart, who, having observed the murders perpetrated by Master Cosby, Harpool O'Dempsey, and others, desired his friends not to advance to the conference if they did not see him return. Harry Lalor cut his way with his sword through the enemy, and made his escape to Dysart *without seeing the Barrow!* See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1577, vol. v. p. 1696. Margaret, the daughter of O'Lalor (Donell an Chnuic), is said to have built the castle of Knockardagurr, near Dysart-Galen. She was first married to Lord Mountgarrett, and afterwards to Taaffe, of Hosey's Cross.

In our own time there have been some distinguished and worthy men of this sept who have figured far more conspicuously than our author : as, Major-General O'Lalor, of the Spanish service, Honorary Companion of the Order of the Bath ; the late Patrick Lalor, M. P. for the Queen's County, and his son, the gifted but unfortunate James Lalor ; the late Dr. Lalor, of Stradbally, a physician of high character, great wealth, and distinguished benevolence ; and the Lalors of Cascade, near Freshford, in the county of Kilkenny. From this family was also descended, by the mother's side, the late gifted orator and distinguished statesman, the Right Hon. Richard Lalor Sheil, M.P., whose brilliant speeches in the British Senate will be read with interest and admiration as long as the English language shall survive.

The Rev. Edmond Kavanagh, for whom this Elegy was composed, was of a junior branch of the Kavanaghs of Ballyleigh, near St. Mullin's ; but of his private history nothing is known to the editor, except what is preserved in this composition. His tomb in the old church-yard of Donoughmore, near Ballyragget, now much time-worn, exhibits the following inscription :—

Here lieth the Body of the Revd Edmond Kavanagh Parrish Priest of Ballyragget 15 years who departed this life the 2nd day of August 1761 aged 76 years. Requiescat in pace. Amen.<sup>1</sup>

The following " Abstract of the Kavanaghs and of their lands," written in 1572, evidently by Harpoole, Governor of Carlow, is preserved amongst the Carew MSS. at Lambeth, and gives an account of the several branches of the Kavanaghs then in being :—

All Gerald's children which had Fernes are *hanged* and gone, but one whose name is Walter Gall, who was fostered and brought up in the Co. of Wexford, and hath byne ever a traytor and a theife.

There be of estimation of the Kavanaghs but three : that is, Bryan mac Care of St. Moly'n's, Mortogh Oge of the Garyhill,<sup>2</sup> and Care Duffe of Clonolyn ; and there is none of them able to make [up] eight horsemen of his own byinge, and every one of them is enemy unto the other ; but they have *theeves on foote* to steale from the Queen's trewe subjects, and they doe all dwell in the counties of Wexford and Carloughe, and are easye to be brought to answer to the lawe.

The following table will exhibit at one view some of the lines of descent from Dermot Mac Murrough, which the editor has been able to trace. The MS. authorities differ very materially in these genealogical lines, but the authority of Duaid Mac Firis and of the Book of Leinster is followed in the earlier generations.

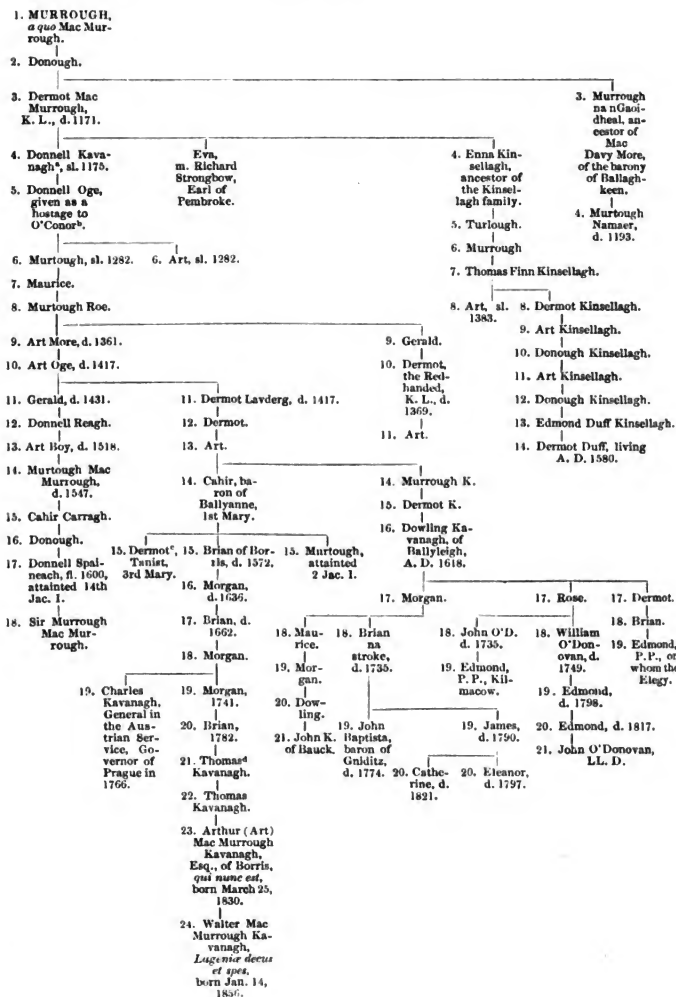
<sup>1</sup> The Elegy (see p. 142, *infra*) makes 1764 the year of his death, which is most likely to be the correct date. Monuments are often set up long after the person's death, and the unit on the tombstone may have been the mistake

of the stone-cutter, but it cannot have formed the upright stroke of a partly obliterated old-fashioned 4, as it is shaped like the letter *f*.

<sup>2</sup> See the grant or confirmation of his arms, p. 121, *infra*.

TABLE OF DESCENT FROM DERMOT MAC MURROUGH.

[“K. L.” stands for “King of Leinster.”]



NOTES TO THE PRECEDING TABLE.

<sup>a</sup> He is called Prince Donald by Maurice Regan, who makes no allusion to his illegitimacy. But in a MS. at Lambeth, compiled by Sir George Carew, who did all he could to defame the Kavanaghs, we read: "This Donell challenged the kingdom of Leinstre, but his sister Eva did prove him to be a bastard both in England and Ireland, wherefore he rebelled, calling himself King of Leinstre. Of him his yssue are called Cavanaugh, because he was fostered at Castle Cavan in the Byrnes' country."—Carew, "Lambeth," 635, fol. 40 b.

<sup>b</sup> Some of the pedigrees leave out this Donnell Oge altogether, but it is a mere blunder of transcribers. He must have been very young when executed by King Roderic O'Conor; his son Murtough must have been born in or before A. D. 1170, so that King Dermot saw his great-grandson in 1170, when he was about eighty years old. He carried off Dervorgilla in 1152, when he was sixty-two years old!!

<sup>c</sup> This Dermot was appointed Tanist to Moriortagh Kavanagh in the 3rd of Mary. In 1582 the Ulster King made the following grant or confirmation of arms to Moriortagh Oge Kavanagh of Garkil, chief of his name:—

"The trewe coppie of Ulsters grant to Murtoghe Oge Cavanaghe for bearinge his Armes.

"To all Nobles and Gentles these present letters readinge or seinge Nicolas Narbon alias Ulster principall herald and kinge of Armes of all partes of this realme of Ireland sendeth due humble commendation and gretinge. Equitie willet, and reason ordaineth that men vertuous and of noble courage be by their merites and good renouwe rewarded not *alonelie* their persones in this mortall life so brief and transitorie, but also after them those that shalbe of their bodies descended to be in all places of honour with other nobles and gentles accepted by certayn ensignes and demonstracōn of honour and noblesse, that is to saye BLASON HELME AND TIMBER to the end that by their ensamples others may the more enforce themselves to have perseverance to use their dayes in feates of Armes and workes vertuous to get the renouwe of anycent noblesse in their liguēs and posterities; and for as much as Moriortoghe Oge Cauanaghe of the Garkil chief of his name, gentleman, is descended of an ancient house undefamed, bearinge Armes, nevertheless he beinge uncertayne under what sorte and manner his predecessors bare the said Armes, he not willinge to do any thinge that should be prejudicial to any gentleman of name and of Armes, hath desired me the said Ulster King at Armes to ordayne assigne and set forth the his Armes due and lawful to be borne. Therefore I the said Ulster seeing his request so iust and reasonable by the authoritie and power annexed attributed given and granted by the Queene, our Sovereign Ladye's highnesse to me and to my office of Ulster Kinge of Armes by expresse wordes under her most noble great seale, have ordayned granted and set forth his Armes lawful to be borne: that is to say he beareth quarterlie fower coates, the first gules a lyon rampant argent armed langued azure, the second vert a cross [a cross fourchée is here depicted] betwene six crosses crossletts fitches or; the third argent thre vipers 2, 1 vert; the fourth azure three garbes 2, 1, or; ffor and in consideration to have and to hold to the said Moriortaghe Oge Cauanaghe gentleman and to his posteritie, and yt to use and enioye for euermore. In witness whereof, I the said Ulster Kinge of Armes have signed these presents with my hand and sett thereunto the seale of my Armes with the seal of my office of Ulster Kinge of Armes. Geven and granted at Dublin the 12th Octobris 1582, and in the 24th yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Ladye Elizabeth.

"By me Nicolas Narbon al's Ulster Kinge of Armes of all Ireland manu propria.

"The seal of Nicolas Narbon Kinge of Armes is 3 half Garters couped 2, 1. The seal of his office is a playne crosse in cheif a lyon passant gardant between a harpe and a porticullis."

<sup>d</sup> He was the chief of the Kavanaghs when Dr. O'Brien published his Irish Dictionary, who speaks of him as follows: "Thomas O'Kavanagh [*recte* Kavanagh, for they never prefixed the O'] of Borass, in the Co. of Carlow, Esq., is now the worthy direct chief of the very ancient and noble house of the Mac Moroughs."



The introduction of banshés into poems of this kind, to predict the recent deaths of the heroes or good men, whose virtues were the subject of the composition, was a favourite form of composition with the Irish poets of the last two centuries. They delighted in describing the charms and radiant beauty of these fabled beings; and in this respect our reverend author appears to rival, if not exceed, many of his lay contemporaries in the glow and warmth of his colouring. His sentiments and language throughout exhibit his sincerest and warmest affection, respect, and admiration for his departed friend, of the antiquity and royal descent of whose great family he does not think proper to boast, but reserves all his eulogium for his own individual character.<sup>2</sup> In this particular it differs from most elegies, a considerable portion of which usually treats of the pedigree and virtues of ancestors. In the eastern counties of Ireland this fabled female sprite is called *Bodhbh chaoine* (Bowe keentè), but in West Munster and Connaught she is known by the name of bean ríge (Ban shé). Dr. O'Brien, in his Irish Dictionary, has the following remarks on this term, *in voce* Sithbhrog:—

“SITH-BHROG, the same as SIGH-BHROG, from SIGHE, a fairy, and BROG, a house; hence BEAN SIGHE, *plur.*, MNA SIGHE, she fairies, or women fairies, credulously supposed by the common people to be so affected to certain families, that they are heard to sing mournful lamentations about their houses by night whenever any of the family labours under a sickness which is to end by death. But no families which are not of an ancient and noble stock are believed to be honoured with this fairy privilege: pertinent to which notion a very humorous quatrain is set down in an Irish elegy on the death of one of the Knights of Kerry, importing that when the fairy woman of the family was heard to lament his death at Dingle (a seaport town, the property of those Knights), every one of the merchants was alarmed lest the mournful cry should be a forewarning of his own death. But the poet assures them, in a very humorous manner, that they may make themselves very easy on that occasion. The Irish words will explain the rest:—

<sup>1</sup> “When lo! a nymph, whose brow, whose  
bosom’s sheen,  
Might shame the grace of beauty’s fabled  
queen,  
Came o’er the hill—her towering forehead  
bore  
The impress of high thought—like molten  
ore,  
Gushed the golden ringlets o’er its polished  
plane;  
Her cheek of snow confessed one rose’s  
stain.  
She spoke, and vain, in sooth, were minstrel  
skill  
To bid the chord such liquid sweets distil.”

—See the Roman Vision in Hardiman’s “Irish  
Minstrelsy,” vol. ii. p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> He makes the banshé describe him as if he were, like Melchizedek, “without father, without mother, without descent.” He had also, doubtlessly, the following classical passages in view:—

“Nam genus, et proavos, et quæ non  
fecimus ipsi  
Vix ea nostra voco.”

—OVID, *Met.*, lib. xiii. v. 140.

“Nam quanto vita majorum præclarior,  
tanto horum seculum flagitior. Et profecto ita  
se res habet. Majorum gloria posteris quasi  
lumen est, neque bona eorum neque mala in  
occulto patitur.”—SALLUST, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, c. 87.

" Anar an Dangan 'nuair neartaib an b'ronzot,  
 Do glac eagla ceannuibte an éndraice:  
 'Na b-raob féin nír baogal dóibpín:  
 Ní éaomú mná ríge an róire pan.

" At the Dangan when the mournful cry was strong,  
 The hoarding merchants took alarm!  
 But with respect to themselves they need not fear danger;  
 Banshees do not bewail that class of mortals."

The names of several banshés are preserved in romantic tales, as well as in elegies, and other poems, of which the most celebrated are *Aeibhinn* (now *Aoibhell*), of *Craigliath*, near *Killaloe*, the banshé of the *Dal-gCais* of North Munster; *Clíodhna*, of *Tonn Clíodhna*, at *Glandore*, the banshé of the *Mac Carthys* and the other families of South Munster; *Aine*, of *Knockany*, in the county of *Limerick*; *Una*, of *Cnoc Sidhe-Una*, the banshé of the *O'Carrolls*; *Cailleach Beirre*, of *Dun-Caillighe Beirre*, the banshé of some of the *Leinster* and *Meath* families; *Grian*, of *Cnoc Greine*, in *Munster*; *Aine*, of *Lissan*, in *Tyrone*, so attached to the family of *O'Corra*; *Eibhlinn*, of *Sliabh Fuaid*, &c. &c. Each of these is *Bainrioghan na bruighne*, or Queen of the fairy palace, in her own district; and it looks very strange that our author does not give the particular name of the banshé of his poem, who frequented the moat near *Ballyragget*, in any part of his *Elegy*.

The most ancient notice of a banshé in Irish history is found in *Mageoghegan's* translation of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, where it is stated that *Crimthann Nianar*, monarch of Ireland immediately preceding the first year of Christ, "was carried away by a fairy lady into her palace, where, after great entertainment bestowed upon him, and after they took their pleasure of each other by carnal knowledge, she bestowed a gilt coach, with a sum of money, on him as a love token; and soon after he died."

*O'Flaherty* magnifies this poetical legend into the following account, which he takes for true history:—

"Crimthannus postquam sedecim annos regnasset equo dejectus mortem casu oppetiit apud Duncrimthann regiam suam juxta Binnedair recens ab expeditione celebri transmarinâ reversus, multis pretiosis spoliis onustus: inter quæ recensentur carpentum ex auro cælatum; alveus lusorius trecentas gemmas pellucidas complexus; singulare stragulum colorum et figurarum multitudine variegatum læna trilix auro intexta; gladius præliaris multis serpentum formis è puro obryzo conflatis inculptus, scutum argenteis bullis nitentibus ornatum, lancea immedicabile vulnus semper infligens; funda adeo ad collimandum certa ut nunquam a scopo aberret; duo canes venatici catenâ copulati, quæ ex nitido argento confecta trecentas vaccas volebat, hæc præter alia non vulgaria cimelia."—"Ogygia," part iii. c. 52.

But the most curious and truly historical notice of the *sidhe* [the gods of the earth] is found in the Life of St. Patrick preserved in the Book of Armagh. Among the converts of the Irish apostle were the royal sisters, Ethnea and Fethlimia, daughters of Loegaire, the monarch of Ireland. Patrick, on his way to visit the wood of Fochlut, had the good fortune to meet with these royal sisters at a fountain called Clabach, near the royal palace of Rathcroghan, where they were living under the care of their foster-father. Patrick and his companions had rested for the night at this fountain, and at day-break he and his companions began to chant their morning service, when the two young princesses, coming to the fountain at this early hour to bathe, were surprised by the appearance of a group of venerable persons all clothed in white garments, and holding books in their hands,—they took them to be male *sidhe*, or gods of the earth. On their inquiring who these venerable men were, and to what class of beings they belonged, whether celestial, ærial, or terrestrial, the Irish apostle, with that clear insight into the Irish character, with which he had become so well acquainted in his early youth, availed himself of this opportunity of instructing them in the nature of the true God; and, while answering their questions as to where the God he worshipped dwelt, whether in heaven or on the earth, on mountains or in valleys, in the sea or in rivers, contrived to explain to them the leading truths of the Christian religion.

O'Flaherty, in his "Ogygia," part iii. c. 22, remarks on this passage that the Irish call these beings *sidhe*, because they are seen to come out of pleasant hills, where the common people imagine they reside, which fictitious habitations are called by us *sidhe*, or *siodha*.

"*Viros sidhe vocant Hiberni ærios spiritus, aut phantasmata; ex eo quod ex amœnis collibus quasi prodire conspicantur, in quibus vulgus eos habitare credit: quæ collium talium ficta habitacula a nostris sidhe vel siodha dicuntur.*"

Hence this learned man infers that the divinities of the Irish were local ones, that is, residing in mountains, plains, rivers, in the sea, and such places, for, as the Pagan superstition taught,—"*uti animæ nascentibus, ita populis fatales genii dividuntur. Variosque Custodes cunctis regionibus mens divina distribuit*"—Symmachus, "Ethnicus," lib. i. epist. 4; and that these local genii never went to other countries."

The next notice of the *sidhe* occurring in the Irish annals is found in connexion with the death of Muirchertach Mor Mac Earca, who, according to the Annals of Clonmacnoise, was *killed, drowned, and burned together* by a *fairie* woman that burned the house of Cleytagh over his head on Hollandtide.—See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 526, vol. i. pp. 173, 175.

But, perhaps, the most valuable historical reference to be found in all our ancient literature to the belief of the ancient Irish respecting these good-natured female sprites or banshés, who, according to the oldest accounts, are of the Tuatha de Danann race, is found in the account of the battle of Clontarf preserved in the Annals of Kilronan, and in various other MSS. not yet published. It is stated that Oeibhinn of Craigliath (near Killaloe), the banshé of the Dal-gCais, enveloped in a magical cloud the hero Dunlaing O'Hartagan (a chief attendant on Murchadh, the son of the monarch Brian Borumha), to prevent him from joining in the battle of Clontarf; but that O'Hartagan nevertheless made his way to Murchadh, who, on reproaching him for his delay, was told that Oeibhinn was the cause; upon which O'Hartagan conducted Murchadh to where the banshé was, and a conversation ensued, in which the banshé predicted the fall of the monarch Brian, as well as of the prince Murchadh himself, with O'Hartagan and many other chiefs of the Dalcassian army. It is curious to see that at the same time the Norse or Scandinavian enemy also believed in female sprites or witches, but of a more gloomy and diabolical nature,<sup>1</sup> who had the power of foreboding the dreadful slaughter about to ensue at Clontarf. Shortly before the battle of Clontarf a certain Danish chieftain, about to set out for the scene of slaughter, had sought to foresee his fate at Caithness, in Scotland. When a certain man named Dorrudo was going forth from his house, he saw twelve horsemen making for a certain tumulus; but these having suddenly vanished from the view of all, he advanced to the tumulus, and, looking through an aperture which was in it, he saw females arranged within, who commenced weaving a web, having human heads for woof and warp, a sword for

<sup>1</sup> The name Aoibhinn is now always pronounced Aoibhill. A similar corruption is observable in the name of St. Brénall, for St. Brenainn, or Brendan; also in Lough Ennell for Loch Aininn, &c. The Irish banshés were generally good-natured; but we have a story of the Lady Grian, of Knockgreany, in the county of Limerick, turning certain men who had insulted her into badgers, which were afterwards killed by Cormac Gaileng, and cooked for a feast at the table of Teige, son of Cian, son of Oilloll, ancestor of O'Hara and O'Gara, for which this Cormac was banished into Connaught. The following reference to the Lady Grian, of Cnoc-Gréine, is found in a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin. Speaking of these youths who were metamorphosed into badgers, the story goes on: "They were transformed into badgers by Grian Gradhsholuis, daughter of Fíraí, son of Eogabúal. The cause for which she so transformed them is this:—They were

the five sons of Conall, son of Eochaidh, son of Mogh Nuadhat, and they slew Grian's handmaid, and demolished the *Síth*, or fairy palace, of her father, Fíraí. After which Grian came to them, and metamorphosed these heroes into the forms of badgers, and they remain so still. When Conall had heard that his sons were destroyed, he came to *Cnoc na g'Curadh* (hill of the heroes), which is now called *Cnoc Gréine*, and found Grian asleep; a struggle ensued between them, in which she was nearly killed. 'Art thou Conall?' said she. 'I am,' replied he. 'Come over to me,' said she, 'that I may bestow prosperity on thee.' Conall approached her, and she shook dust upon him. After this Conall departed from the hill, and proceeded to Carn Conaill, where he died, and the carn there was named after him. Grian afterwards died on this hill, and it is from her it is called *Cnoc Gréine* [i. e. the hill of Grian]."—MS. Library, Trin. Coll. Dub., H. 3, 18, p. 42.

a reed, an arrow for a shuttle ; and they sang these words following, which he committed to memory :—

“ Vitt er orpinn,  
Fyrit valfalli,  
Riss reidi skei,  
Rignir hlodi !” &c.

Out of this wild, but poetical rhapsody, the English poet Gray has called up the spirit of poesy, as follows :—

“ Now the storm begins to lour,  
Haste, the loom of hell prepare,  
Iron sleet of arrowy shower  
Hurtles in the darkened air.  
Glittering lances are the loom,  
Where the dusky warp we strain,  
Weaving many a soldier's doom,  
Orkney's woe and Radner's bane.  
See the gristly texture grow,  
( 'Tis of human entrails made );  
And the shafts that play below,  
Each a gasping warrior's head.”<sup>1</sup>

Presently these females drew off the web, and cut it, carrying away each her own part,—and Dorrudo having returned home from his peeping-hole, they mounted their horses, and took their departure, six towards the south, and the other six towards the north.—See Johnston's “ *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ*,” pp. 122-9.

The gloomy and diabolical idea attached to the Norse and Lapland witches is referred to by Milton in his “ *Paradise Lost*,” in the description of Sin, the portress of Hell's gate, and her son, Death :—

“ Far less abhorred than these  
Vex'd Scylla, bathing in the sea that parts  
Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore;  
Nor uglier follow the Night-hag, when, called  
In secret, riding through the air she comes,  
Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance  
With Lapland witches, while the lab'ring Moon  
Eclipses at their charms.”—Book ii. ll. 659-66.

The good-natured banshé *Acibhinn* [*Amána*, now corruptly called *Aoibhell*—Evil] is mentioned in various other poems relating to the Dal-gCais. Donogh Roe Mac Namara, in his “ *Mock*

<sup>1</sup> Magrath, in his “ *Wars of Thomond*,” introduces *Brónach Boirme* (i. e., the hag of Burrenhead, now Blackhead) as foreboding the slaughter of the battle of the abbey of Corcomroe, A. D. 1318, by washing fantastical skulls and other human bones on the

margin of Loch Rasga, now Loughrask, in the barony of Burrin ; but, in genuine Irish folklore, *Acibhinn* is never represented as delighting in slaughter of this kind. She always grieves for it. In fact, she was not at all a foul and ugly hag.

*Æneid*," makes Aoibhell the sybil of his poem; and Brian Merri-man introduces her into his facetious poem, called the "Midnight Court," as holding a court at Craigliath to enact laws for the more rapid growth of the Dalcassian population, who are to be the future liberators of Ireland from unjust laws.

Of the good-natured banshé Cliodhna [Cleená] many stories are also told. Her principal palace was situated in the east side of the townland of Carrig-Cleena-more, in the parish of Kilshanick, barony of Duhallow, and county of Cork. She is believed to have haunted this place till about forty years ago, when the wickedness of men, who are growing too intelligent, obliged her to desert it.

There is another very remarkable rock, called after her, in the harbour of Glandore, where she still wails most mournfully for the approaching dissolution of her favourite families of the races of Oilioll Ólum and Lughaidh mac Itha. Donnell O'Donovan, chief of Clancahill, is called Dragon of Tonn Chliodhna by Muldowny O'Morrison in his Inauguration Ode addressed to this Donnell in 1638. The wail of the banshé in this harbour is the natural moan of the caverns of the rocks, which frequently takes place some time before an approaching storm. When the wind is in the north-east, off the shore, the waves resounding in the caverns send forth a deep, loud, hollow, monotonous roar, which in a calm night is peculiarly impressive to the imagination, producing sensations either of melancholy or fear.—See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1557, p. 1549. The cliffs from the caverns of which Cliodhna sends forth this remarkable wail are made the subject of a Latin poem written by Dean Swift in June, 1723, and which is published by Smith in his "History of the County of Cork," vol. i. p. 273:—

"*Ecce ingens fragmen scopuli quod vertice summo  
Desuper impendet, nullo fundamine nixum  
Decidet in fluctus: maria undique et undique saxa  
Horrisono stridore tonant, et ad æthera murmur  
Erigitur; trepidatque suis Neptunus in undis  
Nam longa venti rabie, atque aspergine crebrâ  
Equorei laticis, specus ima rupe cavatur:  
Jam fultura ruit, jam summa cacumina nutant  
Jam cadit in præceps moles, et verberat undas."*

It is strange that the great Irish wit makes no allusion, in this poem, to the legend about the banshé Cliodhna, which the genius of Ovid would have turned to so much account.

There are two other waves very frequently referred to in Irish romances and elegies, of which, unfortunately, no local Swift has left us any description—viz. Tonn Tuaithe, at Ballintoy, off the north coast of the county of Antrim, and Tonn Rudhraighe, in the bay

of Dunderum, off the coast of the county of Down. These waves were wont to lament the approaching deaths of kings and chieftains, but by what local genius or natural instinct they did so has not been explained by our bards.<sup>1</sup> Lord Bacon, in his work "De Ventis," attempts some natural explanations of strange sounds of this description—see edition of 1662, pp. 38, 215.

The paramount fairy queen of Ireland and Scotland, however, was Meadhbh, Queen of Connaught. She also found her way into England under the name of Queen Mab; but when she appeared there first has not been yet cleared up. This great personage, the ancestress of the O'Farrells, Mac Rannells, and O'Conors of Kerry, was of the Milesian or Scotie race, and flourished about A. D. 62.—See "Ogygia," part iii. c. 46. Her acts are blazoned in the "Tain-bo-Cuailgne,"<sup>2</sup> in the wildest style of poetical exaggeration, and she is vividly remembered in the traditions of the mountainous parts of Ireland as Meadhbh Cruachan, or Queen Mab, and many places are called after her; but though sometimes introduced into modern elegies, she does not appear to have ever been as affectionately attached to the old Milesian families as Aoibhinn and the older banshés of the Tuatha de Danann race. The reason of this is not very clear; but, from the stories told of her by the Irish shanachies, she appears to have been regarded rather as a queen than a queen. She had four other sisters, remarkable for their loose characters. The following account of her father, sisters, and herself, is given in Mageoghegan's translation of the "Annals of Clonmacnoise :"—

"Eochy Feyleagh was king twelve years, and then died at Taragh. He was father to that famous (but not altogether for goodness) woman, Meave Cruachan, and to four other daughters. But the Lady Meave was of greater report than the rest, because of her great beauty, boldness, and stout *manliness* in giving of battles, insatiable lust, &c.

"Her father allowed her for her portion the province of Connaught, and she being thereof possessed, grew so insolent and shameless that she made an oath never to marry with any one whatsoever that would be stained with any of these three defects and imperfections, as she accounted them; viz. with jealousies for any leachery she would use, with unmanliness or imbecility for as that the party could not be so bold as to undertake any adventure whatsoever, were it never so difficult; and lastly, she would never marry with any one that feared any one living."

<sup>1</sup> "Death waves" are still believed in by the peasantry of the Waterford coast, being the name given to those sudden and dangerous swellings of the sea supposed to result from earthquakes in some distant part of the world.—Eds.

<sup>2</sup> "Fergusius (Rex Ultoniæ) solo pariter, ac solo Ultoniæ exterminatus in Connactiam ad Oillium et Maudam ibidem regnantes profugit; quibus patrocinantibus memorabile ex-

arsit bellum septennale inter Connactos et Ultonios multis poeticis figmentis, ut ea ferebat ætas adornatum. Hujus belli circiter medium Octennio ante caput eræ Christianæ, Mauda regina Connactiæ, Fergusio Rogio ductore immensam Boum prædiam conspicuis agentium et insectantium virtutibus memorabilem è Cualgniâ in agro Louthiano reportavit (Táin bo Cuailgne)."—"Ogygia," p. 275.

Shakspeare verily gives this Queen Mab too diminutive a form even in her disembodied shape, where he espouses her to Oberon as his fairy queen.

No being exactly resembling the Irish banshé appears in Greek or Roman mythology. In the "Tales of the Genii," the Genius [Geni-ess?], who is always the female, is not unlike our banshé; but she is not exactly the same, nor does any fairy character of any other nation exactly like her appear in Keightley's "Fairy Mythology," which is a work of great learning and research.

No doubt can for a moment be entertained of the fact that a most piteous wailing is heard shortly before the dissolution of the members of some families; but great doubts may be rationally harboured as to the fact of these being always of Celtic or ancient Irish, or even of noble or distinguished lineage.

A friend of the editor's, who is much given to philosophical experiments on almost every subject, has written him the following account of the banshé wail in his own family, which is collaterally of royal descent, but not very Celtic:—

"In Nov. 1820, when I was in attendance on a near and dear relative's death-bed, in an old castle in the county of Westmeath, I heard a most extraordinary sound, resembling that of an Æolian harp, but also having such a strong similitude to the human voice, it was more nearly allied to singing than instrumental music. I never heard anything like it before or since. Had I been superstitious, I should have at once considered it to be the song or wail of the banshee.

"The sound appeared to me to be everywhere in the room, and not to come from any one point; and I feel certain that the servants in the house at the time might, with a little stretch of their fancy, have placed it anywhere except in the real *locus* from whence it proceeded—and that was the throat of the almost unconscious invalid.

"Under the circumstances in which I was placed, I could not escape examining into the nature of the extraordinary sounds; and I found they were due to an involuntary action of the organs of voice, coupled with the spasmodic breathing of the patient, which changed every moment, producing a sort of ventriloquistic singing or melody, which was exquisitely harmonious, and perfectly unearthly, as was observed by one of the listeners, who did not venture to form an opinion as to the nature of the sounds she heard.

"The sound heard on the occasion referred to, is not, I feel certain, the only instance of its occurrence, for I have heard of others; but sensible people generally do not like to speak of such things, and servants, nurses, and, indeed, others who have heard of banshees, and would believe in their existence without investigation, have attributed such sounds to their agency.

"I have known a shutter closed, when a window-sash was not entirely shut down, emit sounds not unlike the Æolian harp; but this was not the sound I refer to above. It was exactly what I have described, and, only for the circumstances under which it took place, would have been a



matter deserving of notice and admiration. The other circumstance to which I refer was the death of one of those birds called Willie-water-wagtails, which killed itself by striking itself against one of the windows of the bedroom the day of the night we heard the sounds described. This trifling event was made curiously interesting by a sister of the sick person, who was living in the house, stating over and over again, from day to day, that she felt sure her brother would live till after a bird of this kind should kill itself at the window, for one had done so in several previous cases where members of our family had died in that room. Indeed, she went so far as to maintain that it was always the case, and was preserved as a tradition in the family.

"I certainly gave little heed to what she said, till I was startled from my reading at the window indicated by a bird of this kind striking the window with great force, and falling on the window-stool stunned, and thence rolling off on the roof of a pantry or office beneath, off which I, in a few minutes after, picked up the bird dead, and brought it to the lady who had actually predicted the fact. It satisfied the family that the time was at hand that all had been looking to for some weeks.

"Ever yours,  
"—————"

**ELEGIES.**—One of the oldest references to lamentations for the dead would be that which occurs in the tale of Deirdre, published in the "Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin," if the work were the real composition of the time to which it refers; but the language has been so modernized, and the story so altered from its ancient structure, that it cannot be relied on as a genuine historical authority, even though it may have preserved an undoubted fact:—

"Their stone was raised over their monument, their Ogham names were written, and their ceremony of lamentation was performed."—p. 128.

The same observations will hold good with respect to the elegy said to have been composed by Oilioll Olum, King of Munster, for his seven sons who fell in the battle of Magh Mucroimhe, near Athenry, in the middle of the third century. O'Flaherty, who fixes the date of this battle to A. D. 250, notices the existence of this poem; but though he is very credulous in other respects, he does not believe this poem to be genuine, because in the benedictions which King Oilioll gives his son Eoghan, living and dead, he uses a style and expression totally unknown in Pagan times. The poem is, however, very ancient, and may preserve a fact, though not the genuine composition of Oilioll Olum. O'Flaherty's words are:—

"Extat poema pervetustum (Α μακάν να ετ σταρο) Olilli regis nomine ad Fiachum nepotem, deplorans septem filiorum in Mucromio prælio, præsertim Eugenii casum, et Fiachi pupilli miseriam patre et matre orbati: sed ne Olilli genuinum suspicor, siquidem de benedictionibus, quas Eugenio tam mortuo quam vivo impertit, mentionem faciat Ethnicis vocabulo et praxi inusitato."—"Ogygia," part iii. c. 67, p. 328.

After the introduction of Christianity, we have numerous references to elegies composed at various periods, which it would be tedious to mention here. A few of the more important of these references may be here noticed.

There are some curious references to elegies in Cormac's "Glossary"—a work composed before the year 908—and also in the "Annals of the Four Masters." Under the word *Gamh*, the "Glossary" gives a quotation from a *marbhnodh*, or elegy composed by Colman Macu Cluasaigh for Cuimine Fota, the patron saint of the See of Cloyne, who died on the 12th of November, 661. The quotation runs thus :—

Seò ba h-Èppcop roim ba pí,  
ba mac tìgearna mo Chumín,  
Tenbál 'Èipenn ar foar  
ba h-álainn map ro choar.  
Maíe a éinél, maíe a épué,  
ba léan a éomflonnuó,  
Ua Choirpri ocup Ua Chuire  
ba raf, ba h-án, ba oróuirc  
Óurpan mapbán a mí gam;  
Ní liad, ní d'écaib iarpm.<sup>1</sup>

He was not more bishop than king.  
My Cuimin was son of a lord,  
Lamp of Erin for his learning;  
He was beautiful, as all have heard;  
Good his kindred, good his shape,  
Extensive were his relatives,  
Descendant of Coirpri, descendant of Corc,  
He was learned, noble, illustrious,—  
Alas! is dead in the month of Gam;  
But 'tis no cause of grief! 'Tis not to death he has gone.

The same most important elegy is also quoted in the same Glossary under the word *die*.

'Ní maíe epíoe cen chíe.  
A heart without grief is not good.

And also in the "Annals of the Four Masters," under the obit of Cuimine Fota, A.D. 661. Under the word *Galgat*, is quoted, in Cormac's "Glossary," another ancient elegy composed by Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught, lamenting the death of his friend Laidhgnen, Abbot of Clonfert-Molua, beginning—

Cian ó tìbe do gáipe.  
Long since thou laughest thy laughter!

<sup>1</sup> A glossographer adds :—*Ar nerh do éuib*,—"he passed to heaven."

From this period forward there are frequent references to Irish elegies, and some curious ones are still extant. Of these, Mr. Hardiman has given some good specimens in the second volume of his "Irish Minstrelsy," as, Torna's Lament for Core and Niall, pp. 183-187; Seanchan's Lament over the dead body of Dallan, pp. 193-197; Kincora; or, Mac Liag's Lament, pp. 197-201; and the Elegy on the death of Oliver Grace.

This latter elegy is exceedingly curious, and makes us regret that we have not more of the compositions of the author—John Mac Walter Walsh, Esq., a native of the Walsh Mountains, in the county of Kilkenny. The allusion to the banshé in this elegy is as follows:—

"An buir, a uapail óig mo éiríde!  
 Óo rpeab go vubac an bean ríge?  
 A meóhan éuin uairgneac ófóde  
 I' cumac bo bí ag eagcaoineab!

"Was it for thee, O youth, in love allied,  
 Close to my bosom as the spirit there;  
 The banshee, on the lonely mountain side,  
 Poured her long wailings thro' the midnight air?"

This elegy, of which the metre is very badly preserved in the printed copy, is a very good specimen of modern Irish elegies. We have almost innumerable specimens of elegies of the same kind, as that of Donell O'Donovan, chief of Clancahill, who died in 1660, by O'Daly of Carbery, and which I hope the Society will print at no distant period. Mr. Hardiman has given some specimens of more modern elegies, as that on the death of John Claragh Mac Donnell, by John Toomey, pp. 253-7; Elegy on the death of Denis Mac Carthy, pp. 273-9; the Roman Vision, pp. 307-39. There are almost countless others of the same kind, not yet published, of which the Elegy on Sir John Bourke, of DerrymacLaughney, in the county of Galway, is a very good specimen. And also that on John Bourke, of Carntreila, near Dunmore, in the county of Galway, composed by Cormac O'Comain, and published by Miss Brooke. Also the elegy for Redmond, son of David Barry, which treats of his ancestry and kindred in the most extravagant manner; there was a good copy of the latter in a manuscript written by Dermot O'Brien, of Thomastown, extant in 1821, but the editor does not know where it is at present. The long and curious elegy composed for Randal, Marquis of Antrim, who died in 1721, and the various touching and highly poetical elegies composed for the unfortunate Sir James Cotter, of the county of Cork, may also be mentioned. There were still lingering in the memory of old men and women, with whom I was acquainted, a great many most graphic elegies, which I often admired when very young, but

which were never committed to writing, one of which, composed for a Mr. John O'Brien, shows the wonderful pride of a fallen people, "who preferred nobilitie of blood before either virtue or wealth, and abhorred nothing more than disparagement, which was more odious unto them than death." It describes his personal form, beauty, characteristics of mind and body, and the respectability of his relations, spread far and wide throughout the county of Kilkenny. Another, still more extravagant, composed for John, son of William, son of William, son of Cornelius, son of Edmond O'Donovan, by his nurse Bridget Ny-Dwyre (brígid n' Ūbuidír), about the year 1799. This Clíodhna of Ida describes the personal perfections of her nursling in naturally eloquent strains, and enumerates his relations, from Waterford to Carrick-on-Suir, and his ancestors up to Edmond, who came from Bawnlahan, in the south of Ireland, to Gaulstown, in the county of Kilkenny, where, as she states in heraldic phrase, his name, his surname, and his armorial bearings, with the date of the year when he settled in Leinster, were still to be seen over the gate:—

Sin a ann 'ra fíoinneab 'ra éoat of armp,  
 A' r dáta na bliabna 'nar éiríall ré ó'n m-bán leatan  
 'Or cionn an gheata le feicpín gaé lá ann.

The celebrated J. Philpot Curran informs us that it was from the funeral lamentations sung by the old women in the mountains of the county of Cork that he picked up his first ideas of eloquence.

marbnaó an aotar eamuiñn áaoíhannaig.  
 an t-átar seamus o'leathlabair, sagart paraiste  
 onaing agus teampuil oðrain, ecc.

A' m-beit dam fealaó ag cairteal na cóige,  
 So-haepac meanmnaó ag caiteam na h-óige,  
 Sealab le h-imire do tuzann a' r le h-ól bí,  
 A' r feal beag zann do éabairt le h-eolup.

Tápla a n-gleann mó a b-teannta an t-áthóna,  
 Mar a m-b'aoibinn gaé cpaob le ceoltaib;—  
 Fuaim na b-tiobraó g-epioallac n-ómbraó,  
 A' r na n-gairíbe binne ag tuicim le fóirneab.

bile árd úrpeac do gaé fíobba ar fóghnaí,  
 A' r éanla beaga aépac so ceóhíar  
 'Na m-barrabab ag cancam a nótaibe,  
 So m-ba puairc le cpoíbe beit ag éirteaé a g-ceolta.

A' an n-gleannro do bí deallraó an t-raíraíó,  
 Gaé cpaeb faoi bílé dob' áilne lonnra,  
 Gan ní ar aile acé maípeac fóbail ann,  
 Mar a b'fág an t-ugbar cuíra a g-clób é.

Բի չաճա նա չընեմ ա՛ր րբարժա Եօմճևն,  
 Շան րմու՛ւ, չան նեալա, չան չաճ՛ե՛ս ան Լու՛նե,  
 Շան Երն՛ւ՛տ, չան քարժեանն, չան րճամալ, չան ԵՅօ ան,  
 Ա՛ւ՛տ Եաճօր ԹհօԵուր աճ րճը՛ւ՛տ մօր-ճար՛.

Ար մ-Եել՛ քան Լաճ Օ քա՛ս նա րԼիճ Եամ,  
 Մօ Երօ՛ւ՛ճ րճօլա, ա՛ր չան Եօր նա Եիճ՛ Եաճամ,  
 Եօ Եօրճար ր՛ ան ԵօԵար մ՛իօ՛ւ՛ա,  
 Ա՛ր Ե՛քանար ար Ե Երու՛՛ճ Եմ՛ քան ճօ հ-օճ՛Ե.

Ան քը՛ւ՛տան քօլքա՛ճ Երճ՛ քօլճա՛ճ ր՛քան մին-նուր,  
 Եօ Եճուրճ քարճք քանճա քանճ ճօ Ե-Եի մե՛,  
 Մար Երանա Երճ՛ Եօ Եի քի՛,  
 ՚Տ Ե քուաճ Եել՛՛ճ ար ճա՛Ե՛՛՛ Եու՛ւ Ե՛ճ ԵօրնԵա՛ճ.

Եա ճիլ՛ Ե քանա ՛նճ ան Եալա ար Եքան-նուր,  
 Եա ճարք Ե քիլ նա Երն՛ւ՛տ ար քարժեանն,  
 Ճա՛ճ Եել՛՛՛ Ե՛ճ Ե քանքա ար Ելօ՛՛՛՛ նա ն-Եել՛՛՛՛՛՛՛,  
 Ա՛ր Եա՛ճ ճօ Եարք Ե ն-Եալ՛ Ե Եել՛.

Տճանքարճար քար Օ՛ք քան Ե՛ն-Եիօճճա՛ճ,  
 Ա՛ր Եօ՛՛ն Եօրճ-Եանք Եուր Եօ քանքար Եօճքա,  
 Ե՛քարքարճար Եօ՛՛ն Եել՛ ան Օ՛՛ք քար Եօ Եօրնքնճ,  
 Ա՛ր Եքան ան քիօ՛՛՛՛՛՛ ԼԵ Ե Ե-Եճուրճ ար նա հ-Արն-Եիօրժեանն.

Նօ քա՛ր Երքանքալ Ե՛՛՛ Եօ նուրն քա ն-Եել՛՛՛՛՛՛՛,  
 Եա՛ճ Ե ան Ար քօ Ե Ե-Եճքա քԵ Եմ Ենար?  
 Նօ Եա ան Եանքա՛ճ քիօ՛՛՛՛՛՛ Եքաճ Եքարժա  
 Լա՛՛ քօ Եա ԵրնԵա՛ճ Ե՛՛՛ քի՛՛՛՛՛՛ Եօ Ենան՛՛՛ օրք?

Ա Օրքար ճքնն, ճի՛՛ Երն քիօմ Ե՛լքա՛ճ  
 Ան Ելք քԵօ Եարք քի քարք քիօմ Ե քի՛՛՛՛՛՛՛՛՛՛՛՛՛,  
 Ե՛քաճա քճանքա, նօ քանքարնԵ Ե՛քա՛ճ օրք;  
 Ա՛ւ՛տ ճքարք քիօմ ճօ հ-Եա՛ճքար ան Ե-քիլԵ.

Եօ քի՛՛՛՛՛՛՛՛՛ քար քիօր ան ճ-Եուր-Երքանքալ քարքա,  
 Լա՛՛ քար քիօմ ա՛ր Եալ ար Եալ քի,  
 Ճար քանքար Եարք ան Եու՛՛՛՛՛՛ Եքրա,  
 ՚Տ քիօր Եճուրճ քար քիօմ քօնն Եօ նա Եել՛՛՛.

Եօ Եար քԵ նա Եա՛ճ քԵ Եմ քի՛՛՛՛՛՛՛ քար ան Ե-քար ճար,  
 ՚Տա ԵԵարք, Ե Օրքար ՛ճճ Ե-քիլ Եօլքար ա՛ր Եքար,  
 Եօ քիճ՛ Եքարժա Եարք ճարճա՛ճ նա քնեմ,  
 Տի՛՛՛ Ե Տի՛՛՛՛՛՛ քնն, քար Ե մ-Եիօն ճքի՛՛՛՛՛՛՛ քար Եել՛՛՛.

Եօ Եօլքար րճա՛ճ ար քարքարք Եքեան,  
 ՏԵօ Ե Տի՛՛՛՛՛՛՛ նա մ-Եան քիօնն քա քան ա՛ր նա մ-Եել՛՛՛՛՛՛՛,  
 ՚ՏԵ ար քճա՛ճ Եա Ե՛քարան ա՛ր Ե՛ օճքա՛ճ  
 Ա՛ւ՛տ Ենօ քքիօնն քիօմն, Ենօ Արն՛ Ե՛ր ճքնեմ.

Agur ðum zo m-beiðfára ule fárta bo'n éeab-bul,  
 banriogain na bpuighe d'íomra glaoðear,  
 Anoir táir agam ar m'feadhacur féine,  
 A'r míle fáilte zo h-aicreab an t-rléib poíhad.

Leir rin ðonnaire mo íúil dún ar aoirbe,  
 Ar bpeazðacé, ar áilnneacé, ar aoibneacé,  
 Ar an tpaogal ro zo léir, mar fáoilear,  
 Do ruð bárr rzhéime ar néacaéc rufðigé.

I'r luaimneac bo buail ríre an zεata,  
 'Sír tapa d'oirig dóirpeoir 'na fεarain,  
 Bf cloz ba bualað agur tpeillpreán ba lapað,  
 Agur rεirðireaca zo haoibinn faoi zhabam.  
 Caðaoireaca dá rocrugað a'r búirb ba leagan,  
 'Eabaiže d'a néacaéc opta ba leažab,  
 Žac diað ba nua, ba foðabile, ba blařta,  
 Žac řion ba daoire ba rpreazab,  
 Cuiðecca ba řéime, ba néaca, ba baiće,  
 'S zan řear paogalca acé mé na haice.  
 Ni hionzantac an oibé rin zup caiteab  
 Le řpóire, le hól a'r le pačmur,  
 Amearz ban óz bo žnibeð ceol řiže čapað,  
 Ar uaim a čéile az paince řaba,  
 A'r zo hđepac az pléib zo maibin.

An tpaé ðonnairear řéin rzaóca na maibne,  
 D'oirig an bé a'r mé nar řearain,  
 Čuamar apaen ðum a n-aer bo žlacab  
 Žo Cnoc Surbe řinn 'r zan puinn nar n-aice,  
 Acé řinn lám ar lám le a čéile az laðairc.  
 Anoir-čtuadh, bé ní puaiž mo amhare,  
 Čonnaire mé na néalca az řpéirliņ-čata,  
 Žaoč Žuapuil az luaržab na zεpannað,  
 Čuala mé puaim čuinne i'r muc-ala.

Do ðearceur marac éabepom ar čakl-eac baićca,  
 ba luaiće řiže na žaoč an eapraiž,  
 Az teacé le ržéal éižin řaircað  
 Žo Dún an t-rléib na mbéićeð maireac.

Leir řin řéin čáiniz žlacab a baile  
 Ar an řpér aindir maepða bf am aice,  
 Šaoilear zup čum čca bf an bé ba žairm,  
 Čánzup anéiřeéc lé čum an žεata.

D'řiořnar von óz aindir řioðhapać az čcaéc bam,  
 Čað é an ceo řo čoir řeopać le čéile,  
 Agur ó Dunan zo ðeapmán Eile?  
 Čað é an řmúic úb ar žnúir na pléibceð;  
 O Šluab ŽČřufinn zo binn an řeieé?

No Créd do heip an Capan buð gan taitneim na ðréine?  
 A vubairt pí að capað ón halla ðo héirge,  
 A óig-þir, ír doþrónað mo rðéal buie,  
 O'ég an þear roðma, þorca na cléire,  
 Aðair na mboét do níðeð a vrocét do réiteað;  
 Do heipeað hiað ðo fial vóib a'r éavað,  
 Do heipeað a rðða vóib ón lo ðo ééile.  
 Do heipeað meirneé don laige ír don éagoruaíð,  
 Do heipeað leigear ap éreigiv an épéava;  
 Do heipeað teagarg a leara va vaennairð  
 Do heipeað a pláince, le ðráraib an aenñic,  
 Do ðað epuaill ap a mbíð buaðairt ón vael ppriud.  
 Do heipeað onveaéur do luét buile rvo míerþurib,  
 Do heipeað eolur don óg ír don aorva,  
 Do heipeað ðan toirmearg ïav ðo Caðair an én-ñic!

Do b'é capað na mboét ír luét na véirce,  
 Capa na mbainreabaé canelaé véairñar,  
 Capa na noðleaeéca claióðce éagñac,  
 Capa na ndall ðan foillre na ðréine,  
 Capa na mbacaé marþrac épéimeé,  
 Capa na n-amabán bíóð ap víogðbáil céile,  
 Capa vñié luét urnaiðéte a'r véirce,  
 Capa na n-uñal, le ap þronn véigþearc.  
 Capa óðair luét epogðað vo óéanañ.

ba véig rðuiprre an þeacair ír capa an þírén é,  
 A b-þineamain an tigeapna ba vian a þaeðar,  
 'S ní að ól na að ppórc 'ma éaerairð,  
 Aét ðo huairneé ciuin ap urnaiðéte a n-aenar,  
 ba hé a þuðpað epogðað a'r epéaðnur;  
 'S an epáé ðeibeð an t-airðev, ní a éairðev do óenað  
 Aét vo rðairpeað ðo þairpñg ap boécaib Oé é.

Ír þollur ður þraba bíóð tarraine na ðeéav air,  
 O ðaéa háirð v' oileán na h-Éipeann,  
 Do leigearað a nðalar a'r a nðeacair a n-éimþeét,  
 'S do éuireað na pláince le ðrára an Spiraie naeméta ïav.  
 ba þompla do'n veoiðpír ðo léir é,  
 Sé náþ éairé a þearca ap vaileib ná ap épéavaib,  
 Nár ñaioíð ðo mb'eol vo ceannaé bð ap oenac,  
 'Snár ðaop an talain ap ðarpa an epaoéair.  
 Ní éavaþpað upraim do ðuine va épéine,  
 Oá míé a éigepnur, a ïarþuir a'r éileam,  
 Do leañpað eapmairt 'ma pcarpaéca claéna,  
 ðan a ðairm a'r a þóðairt a ðeomélor don epaeðul é.  
 Mar vo bí arñ ðairðe paoi þracaé mic Oé aige,  
 Cum a éopame ra éongðbáil o þaer þruiv.

Mar naé bérð me þearppað áppuill na h-Éipeann  
 Að þaðail mo þeaéta le blaþar ó éinneac,

Gét óighean cá cáiríhar epáidco léaníhar,  
 Dubac éagcaoinead tpe báp an déigþir,  
 Ní rímhéad úíþre a ríhíreacóe ra gaelca,  
 Gét a áireamh ar na hairpécaib naemta,  
 Mar Melóireodó 'ran óliged aerða.

Anoir ní þanþad go raóþad ba þéacáin,  
 Cuirpead rjol mnó ríge dá daoine a néihþeacóe,  
 Tré þeabur a beata, a bearta 'ra épriðte,  
 Mar ba comarra real 'ran móca ðam þéin é.

Ar ráð an comráð fo von rþéir-þean,  
 D' þéacur reaða úíom ar airte na réalta,  
 Táimig rþreamal ceo ro-íúor ír néalta,  
 Do þléirg am éimþeall rþo rþínn an bé uaim.

D' iméig an palár do bí bláit, cearte aerac,  
 Sfir þan d'á þairíð acó aiteann a'r rþaeó ann,  
 Ann rín do rmaoinear ar airtebe ban aerac,  
 Snaó raib acó airling ma þþeacur a þéir ann.  
 Seacó g-céad ar íúle mar aon le caegad,<sup>1</sup>  
 A'r cuir épí ceatþair anaice ír úr aenta,  
 Do bí aoir íúe Máire íánla þaer rínn,  
 An tan do cailleb an rþazart maré Émonn.

Gzur þor ba éuibó nuíur gaé lae éur rþor,  
 O ríle a rþorþ le an ég í n-a éuib,  
 A éuirle ó rþop, a épúé ó épéig ra gnaoi,  
 Seacó raó éuaib þopre ír voóad la von mí.

### PEARTLAIOI.

Monuar an teanga þeipeað teazart íúe Dó go gþinn,  
 Siub í balb, a labarða, gó zur þinn,  
 Þán épóð na paþament do glacað 'rþo rþoinn,  
 Sínte gan tapra anaice, ír cúir léin linn.

Linn ír éúir léin na réiðþeacó ceolca ríge,  
 Ní huad na héanla þeie gan aen rþmíog, gan nóca ar epaíb,  
 Ná mar do épéig gaé rþgém ar an móca bí,  
 Gét bul Éomóinn ó'n epéad boóe rá'n þróo na luíðe.

<sup>1</sup> In another copy the year of his death is thus indicated:—

Cuir m ar deúr, 'rþo bléé na haice  
 cuir b,  
 'S mar þeipeað opéa na þ-þoóair  
 cuir cþra c,  
 Cuir l gan óuab go coélaé bláit  
 'na rþiðe,  
 Gét bam be ár 'ra n-áit cuir ú fo  
 épí.  
 Sin aoir íúe máire íánla ór rþao-  
 raó rþinn.

Trá elaióð an báp rþár-þeap na  
 mþriacan mbínn.

Place M first, and closely by it place D,  
 And for an addition to them place two C's  
 with them.

Place L undoubtedly, fairly and beauti-  
 fully sitting,

Take an ace from their sum, and instead  
 of it add three times V.

This was the age of the son of the mild  
 Mary who saved us,

When death subdued the excellent man  
 of sweet words.



Cáir mo léin na peircead ceolta,  
 Ní h-iaib na héanla beir ar ghéaraib gan nóta,  
 Ná mar bo éireiz gaó rḡeith an móta,  
 Gáct bul Eoméonn o'n tpeab ar feočan.

ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF THE REV. EDMOND KAVANAGH,  
 P. P. OF BALLYRAGGET, WHO DIED IN 1764.

BY THE REV. JAMES O'LALOR, P. P. OF ONING AND TEMPLEORUM.

As I one time was travelling the province,  
 Airily, cheerfully, spending my youth;  
 Some time to gambling I bestowed, and to drinking,  
 And a small, short time I devoted to knowledge.

I happened [to come] into a valley, towards the evening,  
 Where every tree was delightful with music;  
 The sound of the crystalline, amber-sanded wells [was there],  
 And the sweet torrents falling with vehemence.

Tall, straight trees, of every best kind of timber,  
 And little birds, airy and musical,  
 On their tops chanting their notes,  
 So that it was pleasant to the heart to listen to their melody.

In this valley was the aspect of summer,  
 Every bush bearing blossom of delightful brilliance—  
 Nothing *out of joint*, but beautiful, pleasant  
 As the sweet Author of Nature left it in form.

The rays of the sun and the sky were equally clear—  
 No mist, no cloud, no gentle wind was there;  
 No dew, no rain, no fog, no vapour was there:  
 But the throne of Phœbus shedding great heat.

I being feebly-weak upon my way,  
 My heart being burnt, no drink of *ale* being near,  
 I slaked my thirst in the well,  
 And remained in my slumber on its brink till night.

When the brilliant lamp was swallowed in the smooth sea,  
 A mild, fair dame came to me,  
 Who was like Diana in her mien,  
 And a host of maidens accompanying her on the mountain's side.

Her breast was fairer than the swan on the mighty sea,  
 Her eye was brighter than the dew on the grass;  
 Every feature of her splendour was like the shape of the gods,  
 Harmonizing with each other in exact proportions.

I started up from my slumbers, affrighted,  
And to the soft damsel I made adoration;  
I asked of the damsel was it from the sky she descended,  
And what errand she came on from the high regions?

Or if thou art one of the number of the goddesses,  
What place is this in which I chanced to come alone?  
Or who are these fine, modest nymphs  
In thy company to attend upon thee?

O pleasant young man! though I delight to hear thee,  
The question thou hast asked I cannot easily answer,  
From fear that dread or phantasy should seize thee;  
But come with me along to the summit of the mountain.

I walked with the mild and stately damsel,  
Arm in arm, and mouth by mouth, until  
We gained the top of the aerial hill,  
Not one of the nymphs coming up with us.

She made me sit beside her on the green grass,  
And said, "Young man, who hast knowledge and politeness,  
Who hast read of the valour and deeds of the Fenians,  
This is the Seat of Finn, where damsels are delighted.

"I have slept for some time on Erin's Parnassus<sup>1</sup>—  
This is Slieve-na-mBan-fionn, of poems and damsels;  
'Tis all that has been left to us of land and inheritance,<sup>2</sup>  
Except Knockfeérin,<sup>3</sup> Knockaany,<sup>4</sup> and Knockgreany.<sup>5</sup>

"And that thou mayest feel satisfied at once,  
Me the Queen of the Fairy Court<sup>6</sup> they call;  
Now thou art with me upon a visit,  
A thousand welcomes to the mountain palace I give thee."

With this my eye beheld a seat, which, for height,  
For splendour, for elegance, for delight,  
Exceeded what I e'er had imagined to be of this world,  
Which excelled in beauty all the seats of men.

<sup>1</sup> Slieve-na-mBan is here so termed.

<sup>2</sup> I. e., We, the banshés of the Tuatha de Danann race, have been robbed of all our inheritance by the Scots, except these hills.

<sup>3</sup> A hill near Ballingarry, in the county of Limerick, very famous in fairy lore, where Don and his followers hold their fairy court.

<sup>4</sup> A well-known hill in the county of Limerick, the palace of the fairy Queen Ainy, daughter of Eogaval, who showed herself to Oílloll Olum, King of Munster.

<sup>5</sup> The hill of Grian, a Tuatha de Danann fairy Queen, who is still believed to possess

it. Our author is wrong in suggesting that no other hills in Ireland are held to be the property of the fairies. They still hold possession of many others, as Knockma in Galway, Knockboe in Roscommon, Síth Budha Deirg, in the barony of Tirawley, in the county of Mayo, Knockivoe in Tyrone, &c. &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Queen of the Fairy Court*, βαμπριοζαν na bpaioζane. The word bpaioζean, which originally signified a distinguished residence, is now understood to mean a fairy place. See O'Brien's "Irish Dictionary," in vocibus bpaioζean and Síthbpoζ.

Rapidly she knocked at the gate,  
 And quickly the door-keeper stood up,  
 A bell was rung and lamps were lighted,  
 And servants, in delightful splendour, were in state.  
 Chairs were settled, tables were laid,  
 Cloths the neatest on them were spread;  
 Each food the newest, the daintiest, the most savoury;  
 Each kind of wine, the costliest, was sparkling.  
 A company the mildest, the fairest, the truest,  
 And no human man amongst them but myself.  
 No wonder that the night was spent  
 In sport, in drinking, and in jollity  
 Among young damsels, who *turned* fairy music,  
 In turns relieving each other, as they joined in the long [country]  
 dance,  
 And till the morning continued in this glee.<sup>1</sup>

When I the rays of morning saw,  
 The Queen and I stood up,  
 And we both together went to take the air  
 To Knockseefinn<sup>2</sup>—no one with us,—  
 But, linked, we conversation held together.  
 To the north-east my view was attracted—  
 I saw the clouds at furious war!  
 A whirlwind rocked the trees;  
 I heard the sound of waves and echoes.

I saw a light horseman on a fine steed,  
 Of quicker flight than the harvest wind,  
 Coming with some ominous message  
 To the palace of the mountain of fair maids.

At sight of him a messenger came to call home  
 The stately Queen who was with me;  
 I thought they wanted to call her to her tea<sup>3</sup>—  
 I returned with her unto the gate.

I asked of this fair Queen, on our return,  
 What was this mist which enveloped all along the Nore,  
 And from Dunane to Barnan-Ely?<sup>4</sup>  
 What was this gloom on the face of the mountains  
 From Slieve-Grine<sup>5</sup> to Ben-ânĕhă?<sup>6</sup>  
 Or what makes the side of Carnduff impenetrable to the sun?

<sup>1</sup> See Aben Hassan, in the "Arabian Nights."

<sup>2</sup> Knockseefinn, an elevation of Slieve-na-mBan.

<sup>3</sup> Tea at this time was a great rarity in Ireland, and used only at the tables of the aristocracy.

<sup>4</sup> Barnan-Ely, i. e. the gapped mountain

of Ely-O'Carroll, is now called the Devil's-bit Mountain.

<sup>5</sup> Slieve-Grine, now Tory Hill, in the barony of Igrine, county of Kilkenny.

<sup>6</sup> *Benaneha*, Binn an pĕtĕc, i. e. the raven's cliff, a remarkable rock over the river Barrow, near Graigue-na-managh, in the east of the county of Kilkenny.

Returning quickly from the hall, she said—  
 “ Young man, sorrowful is my tale to thee :  
 A steady pillar of the Church has died,  
 The father of the poor, who relieved their distress,  
 Who generously gave them food and raiment,  
 Who comforted them from day to day,  
 Who inspired the weak and sick with holy courage,  
 Who afforded a cure for the aches of his flock,  
 Who instructed men in the ways of salvation,  
 Who restored health, by the grace of Christ,  
 To every wretch disturbed by the evil spirit,  
 Who gave instruction to the mad and wicked,  
 Who gave knowledge to the young and old,  
 And conducted them to Christ’s blessed mansion.

“ Who was the friend of the poor and needy,  
 The friend of widows, disconsolate, tearful ;  
 The friend of orphans, subdued, distressed ;  
 The friend of the blind, who did not see the sun ;  
 The friend of the lame, distorted, crippled ;  
 The friend of idiots, without reason’s light ;  
 The close friend of those who prayed and gave alms ;  
 The friend of the humble, who loved good deeds ;  
 The sworn friend of fasters and the austere.

“ He was the scourge of sinners, the friend of just men ;  
 Who in the Lord’s vineyard laboriously toiled,  
 Not to luxuriate in grapes or drink of wines,  
 But silently alone to pray in secret.  
 His pastime was fasting and mortification,  
 And, when he got money, he never hoarded it,  
 But liberally distributed it among the poor of God.

“ And hundreds unto him drew, far and near,  
 From every quarter of the isle of Erin :  
 He used to cure their diseases and their distress together,  
 And restored them to health by the grace of the Holy Ghost.

“ He was an example to the whole diocese,  
 He never spent his time on lands or flocks,  
 He never boasted that he knew how to buy a cow at a fair !  
 And never raised the price of land by bidding against the labouring classes.

“ He never showed respect to any man, though ever so powerful,  
 Though great his dignity might be, his rents, his income,  
 He sued him for his evil ways,  
 And exposed them plainly to the world.

“ Because he had on the valorous armour of the Lord,  
 Which preserved him from oppression.

“ As I am not a bard of Erin,  
To earn my bread by flattering any one,  
But a young woman, who is grieved, afflicted, sorrowful,  
Melancholy, woe-worn for this good man's death.

“ I will not recount the virtues of his sires,  
Nor respectability of his kinsmen in our isle,  
But shall regard him among the patriarchs,  
Like Melchisedech' in the old Law.

“ And now I will not stop until I go to see him;  
I will raise a Banshé wail to lament him,  
On account of the virtues of his life, his deeds, his attributes,  
Because he was once my neighbour at the Moat.”<sup>2</sup>

When the fair damsel had spoken this discourse,  
I looked aside, and up towards the stars;  
But very heavy mists and clouds came on,  
And closed around me, and the Banshé vanished;  
The palace, too, was gone, though once so fair,  
And in its place but furze and heath remained.  
Then I bethought me of the Banshés' wiles,  
And perceived that all I had seen last night was but a fleeting vision.

Seventeen hundred years and sixty-four  
Had rolled from time into the sea eternal,  
Since Christ was born of bright Mary, to redeem us,  
When the good priest Edmond closed his days;  
And it is but right to mark the very day  
On which his pulse had stopped its beat,—  
Seven moons had waned, in that same year,  
And two days besides.

#### EPITAPH.

Alas! the tongue which sweetly delivered Christ's doctrines,  
Is now without the power of utterance, though once so fluent;  
And the white hand which distributed the sacrament,  
Is stretched without the power of motion by his side, alas!

What is to us a cause of woe, which fairy music strains cannot relieve,  
Is not that the birds have lost their songs and notes,  
Nor that the Moat has lost its wonted beauty,  
But that good Father Edmond, from his flock, now rests beneath the sod!

<sup>1</sup> In this particular this *Elegy* differs from most others, for they dwell with particular stress on ancestry, and it were to be wished that our author had been as particular in this as he was in his dates. See p. 122, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Moat*.—A beautiful and lofty green mound, on the north side of the river Nore, above Ballyragget, which gives the name of Moat to the land on which it is situated. The fairies were believed to dwell in such places.

The following graphic, and hitherto unpublished, description of the sounds heard at Portnatrughan, on the north coast of the county of Antrim, by a modern tourist, will convey to the reader a vivid idea of the *moaning waves*, so frequently alluded to by the Irish bards, and to which the editor has already referred at p. 127, *supra*. Portnatrughan is distant from Pleaskin about half a mile, and situated between Benbaun and Bengore. After describing the magnificent scenery of this place, the writer observes:—

“It is not alone the sights of Portnatrughan which are impressed so vividly on my memory; its sounds overheard can never be forgotten.

“During my first transit over the immortal ledge I have spoken of, I stopped to look at a bright and beautiful mass of zeolite, which lay embedded in it, illuminating the dark rock, near the point where it becomes lowest next the sea.

“Suddenly I heard a heavy, long-drawn sigh, as I thought close beside me; the sound seemed human, and yet there was no human being near me. I am not ashamed to confess that I was for a moment completely frightened, and that I listened with a beating heart as the sigh was repeated frequently, and at regular intervals. By degrees I recovered my self-possession, and, on inspection, I found that the sound which had so startled me issued from a fissure in the rock on which I stood. But this is not all. At a short distance forward, I discovered a second fissure, from which proceeded groans, at times so like those of a person in agony, that it was painful to listen to them again,—they became so unearthly as to be almost ludicrous! We visited Portnatrughan thrice, and each time we heard those sounds exactly as I have described them; and not until my return home did I discover, in the notes to Drummond’s beautiful poem, that the Irish name Portnatrughan signifies ‘Lamentation Harbour.’ No name more beautiful or appropriate could have been chosen for it.”

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EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY,  
ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO  
IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

COMMUNICATED BY EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ., M.A., M.P.

INTRODUCTION.—Thomas Dineley, or Dingley, as the name was often written, the learned and industrious topographer whose work on Ireland is now, for the first time, given to the world, was, according to the pedigree in Nash’s “History of Worcestershire,” the fourth son of Henry Dineley, of Charleton, in the county of Worcester, Esq., by Joan, daughter of Sir Edward Pitts, of Kyre-Wiard, in the same county, Knt. The Dineleys were a family of good antiquity and consideration, long seated at Charleton, in the parish of Cropthorn, in Worcestershire; and although the principal

line has long been extinct, and the estates dissipated, some members, of remote branches, are, I believe, still living, though their lineage does not appear to be correctly ascertained.

Of Thomas Dineley himself we know scarcely anything beyond what may be gleaned from his MS. remains still existing. From one of these it appears he was educated under James Shirley, the poet; and this circumstance would lead us to infer that he was born about 1640, as Shirley is mentioned by Wood, in his "Athenæ," as employed as a schoolmaster at the White Friars, in London, during the Usurpation. This, again, would lead us to think that he was not *son*, but *grandson*, of the Henry Dineley above mentioned, who is stated to have died in the lifetime of his father, who deceased in the year 1624.

By the Supplement to Nash's "History of Worcestershire," vol. ii. pp. 6, 16, it seems that Mr. Thomas Dineley was of Withall Chapel, in the parish of Bromsgrove. He appears to have married, and to have left issue. The following extracts from the register of King's Norton,<sup>1</sup> record, I conclude, the baptism of two of his children, and the last his own burial, in 1690:—

Edward son of Mr. Thomas Dingley, bap: 18. Feb. 1680.

Thomas son of Thomas Dingley gent: bap: 21. Sep' 1684.

Thomas Dingley gent: buried 26. Aug. 1690.<sup>2</sup>

Nash mentions him as a man of very considerable learning, and very ingenious in drawing with his pen. "He wrote," he adds, "a very neat hand. I have seen two volumes of his drawings with a pen, in the possession of Sir Edward Winnington, of Stanford," &c. It is from one of these volumes, now belonging to Sir Thomas E. Winnington, of Stanford Court, in the county of Worcester, Bart. [who has very kindly allowed transcripts of the part which regards Ireland to be taken for the Kilkenny Archæological Society], that the following pages are derived.

Sir Thomas Winnington is in possession of three of Dineley's very valuable MS. volumes. The first, in point of date, is a 12mo, and contains his Observations in Holland, where he attended Sir George Downing in his embassy, in the year 1671. The next is his—

"Observations in a Voyage in the Kingdom of France, being a Collection of several Monuments, Inscriptions, Draughts of Towns, Castles, &c." [by] "T. D."

This journey began in September, 1675; was undertaken in the company of "T. B., Esq<sup>r</sup>., A. B. gent: John Bowcock, M.A. of Cambridge, & T. J."

<sup>1</sup> A chapel in the parish of Bromsgrove.

<sup>2</sup> Copied from D. Pratington's MSS., in

the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

The Irish Itinerary, evidently written in 1681, is part of the same volume; it is a thick 4to, bound in white parchment. The third volume is also a 4to, bound in green parchment; it is without date, but was apparently written previous to the Irish Tour. It is entitled "History from Marble; Being antient and modern Funeral Monuments in England and Wales by T. D. gent."<sup>1</sup>

A fourth volume, which is still in the possession of the Duke of Beaufort, at Badminton, relates exclusively to the Principality. It is called—

"Notitia Cambro Britannica. Voyage of North and South Wales, being remarks and observations in attending His Grace, (The Duke of Beaufort Lord President of The Marches of Wales 1684) in his Progress and general Visitation there, 1684; by T. D. gent." (That is, Thomas Dineley of Gray's Inn.)<sup>2</sup>

This MS. is thus mentioned in a letter, from Mr. Gough, dated June 24, 1775, to Mr. John Price, of the Bodleian Library:<sup>3</sup>—

"The Quarto MS. seems highly worthy to see the light, is there no probability that his Grace (The Duke of Beaufort) could be induced to give it the publick. The Drawings are too interesting to remain locked up, and it seems the best and fullest account of the Principality."

To return to the Irish Itinerary, which, perhaps, on the whole, may be considered the most valuable of all Mr. Dineley's topographical MSS., it contains, together with his original observations, several extracts from classical and other authors, and, towards the end, are some copies of castles, &c. from the prints in the "Pacata Hibernia." These, of course, have been omitted. The following appears a summary of his travels in Ireland, it being premised that it must not be taken for granted that he visited every place noticed in the volume.

Leaving Dublin, to which he paid very minute attention, Mr. Dineley proceeded to the county of Carlow, and appears to have paid a visit to "Mr. John Tench, once of Lincolns Inn," at his seat at Staples-town, a mile and a half from Carlow; from hence he made an excursion into Wicklow, and visited Tullow, Hackets-town, Ballinderry, Rathdrum, and Wicklow. Returning to Carlow, he went to Limerick by Abbey-Lease, Burros, Roscrea, and The Silver-mines; from Limerick he appears to have returned towards Carlow another way, by Abbey-Oney (here he copied many inscriptions), Bilboa, Golden-bridge, Cashel, Killenaule, Lismolin, and Laughlin-bridge. During this journey he visited Grayne Church, Miltown Abbey, and Emly. Of Limerick he gives a very detailed

<sup>1</sup> See some account of the contents in Dunkin's "Report of the Proceedings of the British Archeological Association at Wor-

cester," in 1848, p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Blakeway's "Shrewsbury," vol. i. p. 579.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols' "Illustrations," vol. v. p. 519.



account, and of very many castles, seats, &c., in its neighbourhood: from hence he made an excursion to Clare and Ennis. This seems to have been the western limit of his Itinerary.

Kilkenny is very succinctly noticed at page 202, and then again the Manuscript brings us back to the neighbourhood of Limerick, and then follows a journey from Bunratty Castle, near Six-mile-bridge, in the county of Clare, by Fermoy-bridge and Tallow, to Youghal: of Youghal there is a very interesting notice, and here our topographer took leave of Ireland, and sailed to Minehead in Devonshire.

The Manuscript then proceeds with some notes on "The Division and Nature of Ireland," and a very interesting chapter on "The Peculiar Sayings, Manners, and Customes of y<sup>e</sup> vulgar Irish." To this is added some observations on the Irish language, with an account of the costs of the Rebellion of 1641, from printed authorities; a short notice of "Irish Burials;" and the names of the chief governors of Ireland "from A.D. 1172. to this present year, 1681."

In conclusion, I may observe, that some liberties have been taken with the original MS. These are the omission, in the first place, of quotations from other works, and also of a few passages of somewhat coarse character, which, however they might suit the taste of the seventeenth century, would be out of place in the present day, and the re-arrangement of the journal into separate districts, rendered necessary by the confused form of the original, as well as to suit the local knowledge of the various gentlemen who have kindly undertaken to edit these portions of Mr. Dineley's Travels. A selection of the drawings which illustrate the MS. has also been made, but none of interest have been omitted.

EV. PH. SHIRLEY.

*Houndshill,*

*June, 1856.*

*(To be continued.)*

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## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on  
Wednesday, September 3rd, 1856,

P. O'CALLAGHAN, Esq., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

Sir James Emerson Tennent, 66, Warwick-square, Pimlico,  
London: proposed by the Right Hon. the Earl of Enniskillen.

Lorenzo H. Jephson, Esq., J.P., Carrick House, Carrick-on-  
Suir: proposed by J. H. Leech, Esq.

Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq., 2, Portland-place, Bath: proposed  
by Herbert F. Hore, Esq.

J. Herbert Orpen, Esq., M.D., Lisheens, Bantry; and the Rev.  
William Crooke, Jun., Nenagh: proposed by Rev. G. Vance.

John Maclean, Esq., F.S.A., &c., Keeper of the Ordnance  
Records, Tower of London; and William John Fitzpatrick, Esq.,  
Kilmacud House, Stillorgan, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. James  
Graves.

Jeremiah O'Donovan (Rossa), Esq., Main-street, Skibbereen:  
proposed by John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D.

William Keatinge, Esq., Waterford Artillery: proposed by  
Major Elliott.

William Harvey, Esq., Clogheen: proposed by Richard Culley,  
Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered  
to be given to the donors:—

By Robert M'Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæ-  
ology," No. 15.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:  
their "Journal," No. 50.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia  
Cambrensis," No. 7.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, Statistics, and Natural History: their "Proceedings," Vol. II. No. 5.

By the Cambrian Institute: their "Journal," part 10.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for July, August, and September.

By R. Sainthill, Esq.: Extracts from the "Numismatic Chronicle," viz., "On some Foreign or Counterfeit Sterlings," and "Coins in the King of Denmark's Cabinet."

By the Rev. R. W. Eyton: "The Monasteries of Shropshire: their Origin and Founders.—Haughmond Abbey."

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 700 to 708, inclusive.

By the Oxford Architectural Society: "Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Chapel of St. Bartholomew, near Oxford"—"Of St. Peter's Church, Wilcote, Oxfordshire"—"Of St. John Baptist Church, at Shottesbroke, Berkshire"—"Of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, at Littlemore, Oxfordshire"—and "Of Minster Lovell Church, Oxfordshire," all folio; "A Guide to the Architectural Antiquities of the Neighbourhood of Oxford," 8vo; "Proceedings" and "Reports" of the Society, from 1840 to 1846, inclusive; also seventeen plates of architectural details.

By Mr. M'Evoy: a large roll of "bog butter," found at Inch, in the Bog of Allen, about three miles from Urlingford, near the place where the fine bronze cauldron which he had deposited in the Museum last year (see vol. iii. p. 131, first series) had turned up. The butter was found on the property of John Latouche, Esq., Harristown, in the middle of last July, by men who were engaged in cutting turf for Mr. Shea, of Urlingford, and had been nine feet beneath the surface. A few bones of animals were discovered near it, but it was not enclosed in any casing. The lump, resembling in shape exactly a modern roll of butter, was then quite perfect, but was now divided into three pieces, one fracture having accidentally taken place at the time of finding, and Mr. Shea having separated the remainder in the middle in order to ascertain if anything was concealed within it. This examination showed that the lump was homogeneous. Some rudely, but pretty regularly, formed firkins, containing butter and lard, were discovered near the same place some years ago, but the finders broke the wooden casings, and applied the contents to farming purposes, melting it down to grease the wheels of their cars, &c. Some ancient implements of warfare have also been found from time to time in the locality. See p. 186, *infra*, where a curious passage in Dineley's "Tour in Ireland" will be found, explanatory of the object of concealing such large quantities of butter in bogs.

By Mr. Agent, Castle garden, Kilkenny: a Patrick's penny, and a Kilkenny penny token, struck by James Purcell; both dug up in the Castle garden.

By Samuel Atkin, Esq., Whitefort, Enniscorthy : a groat of Queen Mary, and a sixpence of Queen Elizabeth, dug up on his land.

By Master T. Lane : some halfpenny tokens of the last century.

By the Rev. James Graves : rubbings of an ancient Irish tombstone in the churchyard of Monasterboice, and of the inscription on the old bridge of Holy Cross. The first bore an incised Greek cross, of the form common on ancient Irish tombstones, and the inscription  $\overline{\text{OR}} \text{ DO RUDRCAN}$ . The monument has been lithographed by Mr. Henry O'Neill, in the 19th plate of his work on the "Ancient Crosses of Ireland," and at p. 8 of the letter-press of that work, the inscription is rendered  $\text{OR} \text{ DU RUDRCAN}$ , but on Mr. Graves' rubbing the letter was plainly an O. The Holy Cross inscription was as follows :—

IACOBVS · BYTLER · BARO · DE · DYNBOYNE · ET  
 D · MARGARETA · BRIEN · EIVS · VXOR · HVNC  
 PONTEM · COLLAPSVM · EREXERVNT · ET · SVIS  
 INSIGNIBVS · ADORNARVNT · ANNO ·  $\overline{\text{D}}\text{MINI}$  · 1626  
 DIC · PRECOR · ANTE · ABITVM · VERBO · NŌ · AMPLIVS  
 VNO : EVADAT · STIGIOS · AVCTOR · VTERQV' LACVS.

Over this inscription, on the dexter side, were carved the Dunboyne arms and crest ; on the sinister side, on a separate shield, quarterly, first and second three lions passant gardant in pale, second and fourth a pheon—crest, a hand and dagger, for O'Brien. This Margaret was daughter of Donough, second Earl of Thomond, and was the second wife of James, Lord Dunboyne. Burke ("Peerage") says that the latter died in 1624 : if so, his wife erected this tablet. The ancient bridge still remains.

The Secretary announced that the Marquis of Kildare had intrusted to the Committee of the Society, for publication, a transcript of a valuable family MS., being the Leger-book of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, commenced in the year 1518. This curious document contained the Earl of Kildare's "duties upon Irishmen;" the form of doing homage; a catalogue of the Earl's library; a list of his plate; entries of the "chief horses," hackneys and harness, or armour, given by the Earl to sundry persons, English and Irish; and the obits of "diverse Ladys and Gentyllmen of the Geraldys," &c. The noble Marquis had also given a donation of £10 to aid the publication of this valuable manuscript by the Society.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the Marquis of Kildare.

The Rev. James Graves communicated the discovery of an amber bead inscribed with an Ogham, which, as he was informed by Mr. Windele, had been for many generations in the possession of a family of the O'Connors in the county of Clare; and was used as an amulet for the cure of sore eyes, and believed to insure safety

to pregnant women in their hour of trial. The last owner of the amulet had presented it to a person named Finerty, his superior in the employment of the Board of Works, from whom it had been purchased by Mr. James H. Greaves, jeweller, of Cork. It had since passed into the possession of Lord Londesborough. The accompanying woodcut was taken from a lithograph issued by Mr. Greaves. Amber beads had been frequently found in connexion with Pagan sepulture, and the use of amulets is decidedly of heathen origin. These considerations would refer the date of this Ogham to a very ancient period. Its interpretation was not here attempted.



Mr. Graves also read a transcript from a letter preserved in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, which bore on the subject of wolves in Ireland at a comparatively recent period, and showed the high repute in which the Irish wolf-dog was held. The letter was addressed "To the hon<sup>ble</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> George Mathews," by W. Ellis, Secretary to the first Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Captain Mathews' half brother: it was as follows:—

*"Dublin Castle y<sup>e</sup> 11. March 167 $\frac{3}{4}$ ."*

"S<sup>r</sup>—I lately received commands from the Earle of Ossory to putt you in mind of two wolf dogs and a bitch w<sup>ch</sup> his Lop. wrote to you about for the King of Spayne, he desires they may be provided and sent w<sup>th</sup> all convenient speed, and that two dogs & a bitch be also gotten for the King of Sweeden.

"I am with all respect and observance, S<sup>r</sup>,

"Y<sup>r</sup> most obedient and most humble servant,

"W. ELLIS."

The letter was endorsed, in Captain Mathews' handwriting:—"Secretary Ellis for doggs to y<sup>e</sup> King of Spayne and Sweden, 11<sup>th</sup> March, 1678." The seal bore a cross charged with five crescents; crest, a demy figure of a woman naked her hair dishevelled.

The Rev. P. Moore, R.C.C., wrote to inform the Society, that in a recent inspection which he made of the steeple of the chapel of Ballyhale, which was the belfry-tower of the ancient church, he had discovered on the west side a niche, containing the Virgin and Child, under a Gothic canopy, such as is often seen on ecclesiastical seals, below which was a shield bearing the Butler arms, a chief indented, all much weather-beaten. The church must have been originally a very fine building, and there yet remained two beautiful and ancient holy-water stoups.

Dr. Aquilla Smith sent the following notes on the use of leather ordnance in Ireland :—

“ In the account of ‘The Siege of Ballyally Castle, in the county of Clare,’ in 1641, edited by the late Thomas Crofton Croker, and printed for the Camden Society in 1841, a ‘leathern peece of ordenanc made by the enemy,’ or ‘rebels,’ as they are designated in the narrative, is described as follows :—‘The said peece was about 5 foote in length, not bult upon caredge, but fastened in a stocke of timber. This goon thaie planted in the great trench, neere the castell, to be redy when thaie found accation to discharge har, the dimetrie being aboutt 5 inches; the lethar thaie made har withall was leetell bettar then halfe tand.—The next morning thaie made triell of there lethern gun at us, but shee only gaue a great report, having 3<sup>ii</sup> of powthar in har, but lett fly backwarde the bullet remaining within.’—pp. 18-19.

“The editor in a note at page 115 states that—‘In 1641 the Irish may be said to have known the effects of ordnance by little more than report,’ and adds :—‘We read of Lord Broghill taking the castle of Carrigadrohid, in the county of Cork (1649), by a very slight stratagem. For the English got two or three team of oxen, and made them draw some pieces of great timber towards it, which the Irish, mistaking for cannon, presently began to parley, and surrendered upon articles.’

“In 1690, Lord Galmoy, who commanded a party of King James’ troops, sent a detachment of them to besiege Crom Castle, upon Lough Erne, about sixteen miles from Enniskillen. ‘His Lordship,’ says Hamilton in his ‘True Relation of the Actions of the Inniskillen Men,’ published in the same year, ‘thinking to frighten that garrison to a compliance with his demands, sent two canon made of tin, near a yard long in the chase, and about eight inches wide, strongly bound about with small cord, and covered with a sort of buckram, near the colour of a canon. These two mock canon he drew towards Crom, with eight horses a peece, making a great noise, as if they were drawn with much difficulty. As soon as they came before Crom, he threatened to batter the castle with those two great battering guns, and had the vanity to fire one of them, which burst, and had like (as ’twas said) to have spoiled the gunner.’

“In a review of the ‘History of Gustavus Adolphus, and of the Thirty Years’ War, by B. Chapman,’ which appeared in the ‘Athenæum’ of June 14th, 1856, an extract from the work states that—‘The leathern guns were the invention of Colonel Warmbrant, a German officer in the Swedish service, and were first used in the campaign of 1628. They consisted of a copper tube of the thickness of parchment, strengthened by plates of iron running parallel with the length of the gun, and riveted to it by transverse bands of the same material. The tube was then enveloped in several coatings of cord, with a cement of mastic between each coating, and finally covered with a case—sometimes ornamented with painting or gilding—of tough leather. The weight of the whole cannon was such that two men could easily carry it. Their lightness was the recommendation of these guns; their great disadvantage, that they became heated after ten or twelve discharges. They were not used after the battle of Leipzig,’ in September, 1631.

“In the ‘Athenæum’ of June 21st, a correspondent observes:—‘It would seem that there must be some error in this account of the invention; for in the church of St. Mary, Lambeth, there is, or was, a monument to the memory of “Robert Scott, Esq., descended of the Antient Barons of Bawerie, in Scotland. He lent himself to Travel and Studie much; and amongst many other things, he invented the Leathern Ordnance, and carried to the King of Sweden 200 men, &c.” He died in 1631; and the inference from the inscription must be, that his invention was several years anterior.’”

The following communication was received from Mr. Fitzgerald, of Youghal, restoring to Richard Chearnley, Esq., the credit of being the first discoverer of the third Ogham monument at Ardmore:—

“In my paper entitled ‘Jottings in Archæology’ (see p. 40, *supra*) the discovery of the third Ogham inscription at Ardmore, inscribed with the word ‘Amadu,’ is attributed to Michael Tierney.

“When Mr. Windele and I visited Ardmore in last November, Michael Tierney and other workmen, who were engaged in the works about St. Declan’s Oratory, were present, while we were examining the Ogham inscriptions, &c. Mr. Windele expressed a wish to know who was it that discovered the last one (referred to above), when Tierney positively asserted it was he who found it, lying on a low wall alongside a grave. Mr. Windele, therefore, took out his note-book, and made an entry of the matter, saying, he was making a catalogue of the discoveries of Ogham inscriptions, and should enter Tierney’s name for this one; no person present made any remark to the contrary, and of course we considered what Tierney said was the fact.

“However, it appears now that such was not the case, as I have received a letter, dated the 9th of July, from Richard Chearnley, Esq., in which he expresses considerable annoyance at the paragraph in my paper, relative to his and Dr. Cotton’s researches, &c., at Ardmore; and, with reference to the present subject, says:—‘The second [third] stone was found by me; Dr. Cotton was standing close at hand, and I asked Tierney to clean the sod off it; but your account gives quite another colour to what took place.’

“I feel much pleasure in making this correction, and in laying the facts of the matter before the Society as soon as possible.

“Mr. Chearnley, also, in alluding to my notice of the disfigurement of the little Oratory, says:—‘The second paragraph, as written, would, if unexplained, call down the reproaches of all true lovers of the picturesque and the antique upon us, very undeservedly, as, in fact, we gave the most express directions that no mortar should be used upon the gables of the Oratory, but the old gray stones were either to be replaced, or put up where fallen. If you had, before penning and printing, made due inquiry in a more charitable spirit, Michael Tierney and Fletcher (the men employed) would have probably made the same answer and excuse to you which they did to me, when they saw how angry I was, viz., “that they were *determined to make a good job of it,*” &c. My reply to Mr. Chearnley was, that such strictures were most painful to the writer; but that I considered that we were all in duty bound to endeavour to create a con-

servative taste on these matters, and to decry any attempts (no matter how well intended) to the contrary, or we should have recurrences of such affairs as the destruction of the ancient windows in Lismore Cathedral, the Vandalisms at Cloyne Cathedral recently, &c. &c."

The Rev. James Graves laid before the Meeting the following letter from the Rev. John O'Hanlon, R.C.C., Dublin, respecting the Ordnance Survey Records bearing on the county of Kilkenny:—

"In compliance with your request, I proceed to furnish you with a very brief synopsis of the materials referring to the county of Kilkenny, as found in the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park, Dublin. First, a portfolio of exquisite, and I have no doubt most accurate pencil sketches, for the most part, if not altogether, by the artist W. Wakeman, as I find either his name, or the initials W.W., attached to many of them. The following is the list of these sketches:—1. A stone cross at Kilkeiran. 2. Ancient stone cross at the old church of Ullard. 3. Castle of Thomastown. 4. Castle of Clara. 5. Castle of Neigham. 6. Round Tower and church of Tullaberin. 7. The abbey of Jerpoint. 8. The old tower of Balleen. 9. The chapel of Ballyhale, with the old castle attached. 10. Old church of Owning, near Piltown. 11. Doorway of the church of Kilcannonagh. 12. Doorway in the west gable of the old church of Ullard. 13. Doorway of the church at Freshford. 14. The cromleac, Leac-an-Sgail. 15. Teampul Chiarain. 16. The abbey of Gowran. 17. Freshford. 18. A view in Kilkenny. 19. Jerpoint Abbey, a second view. These are all on fine drawing-paper, measuring from 12 to 15 inches by 10 to 12, and varying a little in size. Most, if not all, these sketches were taken in 1839, as marked on the margin of many of them by pencil. Secondly, there are four thick quarto MS. volumes of Memoranda and Extracts, which were prepared for the antiquaries, Dr. O'Donovan, Eugene Curry, and O'Keefe, to enable them to investigate on the spot the various places in the county of Kilkenny, without the necessity of referring to books, or of taking a portable library along with them. In these Memoranda and Extracts, all that had been previously published, regarding the county of Kilkenny, is to be found, and these volumes were prepared on the same principle as the others, referring to the different counties of Ireland. Thus, regarding the various localities, we have a number of extracts from the Inquisition Rolls, Archdall, Ware, Harris, Colgan, Lanigan, Mason, Tighe's 'Local Survey,' and all other printed and MS. references to the county of Kilkenny, that were known to be in existence. I must observe, that many of these extracts are in the handwriting of Dr. Petrie, Eugene Curry, Dr. O'Donovan, &c. The name of the latter appears very frequently in the Memoranda. I need not say, his unpublished remarks are equally valuable to the historian, antiquary, and topographer, as any that have been published. The industry and research of Dr. O'Donovan and Eugene Curry are perfectly incredible, and the quantity of valuable matter in their handwriting enormous. The extracts were mostly copied by clerks, no doubt according to directions received from the antiquaries. The volume of Memoranda contains 466 closely written quarto pages. The Extracts, vol. i. contains 792 openly written



quarto pages, besides an index. Vol. ii. contains 837 openly written quarto pages. Vol. iii. contains 378 pretty closely written quarto pages. These formed the material for local and future investigation, and are admirably digested for the purpose. Thirdly, as to the letters written from the various localities of the county of Kilkenny; they are comprised in two volumes. Vol. i. comprises 283 closely written quarto pages. Vol. ii. comprises 357 closely written quarto pages, including maps and many rough drawings, the latter appearing in the letters of Eugene Curry and P. O'Keefe, and I have no doubt correct as to outline, and well executed for men not professional artists. I find from the index prefixed to the first volume, that Eugene Curry wrote twenty-three of those letters, Dr. O'Donovan fourteen, and P. O'Keefe only one letter. Yet I must remark, that there are more letters than enumerated in the index, in the body of the volumes. This is but a mere outline of what the various MS. materials contain. I could not within the compass of a single letter attempt the most meagre detail of the subjects embraced within them. The letters all seem to have been written during the months of August, September, and October, 1839, as I glean from the dates. They were written from Castlecomer, Ballyragget, Johnstown, Freshford, Kilkenny, Thomastown, Piltown, and Limerick. They contain history, antiquities, topographical features, notices, legends, traditions, local usages, customs, &c. There is a small and closely written quarto index to all the names of places, persons, and objects mentioned in the two volumes of letters, and in the handwriting of an excellent scribe, Mr. O'Lalor, now employed as clerk in the Ordnance Survey Office. Besides these, there are thirty-seven loose leaves of foolscap folio paper, in a portfolio, containing the names of places in Kilkenny, both in English and Irish—the latter in the old character. There may be a few scattered papers of no great importance, besides what I have enumerated: but these are all of any consequence for the future historian, antiquary, topographer, or statistician for the county and city of Kilkenny. Might I ask, when will the Government undertake to present, in a published form, the valuable mass of matter contained in the Ordnance Survey Office?"

John P. Prendergast, Esq., by a letter written from Nenagh during the last summer assizes, communicated to the Secretary the following tradition, interesting from its tragic nature, and the light it throws on the social history of the period:—

"Some years since, when on a solitary Sunday afternoon ramble with a countryman, my only companion, I lighted on a tombstone within the walls of the old ruined church of Knigh, four miles north of Nenagh, near the great swell of the Shannon called Lough Derg, which I found so interesting that I copied it into my note-book, but unfortunately afterwards lost it. Being determined to recover it, I went out there again on Thursday, 27th July, and, rubbing away the moss and leaves, I found it again, as follows:—

"Here lieth the body of Caleb Minnett, who was barbarously murdered by James Chery, Ann Parker, John Macdonnell, and others, at Granaghduff, in Duharrow, the 2nd of April, 1707."

"Being acquainted with Mr. Robert Minnett, of Annaghbeg, not far

distant, I walked on to church, another mile, where I met him; and when walking home with him and inquiring if he had any tradition or memorial in the family to explain the transaction referred to by the epitaph, he told me a tale that would form a better foundation for a deep tragedy, or romance, than half the fictions invented. The Minnetts and Parkers were, both of them, families descended of officers or soldiers whose lots fell in Tipperary when the Commonwealth army came to be satisfied for the arrears of pay in lands in Ireland in the year 1654. Their estates joined, and the families were intimate and familiar then, *as now*. Caleb must have been the son of the first settler, as he was born in 1680 (as appears by an entry in the family Bible), and was 26 when he met his death. Ann Parker was young and beautiful, and he seduced her. She often urged him to marry her, or to engage to do so; but being still put off with denials or excuses, she engaged a band of her father's tenants to lie concealed in a quarry near her place of appointed meeting with Caleb Minnett, with orders that if his conduct was still unsatisfactory, which she would give them notice of by dropping her handkerchief, they should avenge her wrong and dishonour. They met—she prayed, entreated, and wept; but he still coldly refused her suit. She let fall her handkerchief, and in a few moments he was dead at her feet!

“The Puritan morals of Caleb had evidently given way (as has often been remarked of the Cromwellian soldiers) before this; but stranger still, the fierce and passionate character of Tipperary had been already adopted by Parker's family and servants. To cap the climax, the law itself seems to have imbibed something of the wild Irish nature and sympathy, for the crime was never prosecuted, it being thought, perhaps, that it was only ‘serving him right.’”

The following communication, advocating the theory of the contemporary existence of Man and the *Cervus Megacerus Hibernicus*, or fossil deer of Ireland, by Mr. Edward Benn, of Liverpool, was then read :—

“The fact of the existence at a distant period of animals which have become extinct opens up an inquiry of exceeding interest. This interest is greatly heightened when the extinct animal was not of a distant country, nor yet of so remote a date as to put calculation out of the question, but was, so far as the writer has learned, confined to Ireland, was alive at a comparatively recent era, and was, besides, one of the largest and probably one of the most beautiful of the animal creation. The animal here alluded to is the great Irish elk, concerning which some statements will be here submitted, and such inferences drawn from them, as, taken as facts, they may seem to warrant. It is not intended to give any description of the skeleton of the extinct animal, nor to enter into its anatomy, but to endeavour to find out the *time* of its existence, and the *cause* of its destruction.

“Some years ago I resided in a part of Ireland where the remains of the elk were found in such abundance as to excite little notice, and I was requested by a naturalist to collect information on the subject. In this pursuit I became much interested, both because the facts brought to light were not only most curious in themselves, but appeared to be at

variance, so far as I knew, with the opinions generally received regarding this animal.

"I must first describe the locality referred to, which is connected in an important degree with other parts of the investigation. It is the barony of Lecale, in the county of Down, on the east coast of Ireland. The surface of the country is peculiar, consisting of a great number of small round hills, with hollows between, in which were originally, and in some of which are still, lakes or pools, having no outlet. The prevailing rock is clay slate; the round hills are gravel, in which, I believe, have been sometimes found specimens of the great teeth said to be those of an extinct horse, and similar to those scattered in such numbers over the surface of Antrim; but they do not contain, so far as I have learned, any of those objects of strange form, unknown to science, discovered in the gravel swells of that county. These partially dried hollows are peaty on the top, beneath which is the marl so much valued by the farmers of the district, and in which the remains of the extinct deer are found. This marl is a remarkable substance; it might be called calcareous clay, some of it, when dry, containing as much carbonate of lime as many limestones. It contains a vast quantity of small shells of two kinds, one univalve, and the other bivalve. The marl beds are of great depth, the lower part being much more compact and more abundant in shells than the upper layers, which are comparatively soft and spongy. From extensive inquiries personally made from a great number of men who had been employed in the raising of marl, as well as from respectable people upon whose lands it had been raised, the following information was arrived at:—

"First. The head of the extinct deer is found far more frequently than the skeleton. While the former is, in fact, common, the latter is very rare.

"Second. The remains are found most commonly near the edge of the marl pit.

"Third. The horns are almost uniformly found perfect and unbroken, the process sharp, and the teeth good.

"Fourth. No head without horns has been found.

"These are the great facts; the first is the most important, and so perfectly true as not to be disputed. It is that which bears most particularly on my own views on this question, as I am justified in concluding that no natural cause will account for the existence of the head and horns of the animal in a perfect state without the skeleton.

"I now come to mention some other facts on this subject, or what have been stated to me as such.

"First. In a collection of antiquities belonging to a gentleman in Down, and made by his uncle, who was a lawyer, and which had been labelled by him with all the precision of the legal profession, I saw a small bronze spear of fine workmanship, attached to which were still two or three inches of the shaft broken off, and which was labelled—'Found among the bones of a moose deer in a marl pit.' Second. A person of veracity told me he saw found at a place called Mentrin, in Meath, at the bottom of a marl pit, the skeleton of a man, that of a deer, and a long knife, or sword, of iron, with an oaken handle. Third. A respectable apothecary in Down was shown a bronze spear by a countryman, who said

he had found it in a marl pit. Fourth. A gentleman living at a place called Marlborough, near Down, told me he saw dug up in a marl pit a small grindstone (probably a quern). Fifth. Another respectable person, living at a place called Grange, told me he once saw a human skull found in marl, and in the same pit a small frame of oak, like a little window-frame, stoutly morticed. Sixth. Several persons have informed me that they saw found in a marl pit, at a place called Ballintogher, in Lecale, a staff made of red wood, having a smooth, round head, and an iron ferule. Seventh. A person told me that his father had informed him that, about thirty years before, there had been found, near the Quoyle, in Down, the skeletons of a man and of a deer, in marl, and that there was something like the remains of rushes or straw about the horns of the deer. Eighth. A Mr. Richardson, now I believe deceased, who lived some years ago near Dublin, and who had made the extinct Irish deer the subject of very minute inquiry, informed me that he saw found somewhere in the south of Ireland, a number of deer's heads, together with the bones of oxen and other animals, under circumstances that could only have been brought about by human interference. Some heads wanting horns, supposed to be those of females, were found. He also informed me he had written something upon the subject, as his views had been controverted by some person, but I did not learn the particulars.

“The above are the concurring statements of various individuals from various quarters, unconnected with each other, and without any motive in any instance to mislead. I have myself no reason to doubt that they are not substantially correct. Others, of course, may estimate them differently. They are brought forward with the view of showing, in connexion with the first series of facts laid down, and with the nature of the peculiar substance, marl, in which the remains are found, the possibility of man and the extinct deer having been contemporaneous. Fortunately, there are two facts, which cannot be disputed, in support of this view, and which are by far the most important. One is, as before stated, that of the heads being generally found in the pits without the skeleton; and the other, that the deposit in which these heads are discovered is comparatively recent, and still in progress of growth. I examined with the utmost attention the nature and formation of marl before coming to this conclusion. It is not to be doubted that at one period the hollows now filled with marl, and partially or altogether solid on the surface, were pools of water. In these pools grew, and in such of them as are fluid on the top there still grows, a plant, called, I believe, *cara*, rooted in the bottom of the pit, and throwing up long, slender stems, about as thick as whipcord, of a deep green colour, and producing, when at the surface, a small white flower. On the long, thin stalks are found the shells which have been mentioned as existing so abundantly in the marl. I think the course of formation was this. Every year this plant died, and fell to the bottom, each successive season forming an addition to the deposit, until the solid matter reached the top; then another plant grew, the decay of which formed peat. To account in some manner for the remains of the extinct deer found in these deposits, I think that what are now marl pits and solid ground were open pools; that the animals, for the purpose of being captured, were hunted into them by the inhabitants; that, being there

dispatched, the bodies were carried away for food; the heads, from their small value for that use, and their great weight, being cut off and left behind. The under jaw is also often wanting. Some deer have probably escaped beyond the reach of their pursuers, having got too far into the pool, and there perished, which may account for the less frequent discovery of the skeleton.

"The deer are found in many other parts of Ireland besides that to which my observation was limited, but I do not know under what circumstances. I have also stated, that they are known to Ireland only; but to this there is a very remarkable exception, as they have been discovered in the Isle of Man, at a place called Ballough. The circumstances attending their discovery there are quite similar to those in Lecale in Down, except that the number of skeletons, compared with heads, is relatively greater in the former than in the Irish locality. The place where they are found in Man, which is in the north-west part of the island, just opposite Lecale, had formerly been a lake, and in maps of even two hundred and fifty years ago large lakes are marked as being at this place, where none now exist.

"In making the investigation on the formation of marl, and the discovery of the remains of the extinct deer therein, some other questions arose, which appear even more difficult to explain. It has been stated that large deposits of calcareous matter now occupy the place of bodies of water, and that the change was effected by means of vegetable life. If this be true, we can hardly see where it will carry us. It would be the consolidation of gases by means of organism. There are many circumstances tending to prove the explanation that this marly deposit was formed by lime, held in solution by water coming from the land, and taken up by the plant; and if my conjecture on this head be well founded, will it go in any way to explain the well-known fact of the constant decrease of water on the earth? Such a theory is not inconsistent with the established phenomena of nature; all organic things seem to proceed from an originally soft state; as age advances, their fluids dry up, and they become rigid; why may not the world itself lose its fluids, and, as it were, become petrified with age? These are mere speculations, however, and not quite suited to the pages of an archæological journal. At the same time, it is exceedingly interesting to speculate on the effect of the destruction of the great deer on the botany of Ireland. It is stated that the vast peat bogs which abound in the country were in a great measure caused by the burning of the forests. Is it reasonable to think that these animals, with their huge horns and great powers of consumption, might in earlier ages have kept down the wood, and the excessive growth of vegetation which went to form the bogs?

"Another curious question is, how did so large an animal come to inhabit so small a place as the Isle of Man? Was it a separate creation? This is out of the question. Was it brought there by human intervention? This is nearly as improbable. Did it swim, or travel on ice? This also seems an improbable conjecture. I think the circumstance is one of the proofs that this island was once united to Ireland, and not to England or Scotland. Besides the existence of the remains of the Irish elk, many other things unite to confirm this supposition. The inhabitants bear

strong points of resemblance to the Irish; the zoology is identical; the absence of moles, toads, and all the serpent tribe, point it out as almost a part of Ireland, and the circumstance of the Irish hare being found in it tends to make the resemblance still closer.<sup>1</sup> The epoch of the earthquake or convulsion which caused the separation is, perhaps, not so very far distant. There is a current tradition, both in Ireland and the Isle of Man, that in 'the wars of the giants,' one took up a handful of earth, which he threw at another, but missed his aim. The place from which the handful of earth was lifted became Lough Neagh, and that at which it fell, the Isle of Man. Does this wild and magnificent legend point to some great convulsion of nature of some remote age?"

The Rev. J. Graves laid before the Meeting the following communication from Mr. Maclean, who had been elected that day a member of the Society:—

"In making some researches among the MSS. at Lambeth Palace in illustration of the Life of Sir Peter Carew, which I am about to publish, I found the accompanying letters addressed to Sir George Carew (then Lord President of Munster, and afterwards Earl of Totnes), by a Mr. Thomas Wadding, of Waterford, relative to Sir Peter Carew's claims to very extensive lands and seignories in the province of Munster. I transcribed these papers for the purpose of including them in the Appendix of Original Documents annexed to my Life of Sir Peter Carew, but having finally decided not to introduce them into that work, and feeling that they may possess sufficient local interest to warrant their finding a place in your valuable journal, I have pleasure in offering them to the Society for that purpose."

"*A Letter from THOMAS WADDING of Waterford to S<sup>r</sup> GEORGE CAREW  
Lord President of Munster.*

"My hono<sup>r</sup>able L.—M<sup>r</sup> Richard Archdeacon affirmeth vnto me that yo<sup>r</sup> Lps. pleasur was that I should sett down in writing a discourse I made vnto him of yo<sup>r</sup> L. titell to landes and Seignories in Mounster and of thantiquite thereof; unto w<sup>ch</sup> I yelded as willing and redy to gratifi and pleasur yo<sup>r</sup> L. in my kynd and p<sup>r</sup>ession anny way I could. And thearfor have accordingly drawn the same, and is as appereth in thinclosed. Thear is also to be seen a coppie of a letter sent to the pliamt (as I think) in King Edward the fourthes tyme, from the Citti and Countie of Cork, in a kind of a rode and altogether in an vnlearned styll, declaring as yo<sup>r</sup> L. shall see by thenclosed coppi, and principally of a farr greater number of noble men to have been in Mounster, then now are, of w<sup>ch</sup> nomber the Marques Carve is the first named. I would have rydden to Cork this last wynter to do my dutie to yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> but that I was detained by myne infirmitie.

<sup>1</sup> The common hare of the island is a very large and fine species, said to have been introduced from England. The Irish hare is not so common, and supposed to be indigenous; but I regret not being able to procure a specimen of it, as others have told me that the species differ only in size. There

are two rabbits—the common and the bush rabbit. This is the information I received, and suppose it to be correct; but there are many things in this island requiring farther inquiry. Mr. Train says, no arrows or celts of stone are found in Man. This is very remarkable, if correct.

By that I send yo<sup>a</sup> I thinke that, yo<sup>a</sup> being graced w<sup>th</sup> so highe favo<sup>r</sup> as yo<sup>a</sup> are, Yo<sup>r</sup> L. may much avail yo<sup>r</sup> self. Yo<sup>r</sup> wisdom may easely drawe the favo<sup>r</sup> and grace wherew<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>a</sup> are plentifully loden to effect yo<sup>r</sup> lawfull desire. Tyme lyke tyme consumeth and altereth, thearfor take the benefyct of the tyme: *frustra sapit qui sibi non sapit*. Thus reddey to do anny good office I may to yo<sup>r</sup> L. I take leave, leavinge yo<sup>r</sup> L. to the great care of thalmighti. Waterford the xij day of March 1602.

“Yo<sup>r</sup> L. always at commaund

“THOMAS WADDING.<sup>1</sup>”

“To my hon<sup>o</sup>able good L.

“S<sup>r</sup> George Carew Knight

“L. President of Mounster.”

“THOMAS WADDINGE to SIR GEORGE CAREW Lo. President of Munstir relative to Lands which his ancestors had in Ireland.

“Yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. Uncle S<sup>r</sup> Peeter Carv Knight, did shew vnto me a graunt vnder the broade Seale of England from King Hen. the second to Robart fitz Stevens and Myles de Cogan, of all the Kingdome of Cork, w<sup>th</sup> was the Kingdome of M<sup>c</sup>Carthyemore, w<sup>th</sup> Kingdome, in that Patent, was thus limitted, viz from Lymlick to the sea, and from Lysmore to a meare called the head of S<sup>r</sup> Brandon in Kierry, To hold to the said Robart and Myles, and their heires in fee, and to hold by threescore knights fees, and the kepinge of the City of Cork at will. and Reserved in that Patent all the Land<sup>r</sup> from Lismore to Waterford in his owne handes, for the mayntēnce of Waterford: that por<sup>ō</sup>n so reserved being not in very deed anny of the demesnes of M<sup>c</sup>Carthyie King of Cork, but being an Earldome belonging to O<sup>ph</sup>elan, then known by the name of Therle of Desses, w<sup>ch</sup> is the ancient name of the whole Countie of Waterford and of the Cantred of Clonmell, w<sup>th</sup> was then, and is at this day, the Jurisdiccion of the Bushop of Lismore, and was Waterford, and first due onely to the Bushop of Lismore vntill the Bushoprick of Waterford was made of Decanatus de Kilbarymeaden, pcell of Lismore, and after vnited to Lysmore, And so that Earldom and bushoprick were w<sup>th</sup>in one limitt. Sone after the kinges Patent so passed to fitz Stephens and Cogan, vppon overthrowes given by

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wadding was Mayor of Waterford in 1596. In a political list of Anglo-Irishmen of note (in Carew MS. 608), it is stated that he “holds a chief office under the Crown in the county of Waterford, and dwells in that city; a busy fellow, inclined to breed dissension, allied in those parts, and corrupt.” Every lawyer in Ireland did not possess a conscience sufficiently ductile to enable him to advocate the Carew claims to Irish soil. One John Synnott, a Wexford man, was at first employed by Sir Peter Carew, but proved to be honest. Then the English knight sent for an English lawyer. However, the Saxon barrister was soon at fault, and could not resist the objection made by the defendants to the conversion of the Council-room of Dublin Castle into a supreme law

court. Sir Peter gained his cause by Star-chamber decision, and possession by dint of swords and musket balls. Altogether, Sir Peter Carew’s story, as laudingly told by his follower, Hooker, and illustrated by contemporary letters, contains more of life-like interest than can be found regarding the biography of any other historic personage in Ireland, during the eventful reign of Elizabeth. Fully told, the story will show Sir Peter Carew to us in many and different full-length portraits, either habited as when he sat at the head of his hospitable board in Leighlin Castle, or flying his hawks on the green banks of the Barrow, or in armour attacking the Butlers, or in court dress triumphing over them, by interest and diplomacy, in the Council chamber.—Etc.

thenglish to the Clancarthies, and specially to one Dermittus Desmonia, w<sup>th</sup> I take to have been a brother, or nere kynsman, to the King of Cork: fitz Stephens and Cogan, having in the kingdom xxxj Cantredds, devided the vij Cantredds next to Cork, in w<sup>th</sup> devisiō fitz Stephens had but three, because his weare the best territories, and Cogan floure, bycause they weare not so good, w<sup>th</sup> division p<sup>ve</sup>th that the Patent was effected, and that the Pattentes had possession accordingly. And for that there is assured proffe of the division (as is before set downe) I will here remember the very wordes of Geraldus Cambrensis, that was here in Ireland at the time of the Conquest, and did write the whole historie thereof, theis therefore are the wordes. *Pacificatis itaque tam Dermittio Desmonia quā alijs illius partis prepotentibus Stephanides et Milo diviserunt inter se septem Cantrides vrbi propinquiores. huic id est Miloni quatuor, illi vero id est Stephanidi trib<sup>9</sup>. Illi plurib<sup>9</sup> quia deteriores. Illi vero paucioribus quia potioribus: relictis vinginti quatuor Cantredibus dividendib<sup>9</sup>.*<sup>1</sup> Robart fitz Stephens had no yssue but one daughter, w<sup>th</sup> he married to (as I take it) Robart Carv, or to Thomas Carv (yo' ancestor) of whom yo' are lineally descended as I shall p<sup>ve</sup> in thend of this discourse. After the death of fitz Stephens, Carve and his posteritie enioyed their porcion of the kingdome, and being in the quiet possession of the same (as is to be supposed) did make many grauntes of the portership of Castels and houses they had in Mounster, and of Wardships of dyvers gentlemen, and principally (as I tak it) fitz Gerald, before he was Earle of Desmond, of Barry, and Bourck. Off this ther is as good p<sup>ffe</sup> as yo' Lo. may wishe, for John hooker, being Solicitor for yo' uncle S' Peeter, did shew vnto me, emongst other evidenc<sup>f</sup> belonging to S' Peeter vnder thexchequer seale of Irland, that King Hen. the third, or one of the Kinges of that tyme, had the wardship of Carve, and that during that tyme of Carves infancy and wardship, fitz Gerald, Barry, and Bourck died, their heires being w<sup>th</sup>in adge, wherby the wardship apperteyned to Carve. And for that the lawe of England is such that yf awarde fall to the Kinges warde the King hath the benefit thereof in the right of his warde, the King seized that thre wardships. After, in the tyme of King Edward the first, fitz Gerald, Barry, and Bourck died also, & their heires w<sup>th</sup>in adge, wherby the Kings officer seized, making no title but for that the King had ones the wardship of thancestors of these gentlemen, herevppon Carve for remedy resorted to King Edwarde the first, being in campe in Scotland, and suggested all, affirming that the King had no title, but possession in his right of *gard par cause de garde*, and praied restitution. The King enclinyng to Carves iust petition sent his warant to the Barrones of thexchequer in Irland, requiring them to enquire of the content<sup>f</sup> of Carves peticon made to him; and yf it should appeare to them that this gentleman fitz Gerald, barry, and bourck did hold of Carve, and that the King<sup>f</sup> possession was in the right of Carv, to restore Carv

<sup>1</sup> This passage reads very differently in the Frankfort edition of the "Hibernia Expugnata." It is as follows:—"Pacificatis itaque continuo tam Dermittio Desmonie principe, quam alijs quoque partis illius viris prepotentibus, Stephanides & Milo 7. Cantredos vrbi propinquiores, quos vtique maiori in pace

tunc possidebant, inter se diuiserunt. Stephanidae tribus ab Oriente, Miloni vero quatuor ab Occidente, sorte obuentionibus, hinc paucis quia potioribus: illinc pluribus, quia deterioribus, in diuisione constitutis."—"Siluest. Giraldi Cambr. Hibernia Expugnata," lib. ii., cap. xviii.—Eds.



to the wardship. The Barrons accordingly enquired, and found Carewes peticon true, and so signified, and Carv had restitucon accordingly. The lyke complaint, referm<sup>t</sup>, and Judgment in King Edward the second his tyme, to whom Carv resorted to Scotland, as he did to his father, and prevailed. Also these two Judgementf for Carv against the King appeare all vnder thexchequer seale of Irland, as before is said, and I did see them vnder that seale. Thus Carv continved in the Countie of Cork as the greatest man thear vntill Richard the seconds troble, when he was deposed and comitted by Henry the fourth, w<sup>th</sup> did pntly, in King Richards life tyme, breed troble and discention in England and Irland, and the English bloddes of Mounster devided as they affected the posterite of the black prince, or of John de gant, the fourth begotten son of King Edward the third. To help the devided English nobility of Mounster, ech of them did drawe thirishe to their helpe, w<sup>th</sup> made thirishe strong and them weak, for thirish, having of both the contending Englishe shed blood in abundance, turned their forces against thenglishe, and for that they alwayes kept men of warr w<sup>th</sup>out warrant from the King, a thinge never seen in any well governed comon welth, thenglishe weare sone overthrowen, and most of them banished Mounster. Here yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. may see what mischief hath hapened to true subiectf in that men of warre weare kept by subiectf, and we feele, in o<sup>r</sup> tyme, war, slaughter, and famyn, and true men by thincursions and rebellions of such as retayne theis idell horsemen, kearn, shott, and men of warr w<sup>th</sup>out her maiesties warrant, for they be kept to no end but to mantayn intended rebellions, or to annoy in the tyme of fained peace subiectes whom they did malice, and to steale for their masters. Carve by theis meanes was enforced to com to his territories in Leinster, that is to say to the Drones, w<sup>ch</sup> he held of the manner of Catherlagh by the yerly rent of ten pounds, and was by M<sup>r</sup>Morroughowe from thens, in King Richard the 2 tyme, enforced to depart, whervpon he repaired vnto England, as by an Office taken vnder thexchequer seale appeareth, w<sup>ch</sup> Office I did see, vnder that seale. Carv continued in England vntill such tyme as yo<sup>r</sup> unckell S<sup>r</sup> Peeter, about decimo of o<sup>r</sup> Quenes Maiesties Raign that now is, came into his land, and avoiding the descentes in the Cavanaghes by thabsence of his auncestors, and being beyond the sea, recorded the Drones, and being desirous to attempt suit for his living in Mounster, retained me, and, by the handf of John Hooker, shewed vnto me all the evidencf and writtings before remembered, and would have me drawe a bill psently, and to follow the same against many gentlemen in Mounster, w<sup>th</sup> thassistaunce of M<sup>r</sup> Synot, and others, we then, having suit against the Daltons in the County of Catherlagh. But I did tell S<sup>r</sup> Peeter that yf I would begyn the suite then I might be saied to want discretion and a lawlik consideracon of the matter, bycause it did not appere to me that he was heir to the first Carv that married fitzStephens daughter, whervppon he did send John Hoker into England, that from the Herrolds did bring the petegrve from the first Carv, in collo<sup>r</sup> very orderly, and vnder the Kinges seale, Liv<sup>s</sup>ie of their landf from man to man, to his owne tyme. The matter being thus drawn to a kind of pfection S<sup>r</sup> Peeter was called away by God, and thereby the suite not moved. I think, yo<sup>r</sup> L. have all theis writtings, and seales. At least Hoker had them, and did as Peeters Solicito<sup>r</sup> shew them vnto me."

*"A lre from the citizens & Inhabitants of the towne & countie of Corke to the lordes of the parlement holden & kept at Dublin.*

"It may please yo<sup>r</sup> wysdomes to have pitie of vs the Kingf subiects within the countie of Corke, or els we be cast away for ever. for wher ther weare in this Countie these lordes of name, besidf Knightes, Esquires, gentlemen & yeomen to a great nombre that might dispend yerely 800<sup>l</sup>—600<sup>l</sup>—400<sup>l</sup>—200<sup>l</sup>—100<sup>l</sup>—100 markes 40<sup>l</sup>—20<sup>l</sup>—20 markes. and som more & som lesse, and a great nombre besidf these Lordes.

"ffor first The lord Marques Carew his yerely revenues beside Dvrsey haven & other creekf was yerelie two thousand two hundred poundes sterlinge.

"The lord Bernewell of Berehaven besidf Berehaven & other creekes 1600<sup>l</sup> sterlinge.

"The lord Cogan of the great Castell, besidf his havens & creekes 1300<sup>l</sup> sterlinge.

"The lord Baron of Sinford besidf havens & creekes 1300<sup>l</sup> ster.

"The lord Coursey of Kilbretton besidf havens & creekes 1300<sup>l</sup> ster.

"The lord Maundevill of Barnsillie besidf havens & creekes 1200<sup>l</sup> str.

"The lord Arrundell of the Strend besidf havens & creekes [ ] str.

"The lord Baron of the gard besidf havens & creekes 1100<sup>l</sup> sterlinge.

"The lord Sleyne of Baltimore besidf havens & creekes 800<sup>l</sup> ster.

"The lord of pole castell besidf havens & creekes 1000 sterlinge.

"The kingf ma<sup>ty</sup> hath the landes of the late lord Barry by forfeiture, the yerely revenue wherof besidf havens & creekes and other casualties, is 1800<sup>l</sup> sterlinge. And that [at] thend of this pliamet yo<sup>r</sup> L. with the kingf most noble Councell, may com to Corke & call before yo<sup>r</sup>, all these lordes & all other Irishment, and bynde them on paine of losse of lyfe & landes & goodes that never one of them do make warre one upon thothre without the leave or comandment of my L. deputie & the kingf counsell, for the vtter destrucon of thies pties is that onlie cawsed. And once all the Irishmen the kingf enemies, were driven to a great valley called Glan oroughtie, betuxt two great Montaines called Maguortie & Leperous Iland. And ther they lived long & many yeres with their white meates, till at the last These Englishmen & lordes fell at variance emongest themselves, and the weakest pt, toke certain Irishmen to him to take his pt, & so vanquissed his enemies. And thus thenglish lordes fell at warres betuxt themselves, till at the last The Irish weare stronger then they, & drave them all away, & have now the whole Countrey vnder them, But that the L. Roche, the L. Barry & the L. Coursey do only remayne with the least part of their auncetours possessõn. And the yong Barry, is ther vpon the kingf porcõn, payenge his grace never a penny for it. Wherefore we the kingf pore subiectf of this Citie of Corke, Kinsale & Youghell, desire yo<sup>r</sup> L. to send hether two good Justices, to se this matter ordered & amended. And som Captein with xx Englishmen, that may be Captaines over vs all. And we will rise with him when nede is, to redresse thies Enormities all at o<sup>r</sup> costf. And yf ye do not, then we are all cast away, and then farewell Mounster for ever: And yf ye will not com nor send, we will send over to our liege lord the Kinge for remedie, & complaine vpon yo<sup>r</sup> all.

"To the L of Rutland & Corke, the Kingf Deputie in Irland, & to all his noble Counsell there at Dublin—Deliver thes."

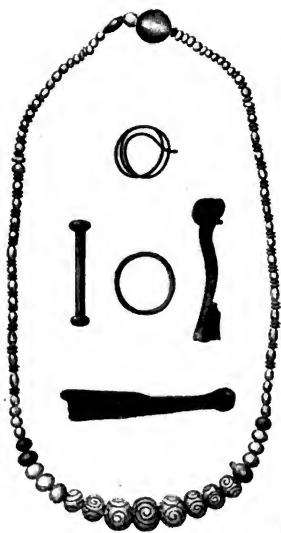
The following communication on Roman remains found in Ireland, accompanied by an accurate coloured drawing of the objects alluded to, was received from James Carruthers, Esq., Belfast; the plate which faces this page represents all the objects, except the armillæ,<sup>1</sup> at half size:—

“About five years ago, a man who lives in the townland of Loughy, near Donaghadee, county of Down, Ireland, when moulding potatoes in his field, being obliged to remove some of the subsoil, observed a quantity of black earth in a hole about two feet deep, which, on examination, was found to contain a large number of beads of various sizes, several armillæ, many articles of bronze, a brass coin, and the bowl of a very small spoon.

“A few months ago, the following portion of this discovery came into my possession:—A pair of bronze tweezers, a bronze fibula (similar to one in plate xli. vol. i., of C. R. Smith's ‘*Collectanea Antiqua*’), two bronze finger rings, one spiral and the other plain; a little bar of bronze, about the thickness of a straw, an inch and a half long, having a small knob at each end. It is quite perfect, and has not the appearance of being a portion of any other article—I cannot imagine what its use could have been; the bowl of a very small spoon, apparently made of base metal, and very much decomposed; one hundred and fifty-two glass beads—blue, green, purple, yellow, semi-transparent white, displaying beautifully executed spiral ornaments in yellow enamel, and a small one in amber: one of the purple beads is ornamented with three small, yellow knobs, placed at right angles; two armillæ, one made of purple glass, which, from its appearance, evidently had been cast in a mould; the other is of Kimmeridge shale: they are of a small size, being only two inches and three-quarters each in diameter.

“Mr. C. R. Smith, in his ‘*Collectanea Antiqua*,’ vol. iii. page 35. gives a valuable and interesting account of the manufacture of shale bracelets and beads, in the following words:—‘The bracelets and beads, formed of the so-called Kimmeridge coal, are particularly interesting, as specimens of native manufacture, which has only been discovered, or rather understood, of late years. Circular pieces of bituminous shale, found almost or quite exclusively in the bays of Kimmeridge and Worthbarrow, in Dorsetshire, and commonly called ‘Kimmeridge coal money,’ has been long known and collected, but their origin for some time remained unsuspected. Mr. W. A. Miles attributed them to the Phœnicians, who, he imagined, ‘made and used them as representatives of coin, and for some mystical use in sacrificial or sepulchral rites.’ The late Mr. J. Sydenham was happier in his explanation, and proved not only that there was nothing mystical about them, but that they were the rejected portion of pieces of shale, which had been turned in the lathe by the Romans, who occupied the district, for making bracelets. In a paper read at the meeting of the British Archæological Association, at Canterbury, Mr. Sydenham entered at length into the subject, and set the question at rest. Of the waste pieces thrown out of the lathe, as the refuse nuclei of rings, large

<sup>1</sup> The armillæ are not engraved, because, as mere circlets, and add nothing to Mr. Carruthers' description.—Eds.



Roman Remains found in Ireland

Drawn by Miss Carruthers.

Scale, one-half.

quantities are found beneath the pastures of the Purbeck district. There is an extensive bed of the material on that part of the Dorsetshire coast, and it appears to extend a considerable distance, and a vein of it was pointed out to me by Mr. C. Hall, on his land at Ansty. The Kimmeridge shale seems to have been extensively worked by the Romans, and manufactured, not only for personal ornaments, but also for various other purposes. Professor Henslowe discovered an urn formed of it, and Mr. C. Hall possesses a leg of a stool, carved, in the same material.

"Having visited the finder a few days ago, for the purpose of obtaining all the information possible regarding the discovery, I learned that the grave contained, in addition to what came into my possession, a bronze needle, about four inches long; a number of large amber beads, which were carried away by the neighbours, who had assembled on hearing of the discovery; several glass and shale armlets, which were broken while removing the earth from the grave.

"I was anxious to ascertain if there had been a coin with the remains, as I expected a Roman one. I asked the indirect question, 'Did you observe a coin like a halfpenny?' The man replied, 'No, but that he found one a little larger than a farthing, but much thicker, and so yellow that he thought it gold; but on sending it to be examined by a chemist in Newtownards, it was pronounced brass.' I have no doubt it was second brass of the upper Roman empire. The discovery of this coin in the grave seems to prove that the interment was Roman. I made inquiry if there had been either glass or pottery, such as a lachrymatory or urn, found with the remains; but none had been discovered.

"It is a difficult matter to assign a cause for a Roman interment in Ireland, as that people never had a settlement here. It is not improbable that the deceased had been voyaging past the county Down, and had either died unexpectedly on board, or in a fit of sickness, after having been removed on shore. In the latter case, the locality where the grave was discovered, from its sheltered situation, would have been most suitable for an invalid."

Mr. R. Caulfield communicated the result of his searches in the Council Books of the Corporation of Cork, with a view to ascertain the history of the city Insignia (see page 105, *supra*); and from them it is evident that the ancient ones were lost during the siege in 1690; for we find from the following item, dated 28th January, 169†, that the Corporation held Dominick Sarsfield, who was then mayor, responsible for their loss:—

"Whereas Dominick Sarsfield hath made application unto this board, for abatement in the price of sword and maces, and being put to the vote whether any abatement should be given him of the same, it was carried by the majority of votes in the negative that noe abatement shall be given him."

It is very possible that the mayor for the time being had charge of all the corporate property, records, &c., at this period; for we know, from more ancient entries, that the corporate chest, containing all such matters, was kept at the mayor's house.

Four years afterwards, when matters had settled down, and we find the civic body resuming the proper ensigns of their authority:—

“16 of 9<sup>th</sup> 1695. Whereas for decency every ald<sup>n</sup> of this citty ought to have a scarlett gound and every burgess a black gound upon occasions to wait on M<sup>r</sup> Mayor, and the sword and maces, and whereas many of our Ald<sup>n</sup> & Burgesses want gounds it is this day ordered by the unanimous consent of this present councill y<sup>t</sup> every Ald<sup>n</sup> & Burgese of this corporation by y<sup>e</sup> next assizes furnish themselves w<sup>th</sup> proper gounds or if they shall refuse or neglect to do the same, in penalty of Forty shillings fine for every default upon every publicke solemn occasion, whereon it shall appear they were summoned.”

We may presume from the following entry that they had repaired the loss of their ancient insignia, but still required that important and distinguishing feature in the costume of the sword-bearer, in our times designated as the “hairy cap:”—

“21 Jan 1703. Whereas the Capp of maintenance anciently belonging to this citty was carried away w<sup>th</sup> the sword<sup>1</sup> and maces, upon the surrender of this citty, or otherwise lost so that there has been no such thing ever since. Now for as much as the same was anciently granted as a badg of honor to this citty, it is thought fitt that a new one be bought & the mayor having proposed to send for one to Dublin is desired to direct that it be after the manner of that cittyes and that the charge thereof be paid by the chamberlaine out of the publicke revenue, and to be allowed the same in his acct.”

Until he met with the following entry, Mr. Caulfield states that he was inclined to give the city seal credit for being at least a century older than it now appears to be:—

“Eod die,

“Ordered that the citty chest be sent to the mayors house, and all the grants, charters, counterparts of leases, bonds, books, and other papers of moment belonging to this Corporation in their owne right, or in trust for the Hospitall of S<sup>t</sup> Stephens together w<sup>th</sup> the comon seale be forthw<sup>th</sup> put therein, and the three keys belonging thereunto be kept by the persons following, viz. one by the mayor of the citty for the tyme being, one by Ald. Daniel Crone, and one by Ald. W<sup>m</sup> Goddard, and the chest to pass from mayor to mayor, and in regard it is conceived y<sup>t</sup> the present comon seale being made since the late warr is less than the former seale and therefore does not exactly agree therew<sup>th</sup> w<sup>th</sup> may hereafter cause a dispute. It is therefore ordered that a new silver seale corresponding w<sup>th</sup> the said former seale in all points be forthw<sup>th</sup> made and put into the said chest & that the present seale be broke and the like in copper be made for the mayoralty seale & kept by the mayor for the tyme being, to be made use

<sup>1</sup> “28 May, 1617. Richard Connell nowe Clerk of the Crowne of the citty & countie thereof is admitted to his freedome paieing

to M<sup>r</sup> Maior for his said admittance 20<sup>s</sup> ster to buy a newe scabbard for the king's sword.” —“Council Book,” vol. i.

of by him for attestations only and that y<sup>e</sup> charge hereof be paid by the chamberlain & be allowed in his acc<sup>t</sup>.

"24. June 1704. Ordered that M<sup>r</sup> Edward Webber be paid five pounds nineteen shill. for the charge of the capp of maintenance out of the publicke revenue of this city and to be allowed the chamberlain in his acct."

Until the year 1610 we do not meet with the name of sheriffs. The officers who preceded them were called bailiffs. From that time there is a regular succession, excepting the ten years of Cromwell's usurpation—from 1645 to 1656, inclusive—when there were no civil magistrates. As we have heretofore no mention of the sheriffs wearing chains as an insignia of office, we may infer that this privilege commenced from the date of the following item:—

"30 Jan 1735. Ordered that a gold chain<sup>1</sup> with a medal at the end of it, on one side bearing his Majesties arms, and on the other side the arms of the city be provided at the publick expense for each of the sheriffs of this city, to be by them constantly worn as a mark of distinction during their continuance in that office, and to be delivered over by them to their successors and so on from sheriff to sheriff for ever the s<sup>d</sup> sheriffs to be accountable to the city for the said chains and medals."

The following appears to have been the last public occasion on which the maces, procured after the loss of ancient ones, were used, as the next entry that refers to them mentions the intention of the Corporation of having them recast, and the manufacture of those in use at the present day:—

"5 Dec. 1737. Ordered that Alderman Austen do cover the mayors gallery's of the four churches with black cloth not exceeding five shillings & six pence per yard, and the silver oar and sergeants maces be covered with cypress, as also the sword, this to be done against next sunday as mourning for her Majesty Queen Caroline.

"1. Sep. 1738. Ordered that the sum of nineteen pounds ten shillings be paid by the chamberlain of this city to William Martin silver smith for new casting and gensing [graving?] the silver maces of this city according to the report made by M<sup>r</sup> Augustus Carre."

Mr. Caulfield had already contributed to the Society's "Proceedings" a good many documents connected with the domestic economy of our forefathers. One point, however, remained to be

<sup>1</sup> These chains were sold at the auction of the chattels, &c., of the old Corporation, at the Mansion-house, Cork, on the incoming of the reformed civic body.

<sup>2</sup> "4 Jan 1713. Whereas the Company of Goldsmiths of this city are very desirous to have an Essay Master within this city, as conceiving it will tend very much to the advantage not only to those of their trade, but also to all the inhabitants, who have occasion to buy or make up any plate, which being a

new thing there never having been any such person in this city.—It is ordered that M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Browne do write to Dublin to some friend of his to enquire and certify here, the nature of such an officer, as to his commission, who constitutes and empowers him and as to his fees what he receives, and to give this board an account thereof that they may act therein accordingly."

This may account for the maces having no mint-mark on them.

investigated, viz., the "*Jewel Box.*" He might, however, he trusted, without incurring the risk of the charge of unnecessary meddling, introduce to the notice of the Society the contents of a casket near a century and a half old. One article in it is, indeed, deserving of special notice, as it appears to have been a matter of dispute between the parties at the time. He referred to the article mentioned as a "A large silv<sup>r</sup> Cross," and which was the occasion of the following letter:—

"MADAM—There hapned a difference betwixt y<sup>r</sup> husband and mee about a small heire loome or Crosse belonging to my ffamily the same w<sup>th</sup> other things belonging to y<sup>r</sup> ffather came to y<sup>r</sup> husbands hands, y<sup>r</sup> ffather by severall letters w<sup>ch</sup> I have to pduce ordred mee to demand my s<sup>d</sup> Crosse of y<sup>r</sup> husband w<sup>ch</sup> when I have done hee submissively tould mee I should have the same & the contrary fell out, the passage weare tedious heere to bee related, but in fine hee wrongfully detaynes my Crosse and tells me I shall not have it but by due course of law playing uppon my p<sup>s</sup>ent weake condition, a thing not becoming an honest gentleman to doe, y<sup>r</sup> ffather aleadges that the Crosse was pawned to him for thirty shillings w<sup>ch</sup> I would pay to y<sup>r</sup> husband uppon receipt of my Crosse for soe y<sup>r</sup> ffather ordered it. I offered y<sup>r</sup> husband a hundred pound security in p<sup>s</sup>ence of Ald<sup>r</sup> Hannan y<sup>r</sup> brother Luker and M<sup>r</sup> Laurence S<sup>r</sup> Laurence to save him harmlesse from his ffather in their difference w<sup>ch</sup> hee refused. This acc<sup>t</sup> I give y<sup>e</sup> that y<sup>e</sup> may for the future nott forgett it, and excuse the trouble given y<sup>e</sup> herein by madam

"Y<sup>r</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>

"JAMES RONAYNE."

"*An Inventory of plate & gould which I suppose is what plate my father left & my mother now has. March y<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1717.*

One large silv<sup>r</sup> tankard.  
 One small silv<sup>r</sup> tankard.  
 One small silv<sup>r</sup> skillott.  
 3 kastards.  
 10 spoones.  
 1 large sauce spoon.  
 1 tumbler.  
 3 salts.  
 1 dram cupp, large.  
 1 cupp of moth<sup>r</sup> of pearl.  
 7 plain rings.  
 2 w<sup>th</sup> stones in im.  
 1 w<sup>th</sup> out a stone.  
 4 p<sup>r</sup> gould bended.  
 1 p<sup>r</sup> of gould buttons (taken up to be worn).  
 1 long gould chain.  
 1 ball in amm<sup>d</sup> in gould.  
 4 plain rings of gould.  
 1 w<sup>th</sup> a stone.



1 large silv' cross.  
 2 p' of bobbs.  
 1 plain ring. I weare.  
 2 my wife weares. 1 dym<sup>d</sup> to the turky stone.  
 Do. broaken plate.  
 4 peec<sup>e</sup> of old plate guilted.  
 12 usker buttons.  
 6 broak<sup>n</sup> spoons 2 big and 4 little.  
 1 fork.  
 1 old small dram cupp.  
 8 Doz & 4 silv' buttons.  
 2 small whissels.  
 1 bitt of a broak<sup>n</sup> dram cupp & a bottle top screwe.  
 115 peeces of old coine.  
 One large buckle.  
 1 silv' ring.  
 2 tomblers. 1 large sugar box. 1 dram cup round tumbler like. 1 salt  
 good 3 do. bad."

The custom of pledging jewels of this kind appears not to have been an unusual thing in those times. It is possible that many of them were believed to contain relics, so that their redemption was considered as a sacred obligation. Mr. Caulfield found the following item in vol. i. of the Council Book of the Corporation of Cork:—

"25. Nov. 1618. M<sup>d</sup> that Adam Goold pduce<sup>d</sup> in court three sevall mondaies a silver [ ] in the middest thereof there was darkish stone of [ ] sett & ymbrodered about w<sup>th</sup> redd stones foure of them [ ] square and [ ] foure square [which] was pawned unto him above a yeare & a daie past by one David Pownch fitz Patrick for 40<sup>s</sup> sterl. and for that the said David appd not, being solemplic called upon in courte three sevall mondaies, the praism' of the s<sup>d</sup> jewell was by the courte referred to Morice Goold fitz John m'chant & Richard Goold, goold smyth, who have retourned the daie and year afforesaid that the said jewell is worth 30<sup>s</sup> ster."

Mr. Phelan, of Ballyragget, with reference to the *Elegy on the Death of the Rev. Edmond Kavanagh*, recently edited for the Society by Dr. O'Donovan, communicated a fact which served to elucidate a passage in that poem. It seems that the subject of the *Elegy* had, during his residence at Ballyragget, lived in a cottage beautifully situated by the margin of the Nore, opposite Ballyconra House, and close to the "Moat" alluded to by the writer of the *Elegy* (see p. 142, *supra*). The remains of the small chapel in which the Rev. Edmond Kavanagh had been accustomed to officiate might still be traced, covered with briars, close by.

The following paper was then submitted to the Meeting.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY,  
ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO  
IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

COMMUNICATED BY EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ., M.A., M.P.

WITH NOTES BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ.

[Continued from page 146, *supra*.]

THE [ANCIENT] DIVISION OF IRELAND.—The kingdom of Ireland, in Latin Hibernia, Greek Ἰερνία, is a large island second to none in the world but England, nearest neighbour to Scotland and was once called Scotia. Some will have its etimology from Iberus, a Spanish north west. Some from the Hebrides Scottish islands fronting it. Very probable it is that the Scots made an inrode into this countrey; and that considerable, as appears by silver coyne with the impress Robert de Bruce found dugg up in severall places of the south of this kingdome, particularly one, which I saw in the hands of Mr. John Paterson, chaplain to the Earle of Thomond and minister of Sixmilebridge town in the county of Thomond, who received it from y<sup>e</sup> Reverend Dr. Jaspas Pheasant, Dean of Kilaloo.<sup>1</sup>

Yett it was distinguished, Scotia Major, from Scotland part of Great Britain.

Its division is into four provinces, Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught.

1. Ulster is the largest, within four hours sayle of the kingdome of Scotland, opposite to y<sup>e</sup> Scottish isles the Hebrides, where they speak Irish onely. The vulgar call it Quiquilly.<sup>2</sup> The Latins

<sup>1</sup> Edward Bruce, brother of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, invaded Ireland in the month of May, 1315, was crowned King at Dundalk, May, 1316, and was only finally routed at the battle of the hill of Faughard, close to Dundalk, where he was slain, and buried, in October, 1318.—(See Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," part I., pp. 95-99.)

He defeated the forces opposed to him in Ulster, and marched to Dublin, with the hope of taking it; but finding it too strongly garrisoned, he marched south to Limerick. During his stay in these parts the Scotch coin was, of course, in use for the pay of his army, and the finding of this coin in the places mentioned is thereby accounted for.

<sup>2</sup> In Irish, 'Coigeadh-Ulladh,' pronounced

something like the word 'quiquilly.' Ulladh is the Irish for Ulster, and coigeadh means a fifth, having reference to the ancient division of Ireland into the five parts or provinces of Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and Meath—the word thus signifying the Ulster part or fifth province. For the use and meaning of this term, 'Coigeadh,' see O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," part I., p. 24 (London, 1685).

Dr. John O'Donovan, to whom this explanation and reference are due, observes that the termination 'ster' in Ulster, Munster, Leinster, is not Irish, but an addition—possibly Danish—to the three Irish names, Ulladh Moun, and Lyne or Laighean. If it be Danish, it affords a strong proof of the prevalence and force of that power in Ireland.

Ultonia, the Welch Ultuv. Its east part is washed with that dangerous and tempestuous sea, agitated with sudden and violent gusts, the Irish sea near St Georges Channell. It hath the counties of Dungal or Tyrconnel, Tyrone, Farmanah, Cavan, Monaghan, Colrain, Antrim, Down, Armagh, and Lowth; and the honour of having Christianity first planted there by St Patrick who with other capital saints are interred in Down Patrick in this province and in the county of Down with this inscripçõn:—

*Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno  
Brigida Patricius atque Columba pius.<sup>1</sup>*

2. Mounster, vulgarly call'd Wown or Maun, in Latin Momonia which Munster was anciently but three Irish counties by these names:—

Thomond	}	that is to say	{	North Munster,
Desmond				South Munster,
Ormond				East Munster.

hath now the counties of Limerick, Kerry, Cork, Waterford, and the county palatine of Tipperary, w<sup>th</sup> admirable ports and havens.

3. Leinster hath Meath, Kilkenny, Catherlaugh, Queen's County (whose chief town is call'd Marybourgh) King's County (whose county town is called Philip's Town,) Kildare, Wexford, Wicklow, and Dublin.

4. Connaught vulgarly called Conaughty, in Latin Conaghtia & Conacia, bounded eastward with part of Leinster, northward with as much of Ulster, westward with the western sea, and on the south with part of Mounster, encompassed for great part with the river Shannon & fronting against the kingdom of Spaine.<sup>2</sup> It hath these counties, Galloway, Mayo, Slego, Letrim, Roscommon, and county of Clare or Thomond.

THE 1<sup>st</sup> CONQUEST OF IRELAND.—To lay aside stories, and Irish romantique annals of those times, that Cæsaria, Noah's neece, was planted and fructified in this kingdome before the Deluge, & that there being mostly giants, it was conquered by a Scythian named Bartholanus 300 yeers after, some will have it that they are a mixt people of Spaniards, Gaules, Africans, & Goths which came frõ Spayne.

It is probable (that the British Scots as being the neerest to it, for quick passage, and the customes of the northerne part of Irelād being so like theirs of the neerest part of Scotland to them, though in these parts they are yett more wilde) that the first inhabitants came out of Brittain. And they never came under the powers of

<sup>1</sup> From Giraldus Cambrensis, "Topogr. Hibernu." dist. iii., c. v.

<sup>2</sup> Dineley is in error here: it is Connaught

that fronts America. Munster is the province that fronts Spain, which lies due south of Ireland.

the Romans, the great masters of learning, manners, and the western world.

Upon good authority, it is presumed that they were first attacked by the Saxons under their monarchy, even to the gaining of Dublin & other places.

The next were the more northern nations all passing under the names of Danes, Swedes and Norwegians, concerning the first whereof, they have rayzed so many forts, fortresses & mounts of earth, that in travelling, be you where you will, in any thing of a prospect, you cannot be out of sight of one in this countrey. viz. a Dane's fort.<sup>1</sup> These conquered under Turgesius and they were the first who taught them to raise bulwarks and fortresses called Danish forts and their old castles upon the seashore, who before this knew no other refuge but woods and boggs.

In the year 1172 Dermot mac Morogh King of Leinster (upon a rape committed upon y<sup>e</sup> wife of Morrice O Roirk another King of Methe) being drove out of the kingdom of Leinster, pray'd ayd of Henry II. which he had granted him, and a leader, Richard Strong-bowe, called Comes Strangulensis, to have his sayd kingdom of Leinster restored, not without success. This gave Hen. II. the first advantage, submission, & promise of tribute of all the reguli or petty kings here without further blood.

Yett the conquest was not absolutely perfected untill the reigne of Q. Elizabeth<sup>th</sup> the 39<sup>th</sup> yeer when her royall army was sent over ag<sup>st</sup> the rebell Tir-Oen. For that the Irish their great ones untill that time, had in effect as much power and profit upon the place as the kings of England. For they govern'd their respective tenants, followers, and people by the Brehoun law, which see page [ ] (*sic*), they made their own officers, pardon'd & punished malefactors within their respective countries, made warr and peace with one another without controule.

Then Henry II. by y<sup>e</sup> rebellion (w<sup>ch</sup> rebellion was caused, according to Fabian pag. 350. chap. 238, forsomuch as he had imprisoned Eleanor his wife and kept y<sup>e</sup> wench Rosamund against all good order) of his sons, K. Iohn, Hen. III., and Edward II., by the barons warrs. Edward I. by his warrs in Wales and Scotland. Edward III. and Henry fifth by the wars of France. Richard II., Henry IV., Hen. V I., & Edward IV., by domestick contention for the crown of Englād itself. Richard III. called Crookback't who usurped two yeers and half and was ejected by Henry VII., and he himself though he made the happy union of York and Lancaster. Yet for above half his reigne there were walking spirits of the house of York which he could not lay without expence of blood & money.

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. The Raths and Duns were habitations of the Irish themselves, and continued to be constructed by them up to a late period.

Hen. VIII. his hindrance of accomplishing the full conquest of Ireland, was by being diverted in two expeditions into France, in the beginning & latter part of his reign, the middle whereof employ'd in the great alteration of ecclesiastical affairs: And lastly the infancy of Ed. VI. and coverture of Q. Mary.<sup>1</sup>

King John establisht English customes and courts at Dublin, and sheriffs according to English laws, whereof few of the Irish had any benefit except these great families following, which were enfranchised by special charters viz O Briens (which by ancient records appear to have been principes Hibernorum & so wrote to by Henry II. by the title of brother) of Thomond, O Connor of Connaught, O'Neile of Ulster, Mac-Morogh of Lynster, and O Malaghlin of Meath. In these onely did the judges make their circuits for the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Vriel, Catherlough, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry & Typerary y<sup>e</sup> county palatine.<sup>2</sup>

**DIVISION.**—The manner how this kingdome was divided amongst the first English conquerors was thus, and cantoniz'd between ten of the English nation, who although they had not the possession of the third part, yet in title they were owners and lords of all, was as followes.

Earle Strongbow called Richard de Clare was entituled to the whole kingdom of Lynster by conquest and marriage of the daughter of MacMorogh, Henry the Second onely reserving to himself Dublin and other sea-ports in y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> province.

Then Hen. II. granted to Robert Fitz Stephen and Miles Cogan the whole kingdom of Cork from Lismore to the sea.

The kingdom of Limerick, with the donation of bishopricks and abbies, excepting Limerick city and some land adjoining, as the Kings Island &c. he bestow'd on Philip le Bruce.

All Meath was the lott of S<sup>r</sup> Hugh de Lacy, who was Lord Justice & Governor of Ireland 3 times & the first that ever was.

Ulster was bestow'd on S<sup>r</sup> John de Courcy, who had a right to be covered in the royal presence, which is allow'd at this time by his most sacred Ma<sup>tie</sup> to Henry Earle of Surrey.

Connaught the major part of it was conferr'd on W<sup>m</sup> Bourke by Fitz Adelme, who was tanquam senescalco a Rege H. 2. transmissio.

Thomond was the lot of S<sup>r</sup> Thomas de Clare whence at this time it retaines the name of county of Clare.

Tipperary now called the county palatine of Tipperary, wherein is a vale very rich call'd the Goulden Valley, was the lot of Otho de Grandison.

<sup>1</sup> The grammar of this paragraph is defective; but the author's meaning is plainly, that the full conquest of Ireland was prevented by

the causes enumerated.

<sup>2</sup> This statement must be taken with considerable qualification.

Waterford's territory, the city itself and the cantred of the Oastmen excepted, came to Robert le Poore.

Other English of considerable families were helpers in the conquest, some of whose descendants have great possessions and honours at this day, as in Munster the Giraldines or Fitz Gerald's, whereof is the first Earle of this kingdome<sup>1</sup> viz. Earle of Kildare, and divers gentlemen of that name, & the Walshes. In Ulster y<sup>e</sup> Audeleys, Gernons, Clintons, Stapyltons, Russels, & Talbots.

The bishopricks of Ireland, since the Reformation, are four archbishops, nineteen bishops, & one University viz. Dublin.

THE NATURE [OF IRELAND].—The nature of the land is such that it trembles in severall places, and seems as if it swom upon y<sup>e</sup> waters, and that this kingdome were a floating island.<sup>2</sup> Other lands here are upon the other extreame viz all a rock. As y<sup>e</sup> barony of Burren,<sup>3</sup> &c. and other places of y<sup>e</sup> county of Clare.

This is subject to prodigious and durable rains, which drown the lands, wherefore some have called Ireland the [. . . . .] of the world. The winter is more subject to wind than snow. It is remarkeable that the most favourable winde that blows in Ireland is the south east. And the most dammageable and destructive is the opposite to that the west and north west. Westerly windes are most subject to blasts here, as the north east in England is.

The warres and their rebellions which have been so frequent here, having destroy'd almost all their woods<sup>4</sup> both for timber and

<sup>1</sup> An error. The Earldom of Carrick, conferred on Edmund le Botiller by Ed. II., is the premier Earldom of Ireland, and the late John, Marquis of Ormonde, took his seat in the House of Peers by that title, *inter alios*.

<sup>2</sup> This may allude to the bogs, or to the cavernous nature of the limestone rock, which causes in parts of Galway, Clare, and Mayo, the rivers in some parts to disappear, and take a subterraneous course, and to turloughs or swallow-holes, where the waters, coming up from below, occasionally rise and swell.

<sup>3</sup> Ludlow, writing in 1652, says:—"After two days' march, we entered into the Barony of Burren, of which it is said that it is a country where there is not water enough to drown a man, wood enough to hang one, nor earth enough to bury him; which last is so scarce that the inhabitants steal it from one another. And yet their cattle are very fat, for the grass growing in turfs of earth three or four foot square that lie between the rocks which are of limestone is very sweet and nourishing."—"Memoirs," vol. i., pp. 379-80. Swiss edition, 1689.

<sup>4</sup> The great destruction of timber in Ireland would seem to have taken place in the

course of the seventeenth century, and to be attributable partly to the Cromwellian and Williamite wars, and partly to the iron works set up during this period. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there is no complaint of want of wood. Fynes Moryson, in describing Ireland in 1599, says:—"The Irish having in most parts great woods or low shrubs and thickets, doe use the same for fier."—"Itinerary," part iii., p. 161. London, 1617. In the articles of the Privy Council for planting the escheated lands in Ulster in 1608, the great woods are reserved to the Crown. Ship timber is described to be plenty, and timber for building houses would be assigned to the settlers by a government officer.—"View of the Irish Society." London, 1822. Sir John Davis, writing in 1612, attributes the loss of the Munster plantation of Queen Elizabeth (the settlers of which were driven out by the Irish in 1598) to the settlers not cutting down the woods near their settlements; and contrasts their conduct with that of the planters of the King's and Queen's Counties of Philip and Mary's day, who felled the woods round Maryburgh and Philipstown, to which he attributes their safety and success. If the

firing; this want is supply'd by the boggs. Out of the trenches whereof they take, and square, pieces of earth, & setting them in the sun, they harden and make turfs, which layd up dry under some shed neer the house they become excellent fewell for chamber or kitchen.

Smiths here, who generally are very very poor, the guarrent horses many going without shoos, not being able to keep half a dozen pounds of iron before hand,<sup>1</sup> or to purchase coale, sea coale, which

English (he says) instead of occupying the plains, and driving the Irish to woods and mountains, had occupied the latter, the woods had been wasted with the English habitations, as they are about the forts of Maryburgh and Philipstown, which were built in the "fastest places" in Leinster, and the ways and passages throughout Ireland would have been as clear and open as they are in England at this day. — "Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was not Subdued till the Reign of James the First," p. 123. Dublin, 1787. In the latter extract there is a complaint of too much rather than of too little timber.

During the war, from 1641 to 1652, great havoc was, no doubt, made of the woods; but greater destruction probably took place from the period of the Restoration until the complete execution of the Act of Settlement, about 1667: during which interval, the rights of property being undetermined, the parties in possession cut and sold as fast as they could.

The old proprietors, who hoped to be restored, complained to the Privy Council; but with how little effect may appear from the following affidavit:—"9th Nov<sup>r</sup> 1661. Edmund Prendergast made oath that since the proclamation of 9<sup>th</sup> January 1661 prohibiting the destruction of woods there hath been great waste committed in the woods of Curraghneemony and Glanbreedy in the C<sup>o</sup> of Tipperary belonging to this deponent by Philip Gibbon [and others named]: and deponent saith that on deponent's shewing them the proclamation they told deponent they did not value the s<sup>d</sup> proclamation but would still continue cutting and that they would not leave one tree thereof but one whereon he, this deponent, should be hanged." After stating that they still continued cutting, deponent concludes by saying, that he "verily believes that more destruction hath been done thereon since the s<sup>d</sup> proclamation than hath been done since the beginning of the rebellion."

In another affidavit, made on 13th December, 1662, by the same Edmund Prendergast,

complaining of continued waste in the same woods and in others belonging to him (in the latter the men being employed by Lieutenant Valentine Greatericks), he says that "on 22 Oct<sup>r</sup> last he caused the Subsheriff at the Sheriff's Court held by him in the Barony of Iffa and Offa publicly to read the proclamation, the persons complained against being present, upon reading whereof the s<sup>t</sup> Thomas Morgan and Stephen Batsman said they did not care for the s<sup>d</sup> proclamation, and if this Deponent would inform against them for cutting the said woods they would cropp off his ears."—"Book of Affidavits," 1660-63. Irish Council Office.

In the year 1689 was passed the first of the Acts for encouraging the planting of timber, the preamble of which is as follows:—"Forasmuch as by the late rebellion in this kingdom, and the several iron works formerly there, the timber is utterly destroyed, so that at present there is not sufficient for the repairing the houses destroyed, much less a prospect of building and improving in after times, unless some measure be used for the planting and increase of timber trees."—10 Wm. III., c. 12 (Irish).

<sup>1</sup> It seems strange that there should have been such a want of iron for smith's work, considering the number of iron works that appear to have been established in Ireland in the seventeenth century. In the preceding note it has been shown that the Irish Parliament, by the Act of 10 Wm. III., attribute the destruction of timber throughout the country to this cause. In 1685 it appears, from the records of the Plantation of Ulster, that iron works were set up on the plantation to the great destruction of the woods—"View of the Irish Society," p. 71. London, 1822. But previous to this, in the year 1653, there is an order of the Commonweath government, dated 16th March, giving liberty to Sir C. Coote to graze sixty oxen and cows, and as many garrans, on the State's ground near Mountrath, free of contribution, in consideration of the iron works for casting iron ordnances, granado shells, and balls, and other

they distinguish by the name of stone coale, viz. pitt coale. They make coles of this turf for their forge, after this manner to work their iron. They digg an hole in the ground, place in the turff, sett fire at the bottome of it, and when it is thoroughly bright, they charke and extinguish it for use by throwing great quantity of dust and ashes thereon, some throw water upon it, but that is not the best expedient.

I have seen turfe so good, so sweet, and so commodious a fire that I know not whether it be not to be preferr'd to wood and coale, this is certain that it is sooner lighted than either wood or coale, though not so durable as the latter. Turfe and wood mixed together as I have seen in Holland make a most admirable fire. Those which are for the use of the chamber are cutt neat and square like bricks and of that bignes. But those which are used in the offices of the house for the kitchen, bakeing or brewing, are cutt in lumps of any shape they can easiest rid them from the bogg and make the greatest dispatch of as to quantity. There is yet resting a very famous wood belonging to y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Strafford called<sup>1</sup> [. . .]. The scullogues, in digging for turfe, find large whole trees of oake elme and fir,<sup>2</sup> which too last are rarely seen growing in this kingdome.

The soyle is generally rude, neglected, woody, shrubby, wild, marshy, boggy, full of large pools, loghs or meers, and great boggs & ponds are seen upon the very tops of hills & mountains, as the Galty hill hath a large pond & is boggy, as also is Gallows hill between Limerick and Sixmilebridge in y<sup>e</sup> county of Thomond & others. Hence English new come over are incident to rheumatick distempers, colds, dysenteries, fluxes, agues.<sup>3</sup> For the bloody flux or country disease the vulgar apply usquebath.

The air is temperate, certein it is that cold reignes here more than heat, being a northern country, and because of the rains and windes,

shot necessary for the Commonwealth, which he had undertaken to set up at Mountrath. And on 14th September, 1653, he obtained a license to employ Irishmen in his iron works, not exceeding 500, until he could get English workmen, provided (among other regulations) that they be not permitted to inhabit above a musket-shot distant from the furnace or forge to which they belong respectively. On 14th February, 1659, he had allowance in his account for 1206 cannon shot, containing 28 tuns, valued at £15, delivered into store, 10 pair of gun-wheels valued at £4 7s. 6d. each pair, and 1700 spokes.

In like manner, on 16th May, 1654, Captain Alexander Staples got license to employ in his iron mill such men, Irish or others, who had formerly been employed in the mill, not exceeding twenty, besides their wives

and children, until he could furnish himself with a sufficient number of English for the work.—“ Council Books, Dublin Castle.”

<sup>1</sup> This is the wood of Shillelagh, in the county of Wicklow, formerly the estate of the Byrnes, obtained by Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, during his viceroyalty here in 1635-40, now in the possession of his descendant, the Earl Fitzwilliam.

<sup>2</sup> Oak, alder, hazel, yew, and fir timber, the last often of great size, are found abundantly in the boggs; but elm is not now common, if found at all.

<sup>3</sup> It need scarcely be said that the country is not now the seat of these diseases, nor are natives or strangers liable to them. The clearing away of the woods, the draining of the land, better diet and clothing, have probably caused this improvement.



which are here ordinary and very frequent, it is not so clear as in England, wherefore apter for the growth of gras than y<sup>r</sup> ripening corne. I remark'd, for the twelvemonth<sup>1</sup> I passed there, the inconsistency of the air to be so great, that y<sup>e</sup> seasons seem'd to be in a perpetuall confusion; and sometimes a very ill scent to attend a great raine, as I observ'd particularly at Rallahine in y<sup>e</sup> county of Clare, the west of Ireland being very subject to it. As the heat is not very great here, so the cold is soon disperst.

The countrey beares good corne of all sorts in particular the county of Limerick. It is admirable for game of all sorts; besides, the rocks and mountaines have great numbers of rabbits, and a stagg runs not above seven miles out right. The chace of the fox, is not so violent nor long as in England: it seldomes goes two miles out right also.<sup>2</sup> The rivers, pools call'd loughs, & ponds, were never known to have these English fish unless they were at times brought over, as carpe, tench, gugeon, perche nor cray fish. The air also wants there English birds, as a black crow, a magpie.<sup>3</sup> Yett there they have which we have not comonly, as eagles, hawks of more sorts, [*blank in original*] and rales, a reddish bird of about the largenes and goodnes of a quaile. John Bushop, also, living in the Fishshamble street in Dublin, presented the Lord John Berkley when he was here Lord Lieuteñt, with a woodcock milke white, all but the tayle, which was as that of an ordinary woodcock: this was seen also by Quarter-mast<sup>r</sup> Whitroe of the county of Limerick. It was killed in y<sup>e</sup> county of Wicklow.<sup>4</sup>

**THE COUNTRY DISEASE**—And the Irish ague, prove fatal to many strangers att their first coming over. The ague, that mock of physitions, will have its course here; some have bin cur'd by taking half an acron dried, and beat into a pouder, w<sup>th</sup> the same quantity of black pepper, in half a pint of strong March beer or other stale drink. This is to be repeated 3 dayes together, if the first, or

<sup>1</sup> This marks the time Dineley spent in Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> Hence it appears that the present race of Irish foxes is, like that of the natives themselves, much improved, a "run" of ten or twelve miles being not now uncommon.

<sup>3</sup> There are plenty of rooks and magpies in Ireland now, though the want of them, at and before the period of this tourist's visit, was remarked. Thus Fynes Moryson, who visited Ireland in 1599-1600, says:—"Ireland hath great plenty of birds and fowls, but by reason of their naturall sloth, they had little delight or skill in birding or fowling. But Ireland hath neither singing nightingall, nor chattering pye, nor undermining moule, nor blacke crow, but only crows of mingled co-

lour, such as wee call Royston crows. They have such plenty of pheasants, as I have known sixtie served at one feast, and abound much more with rayls, but partridges are somewhat rare."—"Itinerary," part iii., p. 160. Rooks seem to live by the plough, and their increase marks the spread of tillage. Pheasants, which at the beginning of this century were almost unknown in Ireland, from the destruction of the woods, are increasing with the spread of planting.

<sup>4</sup> The black cock was common on the hills around Castlecomer, in the county of Kilkenny, when that property was purchased by Sir Christopher Wandesforde, in 1637, but was even then rare in Ireland.—Comber's "Memoirs of Wandesforde," p. 104.

second will not do, and taken just before y<sup>r</sup> fitt, with walking half an hour after it. At first it will give a vomitt.

Collonel Cary Dillon's receipt is also approv'd (viz) take two handfulls of honey suckle, woodbine leaves, bruise and boyle them in a pint of stale beer to the consumption of half, this is to be used as the former.

The Irish disease, a dysenteria or bloody flux so called, reignes in no countrey so epidemically as in this kingdome, not sparing natives more than strangers. It is not determinable whether it comes from the peculiar disposition of the climate, fault in diet, the laxity and moisture of meat waterish, or some hidden cause, no venomous creature living there to suck that which may be thought (in other nations) well distributed among creeping little animalls. Though not one of these circumstances but may add to its strength and vigour. Ill bak'd bread, and as bad brew'd drink, many times help forward with it.

A moderate regular diet preserves most from y<sup>e</sup> violence and from the infection of this disease. Besides those particular cures for severall symptoms ariseing thence, as gripes, needing, it is agreed on all hands, that the stronger cordial liquors, as brandy, aqua vitæ called here isky biaha, and vulgarly in England usquebath. Treacle and mithridate waters are very good & propper. Or the electuaries themselves. According to that eminent physitian D<sup>r</sup> Willis his opinion in his Pharmaceutie Rationalis page 122. For besides the energy to make the blood more lively, they may also cause a propensity to sweating, whereby the badness of the blood may be thrown off into the habit of the body, so by a diaphoresis happily evert the humour.

The cure hath bin often perform'd thus.

Takes swine's dung in a fitt vehicle. This from the nature of the beast [. . . . .], hath a pain-asswaging quality, very apt to sweeten the humour, which ferments, with so much virulency and sharpness in this disease.

Ireland breeds no venomous creature but themselves, neither will any live there brought from other places.

Their black cattle, horses w<sup>ch</sup> they call garrens, and indeed all the breed of the countrey except women and greyhounds are less than the breed of England: <sup>1</sup> the supporters of the woemen are very large.

This is observable that though the Irish timber in England as the roof of Westminster Hall<sup>2</sup> &c. will not admitt of any venomous

<sup>1</sup> Fynes Moryson remarks the multitudinous numbers of their cattle, which, he says, are of small size, owing to their grazing during the day-time only; for at night they lie within the bawns or yards attached to the castles, for

fear of plunderers, where they are starved with cold and hardship. Only men and greyhounds, he says, are of large stature.—"Itinerary," part iii., p. 160. London, 1617.

<sup>2</sup> "The faire greene or commune, now called

creature or cobwebbs, yett the timber and houses in y<sup>e</sup> cuntry of Ireland abound with cobwebbs, spiders, woodlice, and rather more than England, which may in some measure be imputed to their nastynes. Spiders there are without poyson.

Mushrooms, toadstooles or champignons are in great number good and fair, used by people of condicōn in pickles and sauces, they have no other name for them in Irish but fas-nehennyghy, growth of one night.<sup>1</sup>

In old buildings here woodlice are continually running on the floors, tables and windowes, and in an hive of bees above a quarter of peck have been wounded.

Deer wounded flye to the herb hartstongue of which they have a certein remedy, and fish wounded apply themselves to a tench for cure, as some at Dublin, being to sell carpe, cutt it down y<sup>e</sup> back to show its fatness which afterwards being plac'd where tench are, they lift up and rubb against the tench for their cure of the wound.

The Irish men are for the most of large proporcōn of body & clear complexion. The woemen are not ill favour'd & as fair, fairer, fair handed, big, large, well bottom'd, not laced, but suffred to grow at will, nothing sett or curious of their feature and proporcōn of body, and with the largest legs vulgarly of any.<sup>2</sup>

• Ostmontowne-greene, was all wood, and hee that diggeth at this day to any depth, shall finde the ground full of great rootes. From thence, Anno 1098, King William Rufus, by licence of Murchard, had that frame which made up the rooffe of Westminster Hall, where no English spider webbeth or breedeth to this day."—"Chronicle of Ireland, collected by Meredith Hanmer, D.D.," p. 97. Dublin, 1638.

Smithfield, on the north side of Dublin, occupies part of Oxmantown, having been allotted for a cattle market by the Corporation of Dublin, in the reign of Charles II. It would be curious to ascertain the authority for this story about the roof of Westminster Hall.

<sup>1</sup> The Irish probably learned the value of their funguses from their intercourse with Italy and Spain. In England there are only two or three kinds used for food, yet a learned writer counts thirty kinds abounding in our woods. "England," he says, "is the only country in Europe where this important and savoury food is left to perish. In France, Germany, and Italy, funguses not only constitute, for weeks together, the sole diet of thousands, but the residue, either fresh, dried, or variously preserved in oil, vinegar, or brine, is sold to the poor, and forms a valuable source of income to those who have no other produce to bring to market."—"A Treatise on the Esculent Funguses of England," by C. Badham,

Esq., M.D. Introduction, p. 3. London, 1847. "I have indeed grieved," he says elsewhere, "when I reflected on the straitened condition of the lower orders this year, to see pounds innumerable of extempore beefsteaks growing on our oaks in the shape of *Fistulina hepatica*: *Agaricus fusipes* to pickle in clusters under them: Puff-balls, which some of our friends have not iuaptly compared to sweet-bread for the rich delicacy of their unassisted flavour: Hydera as good as oysters, which they somewhat resemble in taste: *Agaricus deliciosus*, reminding us of tender lamb kidneys: the beautiful yellow *Chantarelle*, that kalon kagathon of dieta, growing by the bushel."—Idem, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Mushrooms form an important part of the food of the common Russians. . . . Collins said long ago, in 1671, 'a thousand cart-loads of mushrooms are yearly spent in Moscow.' At present, I may safely state, that, besides thousands of basketfuls, there are some thousands of telegas-ful (i. e. cart-loads) exposed for sale annually in Moscow." In a list annexed, from a Russian author, there are thirty species enumerated.—"Character of the Russians and History of Moscow," by Robert Lyall, M.D. London. 1823.

<sup>3</sup> This description, except the observation about the well-developed legs of the women, is extracted from Campion, "Historie of Ireland," p. 17. Dublin, 1633.

The apparel and general habit of the Irishmen, anciently, were trouses and clokes mantlewise, which now is arrived to absolute clokes, with which they are so much in love, that they plow, thrash, & walk at midsummer with them.<sup>1</sup>

Now the men also are come to the use of hatts, insted of their usual caps (made of frize of the country) called cappeenes. The middle substantial sort, seldome wear bands but to make visits to strangers.

THE PECULIAR SAYINGS MANNERS & CUSTOMES OF Y<sup>r</sup> VULGAR IRISH.—When they fall out they offer a straw to break to putt an end to all friendship. On the contrary they offer a straw to breake in earnest of a bargain to confirm it.<sup>2</sup>

One of the greatest protestacons that they think they can make, and what they hold an oath very sacred amongst them, and by no means to be violated, is, *deralauve ma hardis criste*, by my gossips hand.

Whatever stranger drinks here at any S<sup>t</sup> Patricks well, which are very plentiful in this country, they say either that they will not forsake Ireland, or if they do quitt it for a time, that they are sure they must returne thither again.

Rogues being in greater plenty than ropes, it is sayd that Ludlow having stormed and took Gortinchigorey in the province of Connaught, and some being condemned to pass their armes, to be shott to death, made it their choice rather to be hang'd, to whom match and ropes being brought, they sayd, they meant to be hanged in gads, twisted withs so called, according to the then custome of the country; which favour was not refused.<sup>3</sup>

They have the certein concomitants nastyness and laziness, wherefore having enough before hand to furnish them with potatoes milk & tobacco, which they toss from one to another in a short pipe with this word, *shaugh*, sitting upon their hams, like greyhounds in the sun, neer their cabbins, they'l work not one jott, but steall, which

<sup>1</sup> The cloak seems to have been the common dress of the lower ranks in Ireland for ages. The gentlemen wore trouses and cloaks mantlewise. Thus Moryson:—"The Gentlemen, or Lords of Countries, wear close breeches and stockings of the same peece, of cloth of red or such light colour, a loose coate, and a cloak or three cornered mantle, commonly of light coarse stuffe, made at home."—"Itinerary," part iii. p. 180. "For the rest, in the remote parts, where English lawes and manners are unknowne, the very cheef of the Irish, as well men as women, goe naked in very winter time, only having their privy parts covered with a ragge of linnen, and their bodies with a loose mantle."—Id., ib. Spenser's description of this garment is familiar to every one:—"A fit house for an out-

law, a meet bed for a rebell, and an apt cloake for a thiefe." He truly observes, that the cloak (of course from being the simplest) is the early dress of all nations.—"View of the State of Ireland," pp. 36-7.

<sup>2</sup> The word stipulation comes from the Latin word *stipula*, a straw, owing to the custom of breaking one at the making of a contract in the form here described. "*Stipulatio, -onis, dicta est*, inquit *Isidor*, l. 5, *Orig.* c. 24, *s:b fin. a stipula*, veteres enim quando sibi aliquid promittebant, stipulam tenentes frangebant, quam iterum jungentes sponsiones suas agnoscebant."—See Facciolati's "Lexicon."

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be a confounding of two anecdotes here, one from Lord Bacon, and the other from Ludlow. The former, in his

is such an inseperable vice to them, y<sup>t</sup> a gentleman in the county of Clare complain'd to me that they stole his box of pills because guilded.

As it was the use in most parts of this cuntry to swear by their gossips or forefathers or lords hand, so it hath bin in Lancashire for the vulgar to swear either by the Mass or the cross of their own parish kirke.

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

In their dairy's (as in most things) they are very nasty, wherefore their best butter & cheese though made by Irish, is sold at markets by the name of English, & the worst as theires. They seldome, or never strayne their milk, they have no sierces, seives or strainers, however to please others they'l draw strawe out of their beds, or take rushes from their floor and strayn it through that, but to be neat, to please the curious & very neat, lest they should take exceptions, they will straine it for present use for special friends through their smocks.<sup>1</sup>

**SPOONS.**—In ancient times they knew not the use of them, so that they fed one another cross the table, at their first coming: instead of which they used *sliganes*, as many do now, a kind of muscle-shells so called.

**CHIMNEYS.**—Severall have none belonging to their cabbins, hutts so called, wherefore the collectors of the hearth money are to exact four shillings p hearth to bring them to the decorum of the English, and some rather pay double, then by having a chimney to loose the benefitt of so much good smoak, which they say nourisheth and keepeth warme their children, in which these thatcht hutts abound. One Tiegge Cusack at's Thadeus Cusack (tenant to a Dutch gentleman Giles Vanderlure, Esq<sup>r</sup>. one of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> receivours of his revenue) putting straw upon the funnell of his chimney to keep in the little smoke he had for the use of his family, sett fire on his cabin the 2<sup>d</sup> February 1688<sup>99</sup>.

**COÛN [COMMON] BURIALS.**—They follow the dead corps to the grave with ullaloes, clappings of hands, hollowings, skreechings, and

"Essay on Custom and Education," says, "I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the Deputy that he might be hanged in a withe and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels."—Essay 39th. Ludlow writes:—"Being on my march on the other side of Nenagh, an advance party found two of the rebels, one of whom was killed by the guard before I came up to them; the other was saved, and being brought before me at Portumna, and I asking him 'if he had a mind

to be hanged?' he only answered, 'If you please;' so insensibly stupid were many of these poor creatures."—Vol. i. p. 392.

Ludlow never pauses to think that it might have been terror, or, more probably, the poor man's imperfect acquaintance with English, that made him answer so hopelessly.

<sup>1</sup> This is plainly an enlargement of Moryson's observation, who says:—"They skum the seething pot with a handfull of straw, and straine their milke taken from the cow thro' a like handfull of straw, none of the cleaneest."—"Itinerary," part iii. p. 162.

barbarous outcries, pittifull in appearance, not so pittifull in appearance as noyse, as being without teares, whence grew the proverb, 'To weep Irish.'

**OLD IRISH FEASTS.**—In the yeers 1640 and 39, long tables being spread, and a row of dishes of meat, y<sup>e</sup> guests sate down, and their followers, the lesser sort, stow'd themselves under the tables, pinching their masters by the calves of the legs, who deliver them whole dishes of meat, which as they are givinge, the other followers who are taller and stand behind, putt their armes over their heads and take the rest, leaving a clear table.

Gameing and lazines they are much addicted to, their chiefest games are five-cards, all-fours &c. In the meadows, att bandy and stoeball &c. At which they will play away all, to their very clokes, which is the last moveable.

A gentleman travelling y<sup>e</sup> boat up the river Shannon, observing one of these sparks in a very miserable condicōn, bare [. . . .] & legg'd, having onely a cloke left, and a greazy pack of cards under his arme, asked him, What are you freind? Quoth he, a gamester, who sayd also he was going for Limerick for a recruite.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning and during the time of the late rebellion they used this malediction, Rottenness and melting upon the seed of the English, the head of a gander and the hornes of a goat upon their posterity.

They are at this day much addicted (on holidayes, after the bag-pipe, Irish harpe, or Jews harpe) to dance after their countrey fashion, (that is) the long dance one after another of all condicōns, master, m<sup>rs</sup>, servants, &c.

The leuder sort, both clerks and of the layity, are sensuall and loose to lechery abominably. The same, vertuously bred or reform'd, exceed in goodnes & austerity.<sup>3</sup>

There are severall who appear with very evill aspects by reason of their extream want and poverty, their nasty living and the like, yett are very apt to kiss young children with whose parents they are acquainted, and say Bal-O-yere, God bless you, and at the same time spitt on them, for they are never to bless, prayse, or comēd any thing, by y<sup>e</sup> custome, without spitting thereon, for fear of witchcraft.

<sup>1</sup> This description of the Irish burials (which prevails in the remote districts of the north-west and south to this day) is taken from Campion.

<sup>2</sup> This was a remnant of the Carrows described by Campion and Spencer. "There is among them a brother-hood of Carrowes that professe to play at cards all the yeare long, and make it their only occupation. They play away mantle and all, to the bare skinne, and then trusse themselves in strawe

or in leaves; they waite for passengers in the high way, invite them to a game upon the greene, and aske no more but companions to hold them sport, for default of other stuffe they pawne portions of their glibbe, the nailes, of their fingers and toes, their privy members which they lose or redeem at the courtesie of the winner."—Campion, "Historie of Ireland," p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> This is an extract from Campion.—See his "Historie of Ireland," p. 13.

When any one at table remembers her servant, she turneth the edge of her knife upwards.—County of Caterlaugh.

Servants when they scour andirons, fireshovell or tongues setting them down make a courtesie to each.—County Caterlaugh.

They love apples, especially old and stale ones, the smell whereof one would think offensive, these and old overripe crabbs, rather than faile, they esteem so much, that they forbear to eat them, keeping them, as old wives keep an orreng stuff'd with cloves, among their linnen and clothes for a perfume, or rose cakes, and lavender.

The 17<sup>th</sup> day of March yeerly is St Patricks, an immoveable feast, when y<sup>e</sup> Irish of all stations and condicōns were crosses in their hatts, some of pins, some of green ribbon,<sup>1</sup> and the vulgar superstitiously wear shamroges, 3 leav'd grass, which they likewise eat (they say) to cause a sweet breath. The common people and servants also demand their Patricks groat of their masters, which they goe expressly to town (though half a douzen miles off) to spend, where sometimes it amounts to a piece of 8, or cobb, a piece, & very few of the zealous are found sober at night.

St Patrick was y<sup>e</sup> first patron and primate of Ireland, and the Most Reverend Archbipp Usher was the hundredth conclusive to Cromwells time, and comparatively none before or since so primitive a Christian.

**MUMPING A SORT OF BEGGING.**—The very better sort of old Irish, that are under some cloud, or indeed in tolerable good condition, are wont upon the matching of a daughter, in order to it, to go up and down, & beg for a twelvemonth before hand, after this manner, to rayse her porcōn :<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> In all towns in Ireland, to this day, little paper cockades, decked with ribbon and gilding, are sold on St. Patrick's day for pinning to the sleeve of children's frocks: and shamrocks are customarily worn on that day by high and low.

<sup>2</sup> This seems a relic of an old feudal custom, or, perhaps, one that is common in early ages to all people, i.e. for the powerful to make the weaker maintain them. In feudal times "the three aids due by tenants holding lands by knight's service were to ransom the lord's person, to make his eldest son a knight, and to marry his eldest daughter, which at first were mere benevolences, but afterwards became of right."—Blackstone's "Commentaries," vol. ii. p. 63.

Something of the same kind prevailed in Ireland, and apparently a heavier exaction than in England, and possibly of feudal origin, for in a presentment which belongs to the year 1537, after enumerating the general services of all landholders in Ireland, it is stated that there were others only locally or partially executed, and amongst them, "when Ossory or Poër married a daughter, the former demanded a sheep from every flock, and the latter demanded a sheep of every husbandman, and a cow of every village."—"Summary of Reports of Commissioners appointed by King Henry VIII. to report on the state of the several Counties in Ireland." "State Papers," time of H. VIII., vol. ii, part iii., p. 510, note.

1°. The person to be married, sometimes her mother, w<sup>th</sup> her a sort of gentlewomen, a speaker, two to drive the cattle, and a waiting mayd, hard to be distinguished from the mistress with a draggled tayle, these all enter the house, sitt down on the stooles and benches, according to their distinctions, without uttering one word for above an hour or two. Then the attendant speaker riseth, and after a salute or honour made, he or she after a short introductiō by the way of a speach desire a Coonagh Sprea, which being interpreted is an help for a porcōn, viz. something to bring about a marriage.<sup>1</sup>

So, lately, a person of quality, but not of condition, gott for her daughter seven or eight score collops (head of cattle so called), the vulgar are afraid to deny, and give each a cow, or yearling, calf, sheep, or the like.

The scullogues or cōmon sort also mump, but not with the same formality, and procure sheep, lambs, piggs, geese, turkeys, &c. Yett with them a marriage is never compleated untill they have an iron pott, gridiron, hutch, an Irish chest so called, and a caddow or rugg or blankett.

The giving of ten shillings English answers a collop.

Any news, report or rumor from towns is convey'd into the countreys with dispatch above an Englishman's imagination, and they are so credulous that it is no sooner heard but believ'd.

To be foster brothers is such an obligacōn of love, that there is no greater, according to the manner of this kingdome.

Beds for the most part of the cōmon people, are of meer straw and that scarce clean, some have ticking, stuff't with straw, without sheets, nay they pull off their very shifts, not to wear them out. These cabins abound with children which, with the man, mayd, wife, sometimes a travelling stranger, or pack-carrier, or pedler or two, lye 9 or ten of them together, naked, heds and poyns.<sup>2</sup>

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 . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> The same custom prevails still in some parts of Wales.

<sup>2</sup> This used to be called sleeping 'stradogue,' and is thus described from actual experience by the Rev. Cæsar Otway, in his "Tour in Connaught:"—"The floor is thickly strewn with fresh rushes, and, stripping themselves entirely (naked), the whole family lie down at once together, covering themselves with blankets if they have them, and, if not, with their day clothing; but they lie down decently and in order, the eldest daughter next the wall, furthest from the door, then all

the sisters, according to their ages. Next, the mother, father, and sons in succession, and then the strangers, whether the travelling pedlar, tailor, or beggar. Thus the strangers are kept aloof from the female part of the family; and if there is an apparent community, there is great propriety of conduct. This was the first time my friend had seen the primitive but not promiscuous mode of sleeping (A. D. 1799). He has, however, often seen it since."—"Sketches in Erris and Tyrawly, County Mayo," p. 32. Dublin, 1841.



**IRISH WAKES** are an attendance upon the dead, which is perform'd with more solemnity and less noyse in towns than in the countrey, where the coffin is placed under a table, or if the poverty of the defunct do not allow him that, then he is shrowded onely with flowers ribbons & sweet herbs, sew'd to the shroud, about the corps, with a great many candles, lighted and sett out upon the table. At these meetings the young frye, viz. Darby, Teige, Morogh, Leeam, Rinett, Allsoon, Norah, Shevaunc, More, Kathleene, Ishabeal, Nooulla, Mayrgett, Timesheen, Shinnyed, &c,<sup>1</sup> appeare as gay as may be, with their holyday apparell, and with piper, harper, or fidler, revell and dance the night throughout, make love and matches.



Milking of kine, when milk do not come down freely<sup>2</sup>

**NURSEING.**—Irish nurses are very tender and good to the children of others of higher degree, and most comonly their love is more to them than to their own, this begettts a relacōn & kindred without end, and they become followers to their foster brothers & sisters. The nurses use no handkerchiefs nor muckenders to wipe their childrens noses, but suck out the [ . . . . ] Whereupon some jestingly say, that they sometimes suck out the braines.

Earle Desmond a Fitz Gerald in Qu. Elizabeths time, a traytor, was discovered by his own foster brother who follow'd him to the

<sup>1</sup> Dermot, Thadeus, Morgan, William, Rachell, Alice, Honor, Joan, Maude, Katharine, Elizabeth, Penelope, Margaret, Thomasin, Jane. Other names are thus English'd —Donagh, Dennis; Cormuck, Charles; Shane, John; Ea, Hugh; Rory, Roger.—Original

note to the Dineley MS.

<sup>2</sup> The remainder of this passage is not presentable; it does not at all refer, however, to the curious sketch of a woman milking a cow, which we here engrave, and which shows how ancient the use of the "spancel" is.

gallows. The descendant in a direct line from the s<sup>d</sup> E. Desmond is s<sup>d</sup> now to be a brogue maker, or maker of Irish shoos, in the county of Kerry, which, had they not forfeited their estates, as it is now worth, it is thought it would be the largest in this kingdome by 3 parts, for any particular, & at least by modest computation 200,000<sup>l</sup> p anū.

The manner of tucking and thickening cloth, without a mill, is thus, they place the cloth double upon a large wicker or twiggen door, called there an hurle, and work it with their hands and feet untill it become thick by rowling, this they dash with stale chamberlye in working. Thus making a virtue of necessity.

The comon people of both sexes weare no shoos after the English fashion, but a sort of pumps called brogues. The vulgar Irish womens garments are loose body'd, without any manner of stiffening, they never wear bodys to check or direct the course of nature; having like a night cap made of a napkin about their heads insted of night geer: never at any time using hats after y<sup>e</sup> manner of the vulgar English, but covering and defending their heads from rain with a mantle, as also from the heat of the sunne; to which Spanish lazy use the Irish men apply their cloaks.

Dyets generally of the vulgar Irish are potatoes, milk, new milk, which they call sweet milk, bonny clobber, mallabaune, whey, curds, large brown oatcakes of a foot and half broad bak't before the fire, bread made of bare a sort of barley, pease, beans, and oat-meale, wheat or rye for great dayes. Besides potatoes roasted in the embers, they feed on parsnips, carrots and watercresses. Butter, layd up in wicker basketts, mixed with store of [*blank in original*], a sort of garlick, and buried for some time in a bog, to make a provision of an high tast for Lent.<sup>1</sup> Neer the shoares they eat sea weeds as dillisk, slugane.<sup>2</sup> At faires their eating is very barbarous, each profering his freind a chop of mutton, or beef, which they call a spoule, out of y<sup>e</sup> pott, without salt, [or] sauce, or salmon without vinegar.

For food, among people of condicōn, a sort of swine's flesh they eat, which differs from y<sup>e</sup> custome of England. It is neither sucking pig, porck, or bacon, it is called pigging rigging, a sort of pig between it and a pork, this they slitt in the middle, head and all, and so roast it by y<sup>e</sup> name above.

The vulgar are enclin'd to drink beer and usquebath in excess, & both, men, weomen, and children are addicted to tobacco in an

<sup>1</sup> See p. 148, *supra*. Sir William Petty, in his "Political Anatomy of Ireland," also makes mention of "butter made rancid by keeping in bogs;" and the "Irish Hudibras" states, that

"Butter to eat with their hog,  
Was seven years buried in a bog."

For these references, and also an account of the analogous practice of Farøe islanders, with regard to tallow, see a paper by Dr. Wilde, on the Food of the Irish, in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. vi. p. 369.

<sup>2</sup> Now called sluke, and accounted a delicacy.

abundant manner, which, in a pipe of two inches long, they *shagh* round (& which is a terme signifying "here," that they deliver with).

Several English themselves are degenerated into such meer Irish that they have not onely suffred themselves and their posterity, by the neglect & scorn of the use of their own propper language English, to forgett it, but to be ashamed of the names of their ancestours, because English, though noble and of great antiquity, and converted them into Irish sir-names; as St. Stapylton into Gaule duff, which by signification is, black English, they being black men whose descendants are some called Mac-Gaule-Duff. Bourks in the province of Connaught (after the failor of the house of the Red Earle in heirs males) called the heads of their families Mac William or Mac Lecam Eighter, and Mac Leeam Oughter: Bretingham, Lord of Athenry, also, in Connaught nam'd himself MacYeoris, Exeter, Mac Jordan. The lesser families of the Bourks (of which at this time the Protestants have recall'd their names again) took to name Mac Hubbard, Mac David, &c. In the province of Munster some of the branches of the noble family of the Geraldines or Fitz Gerald's having seated themselves there, some called themselves Mac Morish or Morris, chief of the family of Lixnaw, others Mac Gibbon, wherof one had the name of the White Knight, these were of the county of Kerry. And some one of their stock is taken notice of in a monument [in] the ruines of Abby Owhny in y<sup>e</sup> county of Limerick. A good English family, written Welch, Welshe, or Walshe, metamorphos'd it into Brennagh which signified *Welch*, in the English language: one whereof hath a monumēt and inscrip<sup>ti</sup>ō in S<sup>t</sup> Muncheons church in the city of Limerick: but another of better alloy retained his name, though not the honour of that family of Walshes, for he became rebell against his prince, & lost his estate in this kingdome of Ireland as such; a chappel, erected to his family, was in y<sup>e</sup> county of Limerick, whose monumēt & inscrip<sup>ti</sup>ō see page [blank in original].<sup>1</sup> The head of the Lord Dunboyn's house, a Butler, deign'd to take in exchange the name of Mac Pheris. The Arch Deacon of Kilkenny assum'd Mac Odo, & Condon of the county of Waterford Mac Mayo. One, also, of a name whereof never any one before of that English name was heard of, to be sure to change his own, took the name of Core, which signifieth odd.

This these, and divers others, did, in scorn and dirision of the land of their nativity, and became much more severe and cruel enemies of their country of England than the meer Irish themselves.

In the province of Munster, upon y<sup>e</sup> elec<sup>ti</sup>ōn of new mayors and officers they have a ceremony of expressing joy by their throwing of wheat and salt, as a prediction of future peace and plenty: this they

<sup>1</sup> This monument will be given in a subsequent portion of Dineley's Tour.

did upon James Fitz Gerald Earle of Desmond in y<sup>r</sup> reigne of Qu. Elizabeth (son unto y<sup>r</sup> former Earle of Desmond attainted in Ireland) after he had been restor'd in blood and sent over by Yoghall to S<sup>t</sup> George Thorneton, in Killmallock. Anno 1600. in the month of October.

The Brehoun Irish custome, or law, partial and impious, was this, in murder, the Brehoun, viz. their judge, would make a composition between the offender, & the freinds of the person murdered, as wife or orphan, for a certain sume, which they term'd an Errick; this way was also manslaughter, rape, burglary, & felonies not punished with death, but with the sayd errick or pecuniary mulct or fine. So that for oppression, extortion, exaction, or smaller trespasses the weaker had never any remedy against y<sup>e</sup> powerfull. Whence no one could with security enjoy life, wife, children, lands, or goods, if one stronger than him were inclin'd to seize any, or all, from him.

S<sup>t</sup> Edward Poynings, Knight of the noble order, Privy Counsellor in England to Henry the VII. & his Deputy of Ireland, anno 1494 & 10 Hen. 7. held a Parliament, in which sessions he secured this nation to the English, by gaining of an Act, that no Parliament should be holden in the kingdom of Ireland, or act passed there, before it be transmitted and approved by king and counsell, and then return'd under the great seale of England. Then it was also enacted, that all statutes made in England to that time should be of the same force there, these acts were made at the request of the Coñons there, because they had been formerly impos'd upon by their governors born Irish, who preferr'd their private ends before the good of the people.

And in Ireland such traitors as are convicted by the acts and ordinances of the High Court of Parliament, are by force thereof adjudged to suffer damage in their name, state, preheminnence, dignities, and honour due to them in forepassed times. As in all their offices, lordships, castles, mannours, and in all their hereditan<sup>ts</sup> whatsoever: moreover they shall susteyne corrupcion of their blood, and family, and both himself, and his posterity are (by force of such conviction and judgm<sup>t</sup>) disabled to demand, receive or recover of any man, by descent from any of their ancestors, either lineal or collateral, neither are the children of persons, soe convicted, permitted to make their pedigree, or to derive themselves from such parents. Statut: Hybern. fol. 175.

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on  
Wednesday, November 5th, 1856.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGHLIN in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Knight of Kerry, Valencia, county of Kerry; Clayton Savage, Esq., D.L., J.P., Norelands, Stoneyford; George L. Bryan, Esq., D.L., J.P., Jenkinstown House, Jenkinstown; John George, Esq., M.P., Cahore, Gorey; the Rev. W. Smyth King, Ballinree, Kiledmond; Harry Alcock, Esq., J.P., Wilton, Ennis-corthy; John A. Kirwan, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, D.L., Resident Magistrate, Castlecomer; Frederick Richard Morris Reade, Esq., J.P., Rossanarra, Callan; and William Phelan, Esq., Ballyragget: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Mrs. Parkinson Ruxton, Redhouse, Ardee; the Rev. Joseph Wright, Broughatena, Flurrybridge; and John Tisdall, Esq., Charlesfort, Navan: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Thomas F. Strange, Esq., Waterford: proposed by Samson Carter, Esq., C.E.

Henry Butler, Esq., J.P., Kilmurry, Thomastown: proposed by James S. Blake, Esq.

Miss Helen Cecil Archer Butler, Tullamain Castle, Fethard, county of Tipperary: proposed by Joshua Kettlewell, Esq.

William Williams, Esq., Dungarvan; Patrick J. Scannell, Esq., 14, Douglas-street, Cork; and George Fitzgerald, Esq., London, Canada West: proposed by Edward Fitzgerald, Esq., Architect.

Edward Wright, Esq., War Department, Kilkenny: proposed by John G. A. Prim, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors :—

By the Author, Edward Richardson, Sculptor : "The Ancient Stone and Leadon Coffins, Encaustic Tiles, &c., recently discovered in the Temple Church;" and "The Monumental Effigies of the Temple Church, with an Account of their Restoration, in the year 1842." Folio, London, 1843 and 1845.

By the Census Commissioners : "The Census of Ireland for the year 1851," part 5, Vols. I. and II., comprising "Tables of Deaths;" and part 6, being their "General Report."

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: their "Transactions," Vol. VIII.

By the Author, Edward Newenham Hoare, A.M., Dean of Waterford : "English Roots; and the Derivation of Words from the Anglo-Saxon." Second edition.

By Frederick May, Esq. : "The Ancient Customs of the Manor of Taunton Deane."

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society : "Report and Communications." 8vo series, No. 6.

By the Oxford Architectural Society : "Reports of Meetings," 1853-56.

By the Cambrian Archæological Society : "Archæologia Cambrensis," No. 7.

By the Cambrian Institute : their "Journal," part 2.

By the Dublin Geological Society : their "Journal," Vol. VII. part 3.

By the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire : their "Reports," "Proceedings," and "Transactions;" also "The Economy of a Coal Field," and "An Account of an Egyptian Mummy."

By the Publisher : "The Builder," Nos. 709 to 717, inclusive.

By the Publisher : "The Gentleman's Magazine," for January, February, March, and October, 1856.

By James S. Blake, Esq., J.P. : a portion of the "County and City of Cork Remembrancer."

By T. C. Mossom Meekins, Esq., Barrister-at-Law : "Decimal Coinage; should it be International?"

By Richard Sainthill, Esq. : "Suggestions for a Medal to record the Discovery of the Passage of the North Pole;" and "Sunrise." Two pamphlets.

By W. J. Fitzpatrick, Esq. : cuttings relating to Kilkenny and its Theatricals, from "Carrick's Morning Post," and "Saunders's Newsletter," 1807-1819.

By the Rev. G. L. Shannon : "a MS. copy of a Prologue, written by Henry Amyas Bushe, Esq., and spoken by Richard Power, Esq., at the Kilkenny Theatricals, October 7th, 1805."

By Henry Steele, Esq. : a collection of fifty-two coins, consisting of eleven Lower Empire Roman brasses, obtained from Syria; thirty-seven English tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century; a base English shilling of Charles II.; and three Irish farthings of Charles I.

The Secretary announced that, in exchange for one of the copies of Mr. O'Neill's "Irish Crosses," for three of which, it would be recollected, the Society had subscribed, he had obtained for their Library, from the Spalding Club, through the kindness of the Secretary of that body, John Stuart, Esq. (a Member also of this Society), a copy of the magnificent folio lately printed by the Spalding Club for its members, entitled "Sculptured Stones of Scotland." This splendid volume showed what might be done by combined exertion, where a true sense of the importance of national antiquities animated the breasts of those who were able to contribute the means required properly to illustrate, and thus preserve the knowledge of, the antiquities of a country. He (Mr. Graves) was ashamed to say that, in this respect, Scotland was far beyond his native land, and nothing could furnish a more striking illustration of the different state of feeling prevalent in the two countries, than a comparison of the two works he had alluded to. *Here*, an artist, whose livelihood depended on the profitable exercise of his pencil, had been allowed to devote himself, with much generous self-denial, and *present* sacrifice of pecuniary means, to the illustration of our matchless sculptured crosses and their kindred antiquities. *There*, a society of noblemen and gentlemen had, without stint, supplied the means to employ artists, and fully to illustrate the contemporary sculptures of Scotland. All honour to the *one man* who has undertaken for Ireland what the *landed proprietors and monied men* of Scotland have nobly done for *their* native land. Surely it shall not be said that Ireland cares not for those memorials of her olden glory! It is to be hoped that every Irishman, who can with propriety afford the outlay, will order a copy of Henry O'Neill's work, of which the fifth number has just appeared, comprising, amongst other illustrations of the highest interest, a plate of one of the ancient stone crosses existing in the churchyard of Kilkieran, in the county of Kilkenny.

The publication of the Spalding Club, which he laid on the table, comprised *one hundred and thirty-seven* folio lithographic plates, in the best style of art, with an introductory essay by Mr. Stuart, who had ably edited the work for the Club. An inspection of this rare and valuable privately printed volume proved the identity of Celtic art in Scotland and Ireland, and at the same time showed that the Scottish sculptures proceeded from a distinct school, many peculiarities separating them from their Irish counterparts, of which might be mentioned a more decidedly *Pagan* element, to be expected

in a country where Christianity struggled with Paganism for ages after the former had been fully established in Ireland.

Mr. Graves then called the attention of the Members present to the valuable additions made to the Society's Library by the Census Commissioners. Dr. Wilde's labours, in elucidation of the history of disease and therapeutics in Ireland, were here set forth, and would form a reference book for all future inquirers on the subject, affording information of the most varied and interesting kind, rescued from the imprisonment it had long endured between the folios of the treatises of the ancient hereditary leeches of Ireland, and amongst the other memorabilia of our annalists.

The Secretary also called attention to the donation made that day, on behalf of Mr. Edward Richardson, who, having been recently in Kilkenny employed in erecting, in the cathedral of St. Canice, the beautiful monument which he had sculptured for their late deeply lamented Patron, the Marquis of Ormonde, had presented to the Library his works on the monumental and sepulchral remains of the Temple Church, London, which would be of much value for the purposes of comparison with the monumental sculptures of this country, and prove a guide, should the work of restoration—so much needed in the cathedral of St. Canice—be ever undertaken.

The following communication, received from the Rev. John O'Hanlon, of Dublin, was then laid before the Meeting, being a continuation of the results of his researches in the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park, Dublin, descriptive of the manuscript materials there preserved, serving to illustrate the history and topography of the Queen's County:—

“Having already furnished a list of the MS. materials referring to the county of Kilkenny, as found in the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park, I thought it would interest many of the Members of the Society to present to them an outline of the like materials respecting the Queen's County. Not only the early associations connected with one's own native district, but the circumstance of its forming one of the Irish south-eastern counties, naturally induce the writer to prepare a second letter on this subject. I find, then, in the Catalogue of Ordnance Survey MSS., the following list referring to the Queen's County:—I. Inquisition. II. Names from Down Survey (see Leinster, vol. ii.) III. Extracts, two volumes (see also p. 33), and Common-place Book; Rough Index of Places to Irish part of ditto, not arranged. IV. Letters, two volumes. V. Name Books, 65. VI. Parish and Barony Names, one volume. VII. Memoranda, one volume. VIII. County Index of Names on Ordnance Maps, one volume. IX. Memoir Papers; see detailed list annexed. Such is the list; but I regret to say there are no drawings of antiquities for this county, as it is one of those on which an artist was not engaged. To enter, then, into a few particulars respecting the papers and volumes prepared:—I. Inquisition.—One quarto volume, containing 136 closely written pages, besides an Index of all the places referred to therein, prefixed. II. Names from Down Survey,

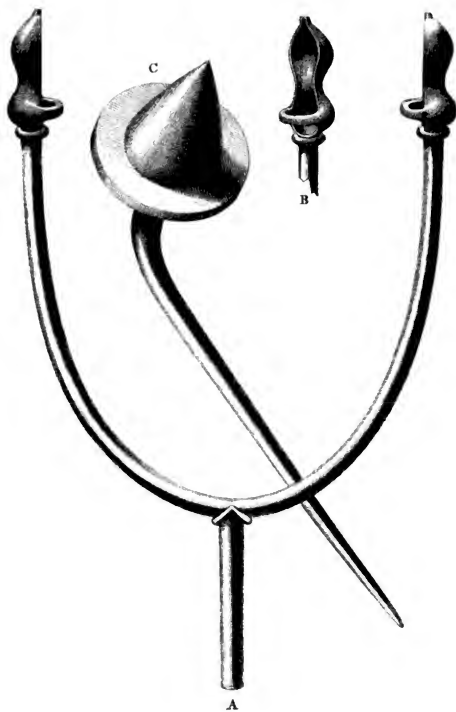


&c.—These are contained in a folio volume, named 'Down Survey, Leinster,' vol. ii., and the names of places are alone given; the names referring to the Queen's County are comprised within, from p. 264 to 344, loosely written, alternate pages blank; an Index of parishes precedes, occupying only p. 264; the names are for the most part referable to townlands, with identification on the old maps. III. Extracts, &c.—Although there are only two volumes of extracts marked on the Catalogue, I find three volumes in the collection; vol. i. comprises 441 closely written quarto pages; vol. ii. is not paged, but I believe is quite as large as the former, and contains as much matter, in quarto pages; vol. iii. comprises 65 pages, and 14 additional pages, quarto, closely written. The references made to p. 33 relate, I am informed, to extracts from the British Museum, Lambeth, Oxford, and Bodleian Libraries, regarding the counties of Antrim, Armagh, 'Cole-raine,' Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Leitrim, Longford, Louth, Monaghan, Queen's County, Tyrone, Wexford, and the provinces of Ulster and Munster. Vol. i. is now in the custody of Colonel Larcom, the former able and talented superintendent of the Irish Department of the Ordnance Survey. It is, however, the property of the Department. The reference to Common-place Book N will be found in MS. No. I, named Inquisition. The rough Index of places to Irish part of Extracts, not arranged, will be found in 31 folio pages of foolscap paper. The names of places, in the modern English spelling and in the ancient Irish character, are placed together, and this portion of the work is in the handwriting of Mr. Anthony Curry (brother of Professor Eugene Curry, Esq., M.R.I.A.), and is well executed. The leaves are yet loose, with a view to slips being taken from them, to be alphabetically arranged in another book. IV. Letters, &c.—Comprised in two quarto volumes; vol. i. comprises 359 pages, closely written, besides a well-arranged Index prefixed; vol. ii. comprises 306 closely written pages, besides a well arranged Index prefixed, and the following maps and traces:—Trace of Balliadams and Slew-margie baronies, from Down Survey, p. 296; ditto, Cullinagh, p. 297; ditto, Mariburogh, p. 298; ditto, Portnehinch, p. 299; ditto, from old map by John Mason, 1567, p. 303; ditto, Stradbally, from Down Survey, p. 300; ditto, Tenehinch, p. 301; ditto, Upper Osserey, p. 302; ditto, old map of Leax and Ophaly, preserved in Trin. Coll. Dubl., pp. 304, 305; hand sketch of the Queen's County, with some of the territorial names marked upon it by Dr. O'Donovan, p. 306. The first of these volumes contains thirteen letters, written during the months of November and December, 1838, from Mountrath and Stradbally. Two letters were written by P. O'Keefe, six by Dr. O'Donovan, and five by Thomas O'Conor, a most excellent Irish antiquary and topographer, as his valuable letters evince; but I regret to be informed he died at a comparatively early age. By his death Irish history and literature have, no doubt, sustained a serious loss, for, with his undoubted talent and early promise, he was indefatigable and zealous in promoting the object of his mission. Vol. ii. contains eight letters, all written from Carlow, in the month of December, 1838—four by Dr. O'Donovan, and four by Mr. O'Conor. Besides the maps and tracings already mentioned, these letters are interspersed with other rough maps and drawings, on a minor scale. I should remark, that all these letters, although written in a familiar style, and only with a view to furnish sub-

sequent matter for published and corrected volumes, are, nevertheless, almost finished dissertations—many written at great length—on the history and antiquities of the Queen's County. V. Name Books.—These are in the form of small receipt blocks or books, and contain, according to a printed form, the writing of the names of places, generally in the hands of resident, local gentry, clergymen, Catholic and Protestant, farmers, &c. VI. Parish and Barony Names.—These are comprised in one quarto volume, of 63 pages, marked, but in reality of double that number of written pages, alternate pages being only numbered; there are three pages besides of Index and Authorities. VII. Memoranda.—One quarto volume, of 238 closely written pages. VIII. County Index of Names on Ordnance Maps.—This is comprised in one folio volume; the pages are not numbered, but are numerous, and well filled with names of localities, townlands, parishes, baronies, &c. IX. Memoir Papers, &c.—There is only one paper, on 'Lea Castle,' 16 pages, folio, signed a 'true copy, R. Fenwick.' There are loose sheets in this parcel, with a pen-and-ink ground plan of Lea Castle and environs; an engraving of ruins and rock of Dunamace, with engravings of sections of an ancient baptismal font at Emo, near Portarlinton. These engravings appear to have been executed by the staff of engravers employed in the Ordnance Survey Office.

"In the MS. materials for the county of Kilkenny, noticed at p. 153, *supra*, not having referred to the Catalogue, I did not mention that there are three other MS. volumes, besides those I gave an account of, which I now supply:—I. Names from Down Survey (see Leinster, vol. i.)—By referring to the volume named, I find that from page 236 to 391 are the names of county of Kilkenny baronies, parishes, and townlands, with identifications on ancient maps. The volume is a folio, and the part referring to the county of Kilkenny is preceded by three pages of an index map of barony, and parish names, commencing from p. 236. II. Name Books, 128.—Drawn up on the same plan and form, as already stated in the previous part of this letter, at No. 5. III. Parish and Barony Names.—These are comprised in one quarto volume of 170 pages, marked, but of double that number of written pages, alternate pages being only numbered; there are besides five pages of index and authorities."

The Rev. James Graves said that the Rev. G. H. Reade had forwarded drawings of an ancient bronze antique, of which there are many varieties, but all of the same type, preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. These objects, bearing a general resemblance to a gigantic spur, were first assigned to their true purpose by Mr. Edward Clibborn, Curator of that unequalled collection of national antiquities. Mr. Clibborn suggested that these objects were intended to form pendant ornaments beneath the throat of the horse, being suspended by straps from the headstall, something in the same way that our cavalry regiments display a crescent, or tuft of red horse-hair, dependant from that portion of the bridle. The specimen represented from Mr. Reade's drawing was in the possession of Mrs. Parkinson Ruxton, of Redhouse, Ardee, who had that day become a Member of the Society. It had been



Bronze Bridle Ornament and Cheek Pie.

SCALE, ONE HALF.

N. B. The Bridle Ornament is imperfect at A.

found in a black, or turf, bog near Ardee, along with a bronze spear-head; and differed from every specimen which he (Mr. Graves) had seen, in the contrivance for inserting the cords or straps by which it had been suspended to the headstall, which will be best understood by an inspection of the accompanying plate (Figs. a and b), where the antique is represented at half size. It would seem that the cord or strap was passed through the loop, and then bound to the bronze by a fastening passing round the depression, immediately above the place of insertion. These ends were formed of the usual dark greenish-coloured bronze, whilst the remainder of the antique, though of the same metal, was of a rich golden tint. It will be remembered that a similar object, which had been found in the county of Kilkenny, was some time since secured for the Museum of the Society. This example had unfortunately lost the parts by which it had been suspended, but was finished by a simple knob at the lower extremity. Most of the specimens preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy were thus finished, and had merely knobs at their suspension ends also, but in many instances, if his memory served him rightly, the antiques were highly ornamented.

On the same plate is also represented (Fig. c) a bronze cloak-pin, half the size of the original, from a drawing furnished by Mr. Reade, in whose collection this antique is preserved. It was of dark bronze, and the cone had been originally gilt.

Mr. Hitchcock sent an account, from the "Forres, Elgin, and Nairn Gazette," of the further spoliation of the few remains of the Moyness temple (see p. 79, *supra*), and by other than plebeian hands. It appears, that some weeks since (the paper dates Nov. 5), a party, among whom were the lord of the manor—the Earl of Cawdor, and Mr. Stuart, of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland—visited the site of the dilapidated circle, and caused several excavations to be made. They were rewarded by finding an urn (not described)<sup>1</sup> in the centre of the displaced causeway; but the trenched up ground is left open, rendering the destruction now as complete as can well be imagined. However interesting the discovery of the urn in this celebrated circle may be, we can scarcely refrain from adding our voice to that of the Forres paper, that the pits—some of which were, perhaps, dug close to some still standing megalith—ought not to have been left open, and that such monuments as the Moyness temple, wherever they exist, are the property of the nation—to be cared for and preserved for the gratification of the public.

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Stuart has since informed me that "the urn was of clay, very rude, and without a trace of ornament. It lay near the

surface, and was filled with roots and vegetable debris and sand." The ground would seem to have been previously disturbed.—R. H.

## THE ROUND TOWER OF ARDMORE, AND ITS SIEGE IN 1642.

BY JOHN WINDELE, ESQ.

AMONGST the manuscripts left by the late Thomas Crofton Croker—a name long and creditably connected with our legendary literature and folk-lore—was a collection of tracts relating to the Irish civil wars of 1641. These had been originally published at the period to which they relate, but were become so scarce, that when accident placed them in his possession, despairing of procuring other copies, he undertook the task of transcribing them in his own clear and beautiful penmanship. On the dispersion of his library, this MS. was purchased by J. W. Hanna, Esq., of Downpatrick, to whose kindness I am indebted for their perusal, and the use of the following extract relating to Ardmore.

The main interest appertaining to this portion of the narrative arises from the fact of its being one of the very few notices which we have, of an older date than the last century, regarding our Round Towers. It will, to be sure, throw no light whatsoever on the origin or early history of that of Ardmore, for it merely relates to an incident in its otherwise uneventful history, belonging to a very gloomy period in the annals of Ireland. But it will serve as a landmark in the dim obscure of a structure concerning which other story there is none. The siege of Ardmore tower and castle, which forms its subject, was a circumstance, in the miserable civil war of the period, which our historians have thought too insignificant to notice, and of which, therefore, it is well thus to preserve the memory. The narrative tells in what a fell spirit that warfare was carried on, when, at its close, we are informed that the unhappy garrison, part of which had failed in defending the mysterious and time-hallowed old structure, having surrendered “at mercy,” one hundred and seventeen of them were hanged the next day—in cold blood.

The castle which sustained its share in the tragical episode lay to the east of the church. Its “stump” was standing in 1745, in Smith’s time, but all vestiges of it have since then long disappeared.

The tower, here called the “steeple,” stands to the south of the old cathedral church of St. Declan. It is based upon the solid rock, which approaches within a few inches of the surface. It is certainly the most remarkable of that class of monuments, the *crux* of antiquaries—the Round Tower—so peculiar in Western Europe to the *Gaelic* family of the great Celtic race, possessing characteristics distinguishing it from other structures of the same type in Ireland, Scotland, and the Isle of Man. Its careful and highly

finished masonry, its succession of external string courses or offsets, and those strange, sculptured, corbel-like stones, studding the face of its lower stories, single it out, with that of Devenish, as the very ideal of these structures. Ardmore also enjoys the distinction of having been the first tower whose examination disclosed the very important fact, at first strenuously questioned, but now sufficiently established by researches, with similar results, in other buildings, that these structures had been raised for a sepulchral purpose, apart from other uses, whereby, also, the true object of the great elevation of their doors above the surrounding level is now satisfactorily explained.

The description of this tower by Smith, the historian of Waterford, is in many respects erroneous, as in the number of its string courses, 4 instead of 3; height, 100 feet, instead of 97; door, 15 feet from ground, instead of 13, &c. He mentions three pieces of oak remaining in his time, near the top, "on which the bell was hung," as also "two channels cut in the cill of the door, where the rope came out, the ringer standing below the door, without side." In 1841, when Mr. Odell restored the long absent wooden floors, the pieces of oak, mentioned by Smith, were found to have been joists belonging to the two upper original floors, one of which is now preserved in the Cork Institution; and the channels in the door sill are, with more probability, judged to have been formed as rests for the ladder, a purpose to which they have been now again applied. Indeed, had the bell-ringer ever chosen to exercise his function in the open air, it is not likely that the friction of ropes could have ever produced those indentations.

The sculptured corbels, so called, which so strangely occur on the wall within, have been conjectured as intended for supports to shelves, on which were placed the precious things of the tower; but this is far from probable, inasmuch as they are only found in this and, perhaps, the tower of Rattoo in Kerry, and here, several of them are incapable of sustaining any object upon them; moreover, no two happen to be placed in line, so as to support a shelf.

It forms no part of the object of this communication to enter upon the debateable topics connected with the Round Tower question, which, although several very complacently consider as "settled," it is hardly necessary to say, is deemed to be still in a very unsettled state by a large section of Irish archaeologists. But in regard to the immediate structure under notice, as the opportunity offers, it may be permitted briefly to advert to one or two subjects particularly pertinent to it. One of these is the name of the locality on which the tower and its accompanying structures stand, about which there has been some small controversy. According to the Life of St. Declan, it was anciently called *Ard na g-caerach*; what *alias* it may have had besides, we are not informed; but Irish

topography was rich in variety of denominations. The present general name is Ardmore, but the particular or subdenominations are *Ardo*, *Ardo-chesty*, and *Ardo-guinagh*. The Ordnance Map is rightly in accordance with these popular designations. Yet Dr. Petrie denies that the tower stands on the land of *Ardo*. It is, he says, "situated on the glebe of Ardmore," and so it is, for the glebe of Ardmore forms part of *Ardo*, but the exigencies of his anti-ignicolitic theory will not let him see this. True, *Ard-do* may not mean the *fire* height at all, for *eo* has a variety of significations, one of which is a *yew* tree. But why select this rather than a salmon, an ear, a *grave*, a peg, a pin, a nail, a bodkin, a thorn, &c.? (see O'Reilly). Be its meanings ever so numerous and variant, the word *aodh*, pronounced *eo*, significant of fire, or a fire temple, has a legitimate right to a place, and the *more* so, as the many Pagan indications in the vicinity so fully warrant its propriety. Here are a hole stone, or dolmen; on the shore, a cairn; a rock basin within a few yards of the tower, once honoured with the circular dance; a holy well; remarkable traditional vestiges of bovine or arkitic worship in the *rian bo Padruic*, or roadway of St. Patrick's cow; the *cairn of the red ox*; the *fas an aon oidhche* (growth of one night) attributed to the tower; the *deisiol* rounds performed at its base, &c., &c.; and the remarkable accumulation of Ogham inscriptions. These are collateral circumstances, giving great weight to the "fire height" interpretation.

But Dr. Petrie denies that the discovery of an Ogham inscription can in any way affect the question at issue regarding the Round Tower, for he thinks the Druidical origin of the Ogham writing remains to be proved, and to this denial and opinion he emphatically adds, in reference to the first inscription discovered here by me in 1841:—"I utterly deny that the lines on the stone at Ardmore are a literary inscription of any kind, and I challenge Mr. Windele to support his assertion by proof." To this peremptory challenge, the best and only answer was given which it was capable of receiving: an engraving of the stone was made and circulated (a reduced copy of which Mr. Fitzgerald has since published in vol. iii., p. 227, first series), and the stone itself was shortly afterwards forwarded to the Royal Irish Academy, where it still remains. For the Druidical use of Ogham, Dr. Petrie's own work (pages 105 and 106) affords evidence, at least, one should suppose, sufficient to satisfy *him*. In illustrating "the modes of interment practised by the pagan Irish," he quotes from "that *most valuable MS.*, the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*," a passage describing the grave of Fothadh Airgtheach, monarch of Ireland, who was killed at the battle of Ollarba, in A.D. 285:—"There is a chest of stone about him in the earth," says the extract, "and there is a pillar stone at his carn, and an Ogumis (Ogham) inscribed on the end of the pillar stone which is

in the earth, and what was in it is, ECHAD AIRGTHEACH HERE." Of course, it is unnecessary to say that the date, 285, was anterior to the establishment of Christianity in Ireland. Many other such pillar stones, with inscriptions in the same character, have since been found: two have been discovered in the Ardmore burial ground, as the pages of these "Proceedings" record. One of these, embedded in the original masonry of probably the most ancient Christian structure in this island, shows, from its position, that its object, use, and value had been forgotten, and become obsolete when that building was erected—perhaps in the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> The character of the majority of our Ogham inscribed monuments is undoubtedly Pagan. Comparing their inscriptions with those in the Romanesque Irish letter, still remaining at Lismore, Scattery, Aran, Clonmacnoise, &c., there is a marked and radical difference; all the latter inscriptions observe a given formula, beginning almost invariably with OR, or OROIT DO, i. e. "pray for," a form altogether absent in the Ogham. This most significant fact is, of itself, sufficient to satisfy an unprejudiced inquirer. Dr. Petrie, however, does not appear to have been so clearly convinced upon this head. Yet not so as to the genuineness of the inscription, for, in his reply to the explanation given, he candidly avows his mistake. As the readers of his work cannot be cognizant of this fact, I may be excused for extracting from a letter to me, dated 21st October, 1845, a passage expressive of his regret for its commission:—"I have," he says, "to request your pardon for the trouble which I thoughtlessly put you to in the matter of the Ogham inscription at Ardmore. I assure you with sincerity that I am very sorry for it, as taking it as certain that the marks in the stone are faithfully copied, and have no hesitation in acknowledging that it is a true Ogham, and shall state this and make the *amende* in the second volume of my work." Eleven years having since elapsed, and the promised volume conveying the necessary *amende* not having yet appeared, I trust I may not be deemed unreasonable or premature in entering into these particulars here. To the large number of Dr. Petrie's readers and admirers, and of the latter, indeed, I avow myself one in all sincerity, the challenge remains on record, apparently still unanswered, and probably may be regarded as unanswerable; the occasion afforded in presenting the story of the Ardmore siege appears, therefore, to me sufficiently opportune for placing

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Edward Clibborn, Assistant Secretary, Royal Irish Academy, in his letter to Mr. Odell, printed in vol. iii., p. 283, first series, has very pointedly put the following query to that gentleman:—"How is it that Mr. Windele has not noticed this" (the Ogham stone)? "He appears to have *sup-*

*pressed* his knowledge of it in his printed circular, published with a woodcut." It may be satisfactory to this querist to know that—so far from suppressing my knowledge of it—I did not see the stone in question until last November, just ten years after that circular had been issued.



the subject in its right aspect before our Society, and so far vindicating my own judgment regarding this inscription impeached in the passage referred to.

I have already stated that the history of Ardmore tower before 1642 is a blank. The tradition of its having been built in one night, like that regarding so many of the cavern temples of India, affords but faint light indeed. Its vernacular name of *Guilcach* or *Cuilcach* Dhiaglain, is equally inexpressive. It is true that Dr. Petrie says this term is obviously a local corruption of *Cloigtheach*; but this is very far from being so certain. *Guilcach* or *Guilce* is a very distinct native term, signifying a reed, and may be applied figuratively to these tall, slender, and taper columns; but, even were it another form of *Cloigtheach*, as he contends, this, with him important term, no more signifies a *Round Tower* than it does a *square steeple*, or any stone building of any form, low or lofty; and this the learned Doctor, after all his laborious parade of examples and quotation, is himself virtually compelled to admit.—See pages 367 and 390 of his work. It is clear enough, *generally* speaking, that it signifies a *steeple* of some kind, and so Colgan and O'Conor and others very properly consider it; but it is an egregious error to regard it as *solely* signifying a *Round Tower*. When, therefore, we read of the *cloigtheach* of Armagh, or Slane, or Trim, or Tomgrany, where no remains now appear, we ought to be informed upon what evidence we should regard these buildings as round or angular, high or low.

It results from these observations, that Ardmore affords no positive fact, beyond the very important one of the discovery of its sepulchral character, to guide the inquirer, and that its era and other uses belong still to the speculative antiquary to seek out. It is only with the record of its siege in 1642 that its real history commences. The life of the great patron saint of Ardmore is silent upon it, affording a negative evidence that neither he nor his successors for, probably, some ages after (for the life is a production of a later time), raised this structure. Hanmer the chronicler, who lived at Youghal, within four miles of Ardmore, is also silent regarding it. From 1642 until Smith wrote in 1745, Ardmore remained unnoticed; since then it has been more or less referred to. But the great events in its history have been the restorations, the repairs, and the excavations effected in 1842, in a spirit and taste worthy of all laudation and imitation, by Mr. Odell, the now lord of the soil—himself a travelled, enlightened, and zealous archæologist. Following upon these notable incidents have been the discoveries of the two additional Ogham inscribed stones, one that of the Monachan, by Mr. Fitzgerald, and the other, if I mistake not, by Archdeacon Cotton—a name of grateful memory to every Irish antiquary, for what he has accomplished at Cashel and otherwise.

To hold so large a number as forty men, it is evident that the floors of the Tower must have been perfect, in 1642, and the presumption thence arises that this building had been, to that time, in use, it may be, as a belfry. The injuries inflicted on the church upon that occasion may also, very probably, have originated its subsequent disuse, desertion, and ruin. During the last century the chancel was again restored, as a place of worship, to be again unroofed and abandoned upon the erection of a new church in its neighbourhood in recent years.

The narrative of the siege of Ardmore Castle and Round Tower is extracted from "A Journall of the most Memorable Passages in Ireland, Especially that Victorious Battell at Munster, beginning the 26 of August 1642, and continued. Wherein is related the Seige of Ardmore Castle together with a true and perfect Description of the famous Battell of Liscarroll. Written by a worthy Gentleman who was present at both these Services. London, Printed for T. S. October 19, 1642:—" and is as follows:—

"After the Irish had gathered together the greatest part of their forces about Killmallocke with intention to passe the mountains into the County of Corke, and found they should receive opposition by our Army, which was drawne up to Duneraile and Mallo, with resolution to encounter them if they once descended into the Plaines, they again retreated towards Limericke, and we about the 20 of August, Disbanded and went to our severall Garrisons, both with like intentions of gathering the Harvest of the Country. Sir John Paulets and Sir William Ogles Regiments went to Corke and Kingsale, the Old Regiment was Garrisoned about Duneraile, part of Sir Charles Vavasors lay at Mallo, the rest that went to Youghall were commanded to obey the Lords Dungarvan and Broghils, who having procured a Culverine to be sent along with them, resolved as soone as our men were refreshed after their March, to take in the Castle of Ardmore. The Fort is of its own nature, strong and defensible, it was well manned with 100 able Souldiers besides the people of the Countrey, it had munition sufficient, so we expected not to gain it, but after a long Seige. Notwithstanding it being a place of good consequence affording the Enemy meanes of getting the Harvest on that side in security, and blocking us up in Piltowne and Youghall, so that a man durst not appeare on the other side of the River, we resolved the taking of it, and upon Friday being the 26 of August, we marched from Lismore towards the Castle. Our Forces were about 400 all Musketts, besides 60 Horse, part of the two Lords Troopes, by the way we summoned the Castle of Clogh Ballydonus which promised to yeeld and receive our Garrison, if M<sup>r</sup> Fitzgerald of Dromany would permit; we were satisfied with the answer, Mr. Fitzgerald being yet our Friend and the place being of no great importance, so that it was not thought convenient to lose time there, but Marched away and sate down before Ardmore. The same day about three of the Clocke in the afternoone we summoned it, but they not admitting of a Parley, we Quartered ourselves about the Castle, expecting our Culverine, which we sent down by water. In the meane time our men

possessed themselves of some outhouses, belonging to the Castle, whereby we with more security might play upon the Enemies Spikes, and they in the evening fired the rest. All the beginning of the night they played from the Castle very hotly upon us, but nevertheless we ran up & tooke the Church from them, so that now we were within Pistoll shot of the Castle; this did much advantage us, for besides provision, whereof there was a good quantity, the Church standing high, beate into their Bawne, so that from hence they lost the use of it, and were forced to containe themselves with the Walls of the Castle. There was yet the Steeple of the Church, something dis-joynd from the body of it, yet remaining, which was well manned. Powder and bullets they had sufficient, but wanted guns, there being no more than two Muskets onely among forty men, the Church cut off all hope of supplies from them, so that we were confident to have it surrendered either for want of prouision or Ammunition. Thus we spent that night; next morning there appeared about 100 Horse and 300 Foote of the Enemy, and it was generally believed there was a more considerable number following; we received the Alarme with joy and courage, and leaving onely sufficient to continue the Siege, drew forth the rest of our men, resolving to encounter them; but as our men advanced, they retreated towards Dungarvan, our Horse could not follow by reason of a Glinne betwixt us and them, and our Foot would have beene too slow to overtake theirs. We returned therefore to our Quarters, where we received intelligence from Mallo, that all the Enemies Forces were againe drawne into a Body, and upon their march towards Duneraile, whereupon we were commanded to be at an houres warning; this troubled us onely because we feared we should raise the Seiges, and now more then ever we wished for our great Artillery, which came about noone to us; and such diligence we used, that before three of the clock, we drew it up within halfe Musket shot of the Castle, and there planted it, though they played upon us all the way both from the Castle and Steeple, which we so carefully avoyded by wooll packes we carried before us, that there was not one man shot in that service.

“ We placed our piece to mine one of the Flankers, first, but when it was ready to play, the Castle desired a Parley, wherein they asked Quarter for goods and life, but that being denied, they were content to submit themselves to the mercy of the Lords, who gave the Women and Children their cloathes, lives, and liberty to depart; the men we kept prisoners.

“ All this while the Steeple held out, nor would they yeild untill they had conferred with their Captaine, after which they submitted to mercy.

“ In the Castle were found 114 able men besides 183 Women and Children, 22 pound of Powder, and Bullets answerable, in the Steeple were only 40 men who had about 12 pound of powder and shot enough. The next day we hanged 117. The English prisoners we freed, the rest we kept for exchange of such of ours as were with the Enemy.

“ Thus was the Castle delivered unto us after one days Siege onely, wherein we lost not a man. The next day we left a Guard of 40 men in the Castle and marched away to our several Garrisons, expecting further command from our Generall which we received upon Wednesday being the last of August.”

## LETTER OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY TO THE EARL OF THOMOND, ON THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF IRELAND.

EDITED BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE following letter, on the ancient history of Ireland, which was written by the celebrated Florence Mac Carthy to the Earl of Thomond, about the year 1609, the ninth year of his imprisonment, has been printed from the author's autograph. The original *copy* of it, though stated in an Irish memorandum to be in the writing of Conor O'Kinga, is certainly in Florence's own fair handwriting, with only one or two erasures made by himself, and is preserved in the British Museum (Additional MSS. 4793, fol. 18). In the Index to the volume it is referred to as "The *copy* of a letter written by Florence Mac Carthy." But it is no *copy* (unless by *copy* is meant the original, which was the primary meaning of that word). Every word of it, except the Irish memorandum at the end, is in the handwriting of Florence Mac Carthy. In vol. 4821, Additional MSS., there is a transcript of this letter in a different hand, headed "A letter of Florence Mac Carthy written (I think) to the Earl of Thomond." This copy is not perfectly exact; yet it is valuable, because the original had been much folded, frayed, and mended, and thereby rendered occasionally, but rarely, illegible. The transcript in the vol. 4821 was evidently made before this damage and restoration took place. There is another copy preserved in a volume at Lambeth, and a fourth in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin; but these are of no value whatever, except as far as they enable us to read the words illegible in the original.

At the end of this letter is the following memorandum in Irish, in the handwriting of Gillapattrick O'Kinga, whose relative, Conor son of Murtough O'Kinga, had been commissioned by Florence Mac Carthy to carry it to the Earl of Thomond, then in Ireland:—

Tabrað gac aon léigéiríor 7 éirteiríor no rgrpsbeoéur an epactab ro pannéuioiuga a ngrúibí do'n eí do rgríob an peandur rin a dubramur, 7 por tuc leir é go h'Éiríonn .i. Conéubar mac Muir-éarraig h-í Cionga, 7 pór pa Dia do faorab Ínđin Mé Capraig ón m-bráigíonair, 7 ón ngréibíonn i na b-puil ré a epor Lunbainn nó do éurí ro amad ó éar. Go ndiongnad Dia ule-éumactac Dpára 7 epócarpe ap a n-anmannab apoon.

Muirí Dúllapabruig mac Donnchada do gpaipne an becan rin, oibí S. Ppaipiar, 1615.

"Let every one who shall read, hear [read], or transcribe this treatise

join to pray for the person who wrote the said history, and who moreover brought it with him to Erin, i. e. Conor, son of Murtough O'Kinga; and moreover, that God may redeem Finghin Mac Carthy from the imprisonment and bondage in which he is [detained] in the Tower of London, who put this out first. May God Almighty have mercy on the souls of both.

"I am Gillapattrick, son of Donogh, who wrote this little scrap on the eve of St. Francis's festival."

From this it would appear that this letter was transcribed and carried to Ireland by Conor O'Kinga, who seems never to have delivered it to the Earl of Thomond. How it found its way back again to England nothing remains to determine.

Florence Mac Carthy, the author of this historical letter to the Earl of Thomond, was considered by the English officials of his day "the dangerousest man in all Ireland." He was the eldest son of Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh, lord or chief of Carbery, who died in 1576. Our author was then fifteen years old, according to an inquisition taken shortly after his father's death, though he himself states in a letter, dated 1624, that he was then above seventy! In other words, the jurors swear that he was born in 1561, and he himself asserts, in his old age, that he was born before 1554. The jury was clearly right, and the memory of the old man, weakened by long imprisonment, wavered. If the inquisition be correct, he was but sixty-three when he asserted he was above seventy.

That our author had some chronicles relating to Ireland, and some MS. lives of Irish saints, we learn from Carew, who says, in speaking of the ancient dignity of the Carew family in Munster (Lambeth, 635, fol. 42), "the castles of Donnemark, in Bantry, and of Artulloghe, in Mac Finin's country, were builded by Carewe, in anno 1215. This is extracted out of an old chronicle, written in Irish, which Florence Mac Carthy hath." It was evidently a copy of the old Annals of Innisfallen. Colgan says that the most illustrious Florentius Maccarthy, of the city of London, had a volume of lives of Irish saints in his possession, from which he had extracts. Well might he have called him of the city of London, for he was never permitted to return to his native country.

The author of "*Carbria Notitia*," who wrote in 1686, in descanting on the pedigree of the Mac Carthys, says—

"It is likewise evident that Donell Earle of Clancare, dying without issue male, his daughter and heir was married to Florence mac Donough Mac Carthy Reagh (whose pedigree shall follow more at large), by virtue of which marriage Florence claimed the name and title of Mac Cartymore, which Donell, naturall son of the deceased Earle of Clancare had usurped, and by the help of Tyrone, who was then come into Munster, he was established in that name and dignity, and his grandson and heir, Charles, is at this day ownd and stiled Mac Cartymore."

And again—

“But of all the Mac Cartyes none was ever more famous *then* the aforesaid Florence mac Donogh, who was a man of extraordinary stature [being like Saul higher by the head and shoulders than any of his followers] and as great policy *with competent courage*, and as much zeal as any body for what *he falsely imagined true Religion* and the liberty of his country. He married the heiress of the Earle of Clancare, and, purely by his merrit, dispossessed her bastard brother Daniell, from the name and estate of Mac Cartymore, which he was then possessed of, and gott the same for himself in her right by the joynt suffrage of Tyrone and all the nobility and clergy, which is the more strange, for that in Ireland they allwayes regard the male so much above the female that they often prefer a bastard son before a legitimate daughter, which is upon these two reasons, first that the name and family is thereby preserved (as in the Roman adoptions), and, secondly, the country being most commonly in feuds and warrs, it is necessary to have able men to protect every family, and that also is the true reason of the custom of Tanistry.

“This Florence for marrying the Earle of Clancare’s daughter without licence of the Queene, or for some other misdemeanours, or perhaps for reasons of state, was imprisoned for eleven years in England, and then being set at liberty, acted in Ireland as you may read at large in the *Pacata Hibernia*, and was at length again apprehended, and sent to the Tower, where he died.”

When we make due allowances for the circumstances of Florence Mac Carthy having been by birth a native Irishman; of there having been such a general deficiency of *style* in English prose at the time he wrote; and of the absence, at the same period, of a proper philosophy of history,—his letter, whatever may be its defects, will be sufficient to demonstrate the great injustice of the representations given, in certain quarters, of the old Irish. In 1798, when it was still sufficiently the fashion in those quarters only to countenance a belief of whatever was most uncivilized with respect to the native Irish, an accomplished Englishman, Dr. Arthur Browne, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, ventured, in his “Miscellaneous Sketches,” to hint that *some* idea of that people should be formed from their own writings, instead of merely judging of them by the interested productions of their enemies. “The Irish in the reign of Elizabeth,” says he, “are represented as quite ignorant and barbarous. Read the letters of their chiefs to the Spaniards, in the ‘*Pacata Hibernia*,’ and judge.”

The following sketch of the life of Florence Mac Carthy, chiefly extracted from the State Papers, has been furnished me by Daniel Mac Carthy, Glas, Esq., who is engaged in writing a life of this remarkable Irish chieftain:—

“I greatly rejoice to hear that the name of Florence Mac Carthy is going to be once again sounded in the ears of his countrymen. In his

generation that name was so familiar with the Governors of Ireland, the Prime Ministers, and Privy Council of England; it was so constantly on the lips of all politicians, so incessantly in their despatches, so perseveringly before the eyes of the world for fifty years, that it became a cabinet word, and its owner familiarly called Florence. I have been often surprised, considering how large a portion of the State Papers of Elizabeth and James is occupied about Florence Mac Carthy, that so little is known concerning him. The writer of the 'Pacata Hibernia' has indeed given us so much of his biography as he thought needful for the glory of Carew, but his notices range over no larger a space than sixteen months. The following very meagre sketch will, I trust, supply the information which you pay me the compliment to seek from me.

"Finin, or Florence Mac Carthy, was the eldest son of Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh, lord, chief, or captain of Carbery, and Jane, daughter to Morrice of Desmond, slain in his rebellion on the 11th of November, 1583. He was fifteen years of age in 1576, in which year his father, Sir Donogh, died, as appears from an inquisition held at Cork, on the 1st of June in that year, before Sir William Drury and others. In after life Florence appears not to have kept very accurate account of the years as they passed over him, for in several of his petitions he represents himself as older than he really was. Sir Donogh is styled 'Miles,' and of Kilbrittain. This was the chief residence of Mac Carthy Reagh, and there, probably, was Florence born. Being a minor, he fell under the wardship of Sir William Drury; but this did not prevent him from assuming 'the command of his own country and his own people.' For this command he was pre-eminently qualified by nature and education, being, 'like Saul, higher by the head and shoulders than any of his followers' ('Pacat. Hib.' p. 179), and being intimately acquainted with the Irish language, literature, and history. He did not, however, as you are aware, succeed to the chieftainship of Carbery; this descending, by usage of Tanistry, to Sir Donogh's next brother, Sir Owen, Florence was passed over, as his cousin, Donell Pipy, had been, to await his turn of succession, which in due course would fall to him on the death of Sir Owen, his uncle, and Donell, the eldest son of Sir Cormac, the elder brother and predecessor of Florence's father, Sir Donogh. You remember the terms in which the Annals of the Four Masters speak of Sir Donogh. He had been a firm adherent of the English authorities in Munster; 'had served with the Lord Deputy Sidney at the siege of Ballinarter, at Glanmoyr, and in all other places where he had occasion to use any forces for her Majesty, where he brought with him more men than any two in Munster, for which services he received her Majesty's own letters of thanks.' Sir Donogh appears to have added materially to his own inheritance by purchases of lands around him, and to have died very wealthy. He is sworn to have been seised at his death of no less than 20½ carucates of land in the county of Cork. To these his eldest son was declared heir; but, either by the generosity of Florence, or by well-understood unwritten custom, Donell Moyle, his younger brother, received a large portion of the lands of Carbery.

"Whatever education Florence received must have been acquired in early boyhood, or subsequently, after a lapse of seven years from the period of his father's death; for immediately on the demise of Sir Donogh he as-

sumed the command of his Munster forces, 'assisted in almost all the journeys that were done in her Majesty's service, both under Sir William Pelham, the Lord Grey, the Earl of Ormonde, Mr. John Zouche, Sir George Bourchier, and all such as governed or commanded there,' until the unfortunate Earl of Desmond perished miserably in the cabin of Glan-neginty.

"From 1583 to 1588 Florence appears to have divided his time, at pleasure, between his possessions in Munster and the court of Queen Elizabeth, where he made powerful friends, and acquired a knowledge of court influences, which he knew well how to turn to account in his hour of need. Not the less, however, was a keen vigilance exercised upon his conduct during his visits to his native country; and it was soon remarked that 'he had acquired the Spanish tongue, and greatly affected the company of Spaniards;' that he had mortgaged portions of his patrimony to enable him to purchase the Old Head of Kinsale, a castle commanding that harbour, so suitable for the reception of an invading force of the foreign enemy.

"In 1588 Florence married the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Clancarthy, or Clancare, as it was then rather incorrectly written—a marriage most romantic in all its incidents, and the fruitful source of long and grievous sorrows. The Lady Ellen Mac Carthy, the last living descendant of the main line of Mac Carthy Mor, was, by her birth and inheritance, a match the most important then in the British empire. The keen eyes of Elizabeth, the far keener of the English authorities in Munster, were upon her. Sir Warham St. Leger suggested to the Vice-President, Sir Thomas Norreys, to offer his hand to the lady, and to apply to the Queen for a grant of succession to her father's country. Sir Valentine Browne, who had had various money transactions with the Earl of Clancarthy [Clancare], and who better knew his business, offered, in plain language, to buy the lady for his son, and to buy the consent of the chief officers of the Earl. His offer was accepted; and then arose a loud and angry outcry amongst all the subordinate chieftains of Munster. The Countess, her daughter, and a deputation from those who considered the honour of their blood imperilled, waited upon Sir Thomas Norreys, and gave him plainly to understand that a disparagement so odious would not be submitted to. In the meantime, 'in an old, broken church, in the wilds of Killarney, with a Mass, without license of the bishop, and not in such solemnity and good sort as behoved, and as order of law and her Majesty's injunctions do require,' the young heiress was married to her cousin Florence. Great was the consternation of the Vice-President, great the wrath of the Queen, greatest of all the contempt and ridicule that fell upon the Brownes, and their hatred thenceforth for Florence.

"Twelve years of banishment, a portion of them spent within the walls of the Tower of London, was Florence's punishment for this defiance of authority. In 1598 he returned to Ireland. The Earl of Clancarthy [Clancare] was dead, and Donell, his bastard son, had proclaimed himself Mac Carthy Mor. Tirone was in rebellion; James Fitz Thomas, the sou-gane Earl of Desmond, had reduced the Queen's authority within very small limits in Munster; a Spanish invasion was expected, and it was thought that Florence was the only man who could avert some great national



disaster. He received authority to demand arms from the Queen's stores to arm followers of his own, and bonaghts hired out of Connaught, 'to recover his own country.'

"He did recover it, and from that moment he became 'the most dangerous man in all Ireland, no man so fit to be the head of a faction,' the terror of the English cabinet. Every dispatch that was sent from Munster was occupied with his proceedings, his policy, his ambition, his cunning, his treachery.

"On the 24th of April, 1600, Sir George Carew was sent to Cork as Lord President of Munster; and he at once decided that Florence Mac Carthy must be *conciliated* or *crushed* before he could venture to meddle with rebels actually in arms; and then there began between these two men an encounter of wits the most curious, the most ingenious, of which the annals of diplomacy have any record. It was an encounter with weapons of which Florence was a most perfect master. Sir George Carew entered upon it with great confidence, expressing the uttermost contempt for the intellect of his adversary; but Sir Robert Cecyll looked on with some misgiving from the beginning. The sougane Earl of Desmond spoiled the country within sight of the walls of Cork; Tirone and O'Donnell were mustering their forces to burst upon Munster; the Spaniards were expected daily; and English treasure, to the great grief of the Queen, was streaming from her exchequer into the insatiable gulf of the rebellious kingdom; and there was Florence Mac Carthy, with 3000 men of his own followers, occupying all the fastnesses of the land, yet serenely professing unimpeachable loyalty, profound respect for his good friend the Lord President, and regretting the necessity of his presence in the inaccessible wilds of Desmond to keep his people from rebellion; and there was the Lord President suffering discredit from the vicinity of the rebel Geraldines, yet not daring to go forth of the gates of Cork, lest the next move of Florence should extinguish the Queen's authority in Munster. Such was the contest of these two astute strategists, whilst time was passing, and rumours of coming Spaniards kept the English cabinet in constant alarm. Carew became bewildered; his dispatches to Cecyll daily contradicted each other; till, in despair, by an act of shameless treachery, he violated his own safe-conduct, and made prisoner of the man whom he found it impossible to outwit.

"Florence's political life was now ended; within a couple of months he crossed the Channel for the last time, and entered again within the gloomy portals of the Tower, and for thirty long years, till death released him, he ate the bitter bread of a state prisoner. It was to while away some of the hours of his wearisome captivity that the letter you are now editing was written, and I am rejoiced that you find its intrinsic merits worthy of the attention of the learned of our own day. I have never been able to consider it otherwise than as connected with his active life, and as a proof of his thorough appreciation of his country's claims to men's esteem, and of his own claims to the supreme rule of south Munster. No others of his writings of a literary nature remain; but a long series of letters, petitions, and remonstrances, extending over forty-two years, are still extant, every one written by his own hand, in characters small, regular, firm, and distinct as print; and we rise from the perusal of them no longer surprised that

through life he had been able to persuade men to doubt of facts as patent as human evidence could make them; that in the most critical moment of his career he could force even Carew to exclaim to Cecyll, 'What to make of Florence I protest I know not! I am utterly perplexed!' To know Sir George Carew is to know the depth of Florence's ingenuity.

"At the time this letter was written, Florence had been nine years within the Tower! No petitions of his own, no solicitation of his friends at court, no change of ministers, or regard for the altered circumstances of Ireland, had availed to procure him the liberty to pass one day beyond the walls of that gloomy prison. If any man might be expected to feel some compassion for the sufferings of this state prisoner, it would be the Earl of Thomond, for he had been an honourable and open enemy, and mainly instrumental in his overthrow. Of one single touch of pity no one who knew Carew could suppose him capable. Had he been the means of throwing open for Florence the gates of his prison, it would not have cancelled—nothing ever could—the treachery by which he had placed him there, but it would have evinced some feelings of humanity. Any such act was far remote from his thoughts. Six years afterwards, when there had been a moment of hope for the prisoner, and Florence was plaintively petitioning for some freedom, for that his health was perishing, Carew sternly refused to help him with a single word! Between Florence and the Earl of Thomond there existed at least the tie of country. To that feeling this letter was a direct appeal, and, to the honour of the Earl of Thomond, it was successful. On the 9th of July, 1614, was registered this following document:—

"Several bonds taken to his Majesty's use, of the parties underwritten, that Florence Mac Carthy shall not depart out of the realm of England, without licence from his Majesty, nor travel above one day's journey from the city of London, without licence under the hands of six of his Majesty's Privy Council:—

Florence Mac Carthy, . . . . .	£2000
Earl of Thomond, . . . . .	500
Earl of Clanricard, . . . . .	500
Sir Patrick Barnewall, . . . . .	500
Lord Delvin, . . . . .	500
Sir Randulph M'Donnell, . . . . .	250
Sir Donell O'Brien, . . . . .	250
Dermott Mac Carthy, . . . . .	250
David Condon, . . . . .	250

£5000'

"The Earl of Thomond not only bound himself in the sum opposite to his name above, but he entailed the same obligation upon his son, in case of his own death. The case occurred; but it was not without Florence's return to his prison, and a great struggle, that the humane foresight of the Earl was allowed to avail him. Upon such limited liberty Florence was permitted to quit the Tower; and I rejoice that with this first printed copy of his letter shall be recorded the act of his benefactor.

"The letter throughout is distinct, without a blot, and exhibits only

two erasures. What minute characters the hand of such a giant could form, and with what certainty and precision it could trace, line after line, in faultless parallels, and with intervals so minute that there seems upon the page but a sharp, slender thread of white around each word, may be judged from the fact, that three pages and twenty-one lines of a sheet, foolscap size, sufficed to contain the whole of this long letter to the Earl of Thomond. The same distinct, regular handwriting, with great similarity to that of Florence, was inherited by the eldest of his surviving sons.

"The capture of Florence was the signal for all the harpies of Munster, in authority and out of it, to fall upon his property; but they had yet to learn the resources of this able man, who, from the close confinement of an English prison, could during thirty years carry on a fight, single-handed, with them all. One after another was compelled to give up portions of the plundered property; but the Brownes continued to the last to keep the tightest clutch upon their spoil: through three generations they had clung with determined tenacity to the seigniory of Malahuff [Molahiff]; but even over them he triumphed at last. In 1629, an order in Council compelled the grandson of Sir Valentine Browne<sup>1</sup> to deliver possession of the said lands to the said Florence, with due consideration of some recompense to be given for the mean profit for the time past."

"What was the precise period of Florence's death I have not yet been able to discover. His last petition, though undated, was evidently written in 1631; and a petition of his son, dated in the same year, speaks of his father as still under restraint. He left behind him three sons, one (his eldest) having died in the Tower. History has spared us a short but dark chapter on the early career of the eldest of these surviving sons, who was probably a source of greater sorrows to Florence than aught else that clouded his long and unfortunate life."

A LETTER FROM FLORENCE MAC CARTHY TO THE EARL OF  
THOMOND.<sup>1</sup>

AT your last being in England I understood of your being studious of the antiquities of our nation, wherein (altho' my memory is much decayed in almost 9 years extreme endurance) I would be glad to do any service to so ancient a nobleman of the nation.

And for the opinion that their original came from Greece, not only other writers doe so conclude but also themselves call the country from whence they came first *Sceth iach*<sup>2</sup> the country of the thorns, for *iach* is a country and *pcech* a thorn, which all our ancient writers and others interpret Greece, as in the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> book of the Machabees is set down that Alexander the Great came out of *Terra Cethim*<sup>3</sup> the country of the thorn, whereby there is no doubt but their original comes out of Greece: but what colony of

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4793.

<sup>2</sup> *Sceth iach*.—Generally supposed to mean Scythia. Keating denies this to be the true etymology of Scythia. See Haliday's

edition of Keating's "History of Ireland," p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *Terra Cethim*.—Usually interpreted land of thorns. See 1 Maccabees, i. 1.

Greeks they were, what time they came from thence, who was their conductor, where they remained until they came for Ireland, and upon what occasion they came thither, there stands the chiefe question, wherein all the Scottish writers that I have seen and the English in what they borrowed of them are (I think) erroneous: the cause (I believe) is that our nation in Scotland have been first vexed by Pights, Britons and others, & annoyed afterwards out of this land by the Romans that were very powerful, and much exercised against all warlike nations, neither have they been shortly after quiet with the Saxons, nor after them with the Danes, nor quiet always with the Kings of England, nor free from civil wars oftentimes; and being joined with Pights from the beginning, divers noble houses out of France, England, and other parts came thither since, whose fashion was so imbraced that many or most of the ancient nobility of the Scottish nation disdained & forgot their language & despised & neglected their monuments & antiquities, whereby it seems that some of them that write thereof know not well from whence came the original, nor who was the head and Ancestor of the nation, who in myne opinion is by them erroneously called Gathelus, as appeareth by the Britons, who is an ancienter and a nobler nation than what is said of Brutus would make them, for all our ancient books and writers doe conclude that these three kingdoms were first peopled by the colony that was brought out of Greece about 500 years after the universall Fludd by Nemeus or Nemeō mac Aghnoimān,<sup>1</sup> whose Grandchild Britanus it was that gave the name to his land & nation who being our nearest neighbours & here long before we [Milesians] came into Ireland terme us still *Ḥæðal*, as we do of our said head and ancestor, *Ḥæðal*, which (as it is pronounced) is *Gél*, who was no son of Cæcropus, nor of Argus as they supposed because perhaps they found that he was of the kingdom which was the ancientest of Greece except the Sicyonian that *Ægialus* begun, when *Belus* began the Asyrian kingdom, where *Xerxes* their 7<sup>th</sup> king reigned and *Turimachus* the 7<sup>th</sup> also of the Sicionians, *Inach* begun the kingdom of the Argives in Peloponessus, whose son *Phoroneus*<sup>2</sup> was grandfather to Argus that (after *Apis* went into Egypt) reigned there, whom *Creasus* succeeded, in whose time when *Matnilas* the 14<sup>th</sup> king reigned over the Assyrians, and *Orthopolis* the 12<sup>th</sup> king over the Sicyonians. *Moyisis* was born in Egypt, who (according to our writers ledd the Israelites from thence before *Ḥæðal* went thither, whereby he could be no son of Argus, for his father, who is called by our writers *Nél* or *Nelus*, is by the Greeks called *Sthe-Nélus*,<sup>3</sup> and himself which

<sup>1</sup> Nemeō mac Aghnoimān.—O'Flaherty fixes the ninth year of his reign to A.M. 2038. "Ogygia," Part iii. c. 6. See Keating, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Phoroneus.—Sic in MS., recte Choroneus.

<sup>3</sup> Sthe-nelus.—i. e. Sthenelus, King of My-

cene. This is all wild speculation. The author of the "Life of Cadroe" who asserts that the Irish came originally from Greece, calls him *Nelus* or *Nilus*, son of *Æneas*, a Lacedemonian.—Colgan, "Acta, SS.," p. 496.

we call *Ḥæbal* or *Gel*) *Gelanor*,<sup>1</sup> which addition proceeds of the alteration of the ancient brief languages used then in Greece, that is imported by our writers and differs much from the Greek tongue, which an infinite number, excellently learned in all sciences brought afterwards to the height of perfection, who as they beautified and altered the language, did also beautifye with these additions, the names which they got by Tradition, being destitute of letters in Greece, long after *Ḥæbal* or *Gelanor*,<sup>2</sup> for whose time & and the cause of his going out of the country our writers agree with the Greeks: for Eusebius writes that Danaus, called Armeus was driven away by the Egyptians, who created King Ramesses, called Egyptus of whom the country (called before *Cerie* [*ærie*]) take the name, and that the Argives expelled *Gelanor* son to *Sthenelus* their 9<sup>th</sup> king and made Danaus their king.

Pausanias that treats more of their controversie writes that *Sthenelus* was son to *Crotopus* the son of *Agenor*, that was brother to *Jasus* and 2<sup>d</sup> son to *Triopas* the 7<sup>th</sup> king of the Argives, and that Danaus came & challenged the kingdom of *Gelanor* the son of *Sthenelus*, where after each of them alledged many probable and lawful reasons, the matter being deferred that day, the next morning as the cattel was going to pasture a wolf ran among them, wherewith their Bull fought, which moved the Argives to imagine superstitiously that the bull or conductor of their cattel signified *Gelanor*, and the wolf, that lives not among men, Danaus, that never before lived with them, and when the Bull was overcome they judged the kingdom to Danaus, whereby *Ḥæbal* or *Gelanor* was (according to the Greeks) driven away, when *Amintas* the 7<sup>th</sup> king reigned over the Assyrians, & *Chorax* the 10<sup>th</sup> king over the Sycionians, and Danaus (in his place) the 10<sup>th</sup> king over the Argives, & *Erichthonio* the 4<sup>th</sup> king over the Athenians, *Jesus naïe* then commanding and judging the Israelites. Our ancient writers whose language is so dead and out of use as it is now very hardly understood, write that *Ḥæbal*, or *Gelanor*<sup>2</sup> being in controversie for his kingdom was driven away & went into Egypt, whereof I have in the same ancient language written here the beginning, as it was set down (at the request of *Mól* son to *Ugaine Mop*, that was king of all the nation in Ireland and Scotland about 2000 years past) by *Roighne*<sup>3</sup> one of our ancient writers, that begins thus:—

<sup>1</sup> *Gelanor*.—He was King of Argos. See "Pausanias," ii. c. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Gel* or *Gelanor*.—The Irish writers never call him *Gelanor*.

<sup>3</sup> *Roighne*.—He was one of the sons of *Ugaine More*, monarch of Ireland, the commencement of whose reign *O'Flaherty* fixes to A. D. 3619. From this quotation it would appear that *Florence Mac Carthy* had an old

copy of the "Book of Invasions." *O'Reilly*, in his "Descriptive Catalogue of Irish Writers," referring to the poem of *Roighne*, here quoted, writes the following remarks on its antiquity, p. xvi. :—"If every other proof of the antiquity of this piece were wanting, the language alone would be sufficient to evince its early composition. In fact, it would be nearly unintelligible to Irish readers of the

A mec ain Ugaíne,  
 Co raic' bo nup inzaibe  
 Scechmēch raic'pet pluaz nī Senar,  
 Snaizir Niul Ezipt,  
 Reppac pē puibler,  
 La Pōrann pēctarib  
 Pōnar Niul Scota,  
 Co n-epert ar naítre.

By the which repeating first the king's son's demand he signifies that Scechmēch, terra Cethim, belonged to Ḥaēbal or Gelanor's father & G<sup>d</sup>father, that Ḥaēbal reached into Egypt, was favorably accepted by Pharao and prevailed in the love of Scota, here (as all our writers) he calls the grandfather of Ḥaēbal (or Gelanor) Pēimor, who is by Eusebius & Pausanias called Crotopus which (proceeding of the several names of one man then) brings to differ often in names those authors that call one by sundrie names, as the Egyptian kings are called by Eusebius & many Greeks by them both. It (for the time) agrees well with our writers who sette down that Ḥaēbal or Gelanor being thro' controversies expelled, went into Egypt shortly after Moyse's time, which must be in Jesus naue his time, and that he married Scota the Daughter of Pharao which (as some supposed) could not be Orus that long before succeeded Amenophis, called Memnon whose Image gave some noise at the rising of the sun, but rather Egyptus, unto whom Ḥaēbal is liker to have gone, or sought because he expelled his adversary Danaus of which woman Scota all our ancient books and writers conclude that the nation are called Scotts and Ḥaēbal or Ḥaēbāil who came not into Spain as was also supposed himself & Scota, & their son Eppu, having all ended their lives in Egypt, but Eppu his son Spu<sup>1</sup> together with his son Eber Scot came with four vessels

present day, if it were not for the interlined gloss that accompanies the text, and even the gloss is so obsolete, that none but those who have made Irish MSS. a particular study are able to interpret it." The lines are given somewhat differently in the O'Clery's "*Leabhar Gabhala*," page 80 (where they are accompanied by an interlined gloss), as follows:—

A mec ain Ugaíne,  
 Co raic' bo nup inzaibe?  
 Abampuarib pē pērtatop  
 Scichia raichpēt pluaz nī Senar.  
 Sichectatop Ezipt m-biobach,  
 Cinzēpīr co nōrt Ollarba,  
 bebair muir pobuir  
 Reppac pē puibler  
 La Pōrann pēctarib;  
 Pōnar Nial Scota  
 Conpēt ar n-achpē

Ann gabrac Ḥaēbāil  
 Rechir Scot comann  
 Can-ingen Pōrann.

O noble son of Ugoine,  
 How hast thou got thy knowledge of invasions?

I know the period when from Scythia  
 They proceeded to the host of Shenar's king.  
 They passed into Egypt at the drowning  
 Of [Pharaoh] Cinchres with his mighty host,  
 Whom the Red Sea destroyed.  
 They went faithfully with Pharaoh on expeditions.

Niul married Scota,  
 Who bore our ancestor,  
 From whom the Gaedhil took name.  
 Another surname clung to them  
 From Scota the fair daughter of Pharaoh.  
<sup>1</sup> *Erru's son Sru.*—See Keating's "History of Ireland," pp. 243-247.

back into Greece where *Spu* died immediately, his son *Eber Scot* attained to be of great degree, who had to his son *Beoman*, he had *Oghamán*, he had *Uaac*, he had *Adonnan*, he had *Uáirínn*, he had *Eber Dlínnínn*, he had *Adnanán rínn*, he had *Ebric Dlar*, he had *Nenuall*, he had *Nuaðac*,<sup>1</sup> he had *Alloib*, he had *Ercaba*, he had *Deagáca*, whose son *brata* or *Bractius* was the first of the nation that (not very long after the return of the Greeks from Troy) brought a colony in seven vessels to the south-west part of Spaine, where having by mischance lost some of his men and overthrown in two battles by that country people he came in Galicia & into the northeast part of Portugal wherein he founded *Bracha* or *Braga* so called of him & the countrie of him & his people Galicia *Bracharenes* his son *breogan* or *Breghan* founded *Brigancia* which (as divers holde & write) is not *S' James* called *Compostella* but *Corunna*, as some of the ancientest of Spanish writers holde, and ours also who write *Brigancia* to be upon the sea, as *S' James's* is not, nor nere it, and make mention of a tower which he built<sup>2</sup> near the city upon the sea, the ruins of which tower that standes within half a mile of *Corunna* down towards the sea on the west side of the haven or bay is called still *Tower of Brighan*. This *Brighan*, the son of *Bracehus*, had many sons whereof the eldest *bile* or *Bilius* and his son *Mileó*<sup>3</sup> or *Milesius* after him were Lords of *Biscay*, and kept their chief seat upon the river of *Vermeo* in a place called *Mondaca* in which *Ireland* being then well known, for *Echaid mac Eipe*<sup>4</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> *He had Nuadhat*.—Keating, in the pedigree of our author's father-in-law, *Donnell*, the first Earl of *Clanearthaigh*, or *Clancare*, adds another generation here, namely, *Alloid*.

<sup>2</sup> *A tower which he built*.—See the account of this tower in Keating, pp. 255, 261, and "Ogygia," p. 83; see also "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," May 13, 1844. What would our Milesian chieftain have thought of the opinion of the Hon. *Algernon Herbert*, who, in a note on *Maclmura's* poem, in the Irish "Nennius," p. 239, says that the Irish account of this tower is all a fable, founded on the following passage in *Orosius*: "Secundus angulus Circium intendit ubi Brigantia Gallie Civitas sita, altissimum pharum, et inter pauca memorandi operis, ad speculum Britannie erigitur."—"Oros.," p. 61. Ed. Gronovii. This sceptical commentator adds:—"The farm, or pharos, light-house, is the tower of *Breogan*, and the words 'ad speculum,' gave rise to the absurd notion that *Ireland* was visible from *Betanzos*."

<sup>3</sup> *Miledh* or *Milesius*.—He was otherwise called *Galamb*, or *Mile Espaine*, i. e. *miles Hispanicus*. *Nennius* mentions this Spanish soldier thus, in his "Historia Britonum":—"Et postea venerunt tres filii ejusdem mi-

*litis Hispanie* cum triginta civibus apud illos, et cum triginta conjugibus in unaquaque civitate." See the Irish "Nennius," p. 53, note<sup>4</sup>; also Keating, pp. 255-263.

The annalist, *Tighernach*, who died in 1088, writes "Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque ad *Cimbaeth* incerta erant." And *Charles O'Connor*, of *Belanagare*, in his maturer years, had no reliance on these stories, as we learn from the following words in his Introduction to *O'Flaherty's* "Ogygia Vindicated," which he edited in 1775:—"Our earliest accounts of *Ireland* have been handed down to us by the bards, a race of men well qualified for working on the barren ground of broken traditions. Poetic invention gave existence to facts which had none in nature, and an origin which included some genuine truths has been obscured by forged adventures on sea and land."

<sup>4</sup> *Eochaidh mac Eirc*.—He was the last King of the *Firbolgs*, and was slain at *Traigh Eothaile*, near *Ballysodare*, A. M. 2737. See "Ogygia," Part iii. c. 10, and Keating, p. 193, where it is said that in his reign fixed and venerable laws were first promulgated. His wife *Tailtin* is said to have been the daughter of *Maghmor*, King

last king of the posterity of the sons of Dela, who was the first that gave lawes in Ireland,—had his wife *Caillim* from thence, it happened that *Ith* or *Ithius*,<sup>1</sup> another son of *Brighan* came to see Ireland, where *Mac Cull* *Mac Cecht* and *Mac Dpéine*, sons of *Cepmoba* of the nation called *Tuaða de Uanann*, by whom the posterity of the sons of Dela was [had been] long before suppressed, reigned together who were then gone to *Oileach*<sup>2</sup> in the north to divide the goods of *Nuaba*<sup>3</sup> that was killed by some of those septentrional corpulent Easterlings called *Pomoiri*<sup>4</sup> that of old vexed these three kingdoms, which they invaded in the times of *Brittanus*<sup>5</sup> and the rest of *Nemeus* his grandchildren, whereof *Britanus* or (as is said) *Brutus* his warrs with the giants was, altho' they were, as the word *pomoir* signifies, but corpulent men that under *Conaing mac Pæbun* came from the northeast parts where to this day the name of a king is *Coinige*.<sup>6</sup> Thus the son of *Brighan*, landing then in the west of *Munster* went thro' the country to *Oilech* where he found at dissension those three brothers that were kings, who being by them made their arbitrators agreed betwixt them, & he commended the fertility, goodness and temperature of their country which, after his departure, moved them (imagining it dangerous that such a stranger that knew their country & dissension, should go away safe), to follow and kill him, whose son *Luğabó*<sup>7</sup> escaped into *Spain*, and complained thereof to the sons of *Milesius*, that were then chiefs of all the na-

of *Spain*, and to have given her name to *Teltown* in *Meath*; but we have no account of any King of *Spain* of this name from any other authority, except the *Irish* bards only. The true history of *Spain* does not go so far back into the night of time as the reign of our *Eochaidh mac Eirc*. But our author appears to have believed that the authority of the *Irish* writers alone was unquestionable upon all these historical points relating to *Ireland* and *Spain*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ith*, or *Itheus*.—For the account of his voyage to *Ireland* see *Keating*, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *Oileach*.—Now *Grianan (Siligh)* (*Greenan-ely*), near *Lough Swilly*, in the barony of *Inishowen*; for an account of which see the "Ordnance Memoir of the parish of *Templemore*, county of *Londonderry*."

<sup>3</sup> *Nuaba*.—He was King of the *Tuatha de Dananus*, and was killed by the *Fomorians* in the battle of *North Moyturey*, in the now county of *Sligo*, A. M. 2764. See "Ogygia," Part iii. c. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Fomoiri*.—*Keating*, p. 179, calls them *Fomoraign*, and says they were pirates, of the race of *Cham*, who fled from the race of *Shem*, to seek settlements for themselves in the islands of the west of *Europe*. The name would appear to be synonymous with the *Danish*

*vikings*; and it is difficult to conjecture where our author found his explanation of it, "septentrional corpulent Easterlings." *Keating*, p. 181, derives the name from *po-muirib*, 'powerful on the seas.' They had their stronghold on *Tory Island*, off the north coast of the present county of *Donegal*, where *Conaing*, son of *Faebhar*, was their king or leader. See "Annals of the Four Masters" (*O'Donovan's* edition, A. D. 3066, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Britannus, son of Fergus, son of Neimhidh*.—*Keating* (p. 185) quotes a poem of *Cormac Mac Cullenain* to show that the *Britons* are named from him. That this was the belief among the ancient *Irish* is clear from the *Lives* of *St. Patrick*, published by *Colgan*, in which it is confidently asserted that *St. Patrick* was descended from him. See "Trias Thaum." pp. 4, 224. The departure of *Britan* for *Britain* is fixed by *Flaherty* ("Ogygia," Part iii. c. 6) to A. M. 2445.

<sup>6</sup> The name of a king is *Coinige*.—This shows that *Florence* was acquainted with the *Anglo-Saxon*. The German word is *König*.

<sup>7</sup> *Luğhaidh*.—He is set down in all the genealogical *Irish* books as an ancestor of the family of *O'Driscoll*; but the line of descent is at least forty generations short, which shows that this line cannot be relied on.



tion, who to revenge that act came with an army for Ireland<sup>1</sup> when King David<sup>2</sup> reigned over the Israelites & Eupalus the 30<sup>th</sup> king over the Assyrians and Archestratus the 3<sup>d</sup> king over the Lacedemonians, & Trion the 2<sup>d</sup> king over the Corinthians, in the time of the 1<sup>st</sup> Athenian magistrate, Medon the son of Codrus, their last king. Of the 7 sons of Milesius that came to that expedition 4 lost their lives before any landed in Ireland. Grandán having fallen from his ship mast, whereof he died, and Colpa was lost at Inber Colpa<sup>3</sup> as Donn was upon the rock beyond Dorsies called also Tech Umn,<sup>4</sup> and In or Irenos one of the best of them, died the night before Eber or Iberus and Hermon, and Amarginus the other 3 brothers landed at Inber Scéine<sup>5</sup> in the west of Munster, from whence having led their forces, after some fighting, at Sliabh Mí<sup>6</sup> and other places, the 3 brothers that were kings and they came to fight a battle at Tailtin<sup>7</sup> where those 3 brothers & most part of their nation were killed, the rest, but a few that served our nation being driven out of the land whereof (by division) the Princes of south & north Munster with a great part of Leinster & Conaught was allotted to Iberius: the middlemost part called Meath with the rest of Leinster & Conaught to Hermon, & upon their landing Eber Donn or Iberius the son of Irenis (that died the night before) had the west part of Munster, and afterwards, at the division, the north part of Ireland, but they fell shortly in civil warre, wherein Iberius was killed by his second Brother Hermon which gave occasion to their houses to be most commonly afterwards at wars, as the House of Hermon was also at wars much with the house of Ireus that were kings of the North or Ulster, of which 3 houses the kings who reigned over all Ireland were de-

<sup>1</sup> *Came with an army for Ireland.*—This story is told at considerable length by Keating, pp. 289-301.

<sup>2</sup> *King David.*—O'Flaherty does not agree with these synchronisms in his corrected Irish Chronology. He fixes the invasion of Ireland by the eight sons of Golamh or Milesius, the Spanish soldier, to A.M. 2934; but according to the "Annals of Clonmacnoise," as translated by Connell Mageoghegan, the Milesians arrived "in Ireland in the beginning of the destruction of Troy, in the year after the Flood 1245, being about the 12th year of the reign of David, King of Israel and Judah."

<sup>3</sup> *Inber Colpa.*—Now Colp, at the mouth of the river Boyne, near Drogheda. See Keating, p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> *Tech Duinn.*—i. e. Donn's house. There is a place still so called in Irish, beyond Dursey Island. Donn's house is on the larger of the group of islands called the Cow, the Bull, and the Calf, at the mouth of the

Kenmare river, in Kerry. This Donn does not appear to be the fairy Donn Firin-each, of Knockfeerin, near Ballingarry, in the county of Limerick; but he is probably the same as the fairy Donn na Duimche, of Dugh, at the mouth of the river Inagh, near Ennistimon, in the west of the county of Clare. Indeed, Dumhach, in Clare, appears to be really the place where Donn was drowned, for his spirit is still traditionally believed by the people to haunt the place.

<sup>5</sup> *Inber Sceine.*—This was the ancient name of the mouth of the river Kenmare, in Kerry, where the most vivid tradition of the landing of the Milesian or Spanish colony exists to this day.—Keating, p. 289.

<sup>6</sup> *Sliabh Mí.*—Now Slieve Mish, a mountain in the county of Kerry, the summit of which is about nine miles west of the town of Tralee.—Keating, p. 295.

<sup>7</sup> *Tailtin.*—Now Teltown, in the county of Meath, on the river Sele or Blackwater, between the towns of Navan and Kells.

scended, and all the kings of the nation that reigned in Scotland, which they invaded about 250 years after their coming into Ireland, under the conduct of Eneas King of Ireland called *Gengur Ollshucaib* the son of *Fíachaid Labruinne*, of the house of Hermon, by whom the nations that were in Scotland, and in the north parts of this land (as Pights Britons, some of the posterity of the sons of Dela,<sup>2</sup> and some of them that we [Milesians] expelled) were overthrown in many battles whereby that land was afterwards reduced under our nation, who called it of themselves (or as they called Ireland before) Scotland, where before they had kings there, one king reigned over both countries, and afterwards sometimes, in the names of whose ancient kings & chiefest men, which ordinarily was Eachus, Nateus, Atrius, Diomed,<sup>3</sup> or such ancient Greek names, and in their manner of Government, their assemblies at *Tailtin*,<sup>4</sup> for the like exercises that the Greeks used at Olympus, their affection to letters & poetry, & in all their fashions customs & usages they shewed themselves Greeks.

It appears by some ancient books that (before any other people of Greece) they had in Egypt knowledge of letters, which carries some likelihood in respect that *Thaebal*, or Gelanor went into Egypt, after Moyses, in the time (according to Eusebius) of Cath the son of Tresnegistus when (long before Greece had any) letters were known in Egypt, where he & his son & Grandchild came back into Greece spent their tyme, as also that in Ireland at the first they had several sorts that were seen in letters, whereof the one was derived from *Fir*<sup>5</sup> which is knowledge and called *Firici*—

<sup>1</sup> *Aengus Ollmhucaidh*.—Keating says that he fought fifty battles against the Cruthni, and the Fírbolgs [in the Hebrides], and the inhabitants of the Orkneys, but he does not say that he established any colony in Scotland. O'Flaherty agrees ("Ogygia," Part iii. c. 26), and indeed it seems quite certain that no regular colony of Irish Gaedhil or Scoti was established in Scotland till the year 504 ("Ogygia," Part iii. c. 63). Dr. Forbes, Professor of Oriental Languages, King's College, London, asserts in his paper on the "Ancient Languages of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland," that the present Gaelic of Scotland passed from Wales into the Highlands of Scotland, but this is contrary to the whole tenor of Irish history. I maintain that the present language of the Highlands passed from Ireland into the Highlands about A. D. 504, and that a regular intercourse has ever since been kept up between both countries, the literature and music of the one having been ever since those of the other. It is true that the Eoghannacht of Magh Gerginn, or Marr, were established in Scotland somewhat earlier ("Ogy-

gia," Part iii. c. 67), being the descendants of Corc, King of Munster, the grandson of Oilíoll Flannbeg ("Ogygia," Part iii. c. 81); and it is a curious fact that the dialect of Gaelic still spoken there bears a strong resemblance in construction and pronunciation to the Munster dialect of the Irish.

<sup>2</sup> *Posterity of the sons of Dela*.—These were the Fírbolgs.

<sup>3</sup> *Eachus, Nateus, Atrius, Diomed*.—This assertion will hardly stand the test of criticism. They had the names *eachaid*, or *Eochaidh*, *Nathi*, *Artri*, *Diarmaid*, but it is by no means certain that these names are cognate or synonymous with the Greek names with which our author wishes to identify them.

<sup>4</sup> *Tailtin*.—Now Teltown, in the county of Meath, where the Irish celebrated games and fairs from the earliest period of their history down to the reign of Roderic O'Conor, the last Milesian monarch of Ireland. See "Ogygia," Part iii. c. 13, 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Fir*.—This word signifies knowledge, but I do not believe that the ancient Irish

men of knowledge, as philosophers were called, before modesty moved Pythagoras to term himself a lover of wisdom, the other was  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}$  a poet, and another called  $\theta\upsilon\alpha\sigma\iota$ , wise man, some kind of magician or soothsayer, for the nation was not destitute of the superstitious Idolatrous sacrifices and observations of the Greeks, whereunto their king  $\Upsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\upsilon\mu$  mac  $\text{P}\omega\lambda\lambda\alpha\zeta$  Grandchild to  $\text{I}\rho\iota\alpha\tau$ , Hermon's son being given, thrived as well as Zoroastres, for as he did set up an Idol called  $\text{C}\rho\omega\mu$   $\text{C}\rho\upsilon\alpha\chi$ <sup>1</sup> and imitating the oracles of the Greeks, allured Demons or Spirits to give answers therein (as hath been done if Trismegistus be to be believed) himself and the most part of the people were consumed with fire at  $\text{M}\alpha\zeta$   $\text{S}\tau\epsilon\chi\tau$ , before whose time, which was about one hundred years after their coming into Ireland, the nation was not cautious nor careful of wealth, for they had no coyne stampt nor no plate nor vessels of gould nor silver, nor clothes died with sundrie colours, until his reign, nor had noe skill in ordering or arraying of battles, nor their men reduced into companies, and brought to fight under inescutes until afterwards in the reign of  $\text{E}\eta\eta\alpha$   $\text{A}\iota\rho\zeta\epsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ,<sup>2</sup> a king of the house of Iberius. It seems that they had a silver mine there, by the name of the place called thereof  $\text{A}\iota\rho\zeta\epsilon\theta$ - $\rho\omega\mu$ <sup>3</sup> by the great store of coin that was stamped there, and by the number of silver shields made there by the King of Ireland— $\text{E}\eta\eta\alpha$   $\text{A}\iota\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi$ , the son of  $\text{E}\alpha\chi\upsilon\varsigma$  surnamed  $\text{M}\upsilon\mu\omega$ <sup>4</sup> (of whom Munster took the name Mumonia) whose great Grandfather was  $\text{C}\omega\eta\mu\omega\lambda$ , Iberius his son.

I did not read as some wrote, that nation had in Spain, nor brought into Ireland, any such seat of stone<sup>5</sup> as was brought from

had any class of men called  $\pi\eta\phi\iota$ . This is a mere attempt to make Irish of the Greek  $\phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\omega\iota$ . Pythagoras called himself  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\sigma\phi\omega\varsigma$ , of which the plural is  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\sigma\phi\omega\iota$ . Our author forgot himself here!  $\pi\eta\phi\iota$  is an undoubted Irish word for poet, but it is very doubtful that it bears any relationship to the word  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\sigma\phi\omega\varsigma$ . The word  $\theta\upsilon\alpha\sigma\iota$  is also genuine, and has been conjectured to be cognate with the Greek  $\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma$ , 'the oak.'—*"Ogygia,"* Part iii. c. 21.

<sup>1</sup> *Crom Cruach*.—In the "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," published by Colgan, Part ii. c. 31, and "Ogygia," Part iii. c. 21, this image is said to have been the chief idol of all the Irish colonies. It was ornamented with gold and silver, and had ranged around it twelve brazen statues of less distinction. The place at which this idol stood has not been yet identified. It stood near the river *Gathard*, in the plain of *Magh Sleacht*, in the barony of *Tullyhaw*, and county of *Cavan*, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the village of *Ballymagauran*. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.M. 3566, A.D. 1431. The only

name in this barony that suggests its situation is *Cromlin*.

<sup>2</sup> *Enna Airethech*.—O'Flaherty fixes the beginning of his reign to A. M. 3168.

<sup>3</sup> *Arged-ros*.—This was near the river *Nore* in *Iduagh*, in *Ossory*. The church of *Rathveagh* is in it.

<sup>4</sup> *Eochuidh Munho* was the thirty-second monarch of Ireland, according to O'Flaherty.—"Ogygia," Part iii. c. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Seat of stone*.—This was the *Lia Fail*, which is said to have been brought into Ireland by the *Tuatha de Danaans*. The writers alluded to by our author, who had asserted that this stone had been carried to Ireland by the *Gaedhlin* or *Scoti*, were *John Fordun*, and *Hector Boetius*. After the conquest of the *Tuatha de Danaans*, this stone was possessed by the *Scoti* or *Milesians*, in whose possession it remained so long, that it was believed to have become so closely connected with their destiny that in whatever country it should be kept, no other but a king of the *Scotic* race could reign. See *Keating*, *Hal. ed.*, pp. 117, 199, 201, 202; also *Pe-*

Scotland hither, but I did read that the nation which we [Milesians] conquered there that were admirable and exceeding magicians<sup>1</sup> brought such a seat from the city in the septentrional parts of the East called *Palear*,<sup>2</sup> wherein belike they conjured some spirit that (when he that was elected and should prevail to be king was set thereon) gave some noise<sup>3</sup> (as the Image of Amenophis or Memnon did at the rising of the sun), which our nation found there, and used and reigned there where they found it, who sometimes had no absolute king, but every Prince or chief governing his own Province, as they were at the Incarnation of Christ, which was above 2000 years after their coming into Ireland, then had they those that were called *cupra*,<sup>4</sup> *Curoi*, *Conall Cernach*, *Cuculann*, and others that for their agility, strength, and valour were much celebrated; and about 150 years after they had those bands or companies called *Fiana*<sup>5</sup> that for their activity and valour were elected, and chosen out of all the provinces, their chief charge was to watch the havens, and keep the country from sudden invasion, being commanded by *Cuñall mac Uprénmoir*, a Leinsterman, and by *Fñ mac Cuñall*, his son, after he was killed at the battle of *Cnucha* by *Conn Ceoca-tach*,<sup>6</sup> or *Conn* [of the hundred battles] who, being chief of Hermon's

trie's "Antiquities of Tara Hill," pp. 161, 162, where it is shown that this stone is still at Tara, though the general belief was, that it had been removed from Tara to Scotland, in the sixth century, by Fergus Mac Eirc, and carried from the Abbey of Scone, in Scotland, to Westminster, in England, by Edward I. Keating firmly believed that the prediction respecting this stone was fulfilled in his own time, "in our present King Charles and his father James, whose descent is of the Scotic race, namely, from Mainè, son of Core, son of Lughaidh, of the race of Heber, son of Milesius, who were crowned kings of England upon this stone."—p. 201.

<sup>1</sup> *Admirable and exceeding magicians.*—Concerning the magical powers of the Tuatha de Dananns the reader is referred to Keating, Hal. ed., pp. 197–205. In Mageoghegan's translation of the "Annals of Clonmacnoise," it is also said that "this people were most notable magicians, and would work wonderful things by magic and other diabolical artes, wherein they were exceedingly well skilled, and in these days accepted the chiefest in the world in that profession."—See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.M. 3500, p. 24, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Falías.*—Keating says (Hal. ed. p. 197–205), that the Tuatha de Dananns brought this stone from the city of *Falías*, in the land of Lochlann (Scandinavia), and that they taught the arts and sciences, and among the rest *magic*, in four cities in this country;

that they passed from thence to Dobhar and Iar-Dobhar in Alba, and thence to Erin. Keating and the O'Clerys, in the book of "Invasions," give an ancient poem recording these traditions of the Tuatha de Dananns, from which it would appear that the tradition of their having emigrated from the land of Lochlann is very ancient. O'Flaherty, in his corrected "Irish Chronology," fixes their settlement in Ireland to A.M. 2737.—"Ogygia," Part iii. c. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Gave some noise.*—For a full account of the traditions and bardic accounts of this stone, see Petrie's "Antiquities of Tara Hill," pp. 159, 160, 161, 162, 178, 179. For the account of Memnon and his statue, see "Pausanias," i. c. 42; x. c. 31; and "Strabo," xiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Cupra*.—i. e., heroes or champions. The principal of these heroes were those of the Craebh Ruadh in Ulster, those of Erris Domhnann in Connaught, and the Ernaans, of whom the chief leader was Curoi, son of Dairi, of Desmond. See Keating, pp. 337–339, and O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," Part iii. c. 46, 47, 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Fiana.*—Generally called *Fiana Eireann*, or Militia of Ireland, and by Mac Pherson, Fingallians. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 283, note 2; and Keating, "Regimie Comu Cedchathach and Cormac Mac Art." Also, "Battles of Cnucha and Magh Lena."

<sup>6</sup> *Conn Cedchathach.*—i. e., Conn of the

house, was at mortal war for the chief rule with *Mognuabac*<sup>1</sup> or *Mowh*, heir and chief of the house of Iberius, whereupon all Ireland was between them divided with a great Trench<sup>2</sup> from Dublin Ford called *Aahe clieh*, to the other *Aahe clieh* of *Mearie* beyond Galway, whereon the South part is ever since called the Half of *Mowh* and the north the Half of *Conn*. Shortly after some of the nation began to understand of Christian Religion by *brénainn bippa*<sup>3</sup> called *Brendanus* and others, & about the yeare of our Lord 370 *Patricius*<sup>4</sup> being a youth, was brought a prisoner into Ireland, whose life & literature afterwards purchased him to be by *Celestine* the first impoyed thither, where he (accompanied with as many of the Scots nation as he found instructed in the religion) and converted that country people, who for 400 years after<sup>5</sup> lived very zealous & liberal to their churches, religious houses, & academies. What their manner of government, wealth and ability was then appears by the number of volumes of good Laws<sup>6</sup> made by their kings, by the

Hundred Battles. He was chief of the race of *Heremon*, and ancestor of the *O'Neills* and other distinguished families of *Leath-Chuinn*, or the northern half of Ireland. He became monarch of Ireland. A. D. 177.

<sup>1</sup> *Mogh Nuadhac*.—He was otherwise called *Eoghan Taidhlech*, or *Owen the Superb*, and was chief of the race of *Heber*. He was *King Conn's* mortal enemy, and after having conquered him in ten successive battles, compelled him to cede unto him full dominion over the southern half of Ireland, *Conn* being sovereign only of the northern half, a line of hills extending from *Dublin* to *Maaree* near *Galway*, being the boundary between them. The northern half was called *Leath Chuinn*, or *Conn's* half, and the southern, *Leath Mhogha*, or *Mogh's* half. This division of Ireland is still traditionally remembered. It is stated in the battle of *Magh Lena*, and repeated by *Keating*, *O'Flaherty*, and others, that this division was observed only for one year, when *Eoghan*, observing that the northern bay of *Dublin*, and the harbour which belonged to *Conn*, were more profitable than the southern, in consequence of which he demanded half the revenue, *Conn* refused to accede to his demand, and their dispute was the cause of the battle of *Magh Lena*, in the parish of *Kilbride*, near *Tullamore*, in the *King's* County. All this account of the revenues of *Dublin*, in 177, however, savours strongly of modern fabrication, for *Dublin* was never a royal seat among the *Pagan Irish*, nor was the town of any commercial importance whatever until after the year 830, when the *Danes* attempted to fortify the place.

<sup>2</sup> *A great trench*.—This is not correct. The *Eaker Riada*, which formed the boundary between *Conn* and *Mogh*, was not a great trench, but a line of natural, continuous sand-hills, extending from *Ath-cliaih*, a ford on the river *Liffey*, to *Ath-cliaih Meadhraighe*, now *Clarín Bridge*, near *Galway*.

<sup>3</sup> *Brenainn of Birra*.—He was not one of the earliest preachers of Christianity in Ireland, for he died in the year 571. See "Annals of the Four Masters," at the years 553 and 571. *St. Declan* of *Arilmore*, and *St. Kieran* of *Saighir*, are said to have taught Christianity in Ireland before the arrival of *St. Patrick*, but the whole account of this matter is involved in almost impenetrable obscurity.

<sup>4</sup> *Patricius*.—The "Annals of Tighernach" place the birth of *St. Patrick* in the year 341, and his captivity in 357. *Ussher's* "Tripartite Life of *St. Patrick*" places his captivity in the first year of the reign of the Emperor *Julian* the Apostate, and in the ninth year of the reign of *Niall* of the Nine Hostages—"qui xxvii. annis potenter regnavit; quique Britanniam et Angliam multum devastavit ibique in bello cecidit."—"Primordia," p. 587.

<sup>5</sup> *For 400 years after*.—That is, until the *Danes* disturbed their peace and religious tranquillity. After the time of *Turgesius* (who was drowned A. D. 846), many of the *Irish* joined the *Danes*, and relapsed into *Paganism*.

<sup>6</sup> *Number of volumes of good laws*.—These are now known as the *Brehon Laws*. Respecting the volumes of these laws extant at the close of the eighteenth century, *Teige*

coins stamp for the kings of the Half of Conn at Ardmach<sup>1</sup> & for the kings of the Half of Mowh at Cassil<sup>2</sup> whereof some is yet extant; by their great traffic and frequentation of merchants,<sup>3</sup> & marts & fairs<sup>4</sup> which was such as when (in the time that the Danes invaded that country) Counte Olfyn ledd 3 or 4000 Danes from Limbrick to rifle or spoile the faire that was on S<sup>t</sup> Peter & Paul's day at Roscrea<sup>5</sup> in Ely, the numbers of buyers & sellers that were there came in arms against him, & overthrew & killed him & his forces. And what their civility was appears by the numbers of their learned men, & their academies, which were chiefly at Downe, Cassil & Ardmacha, where so many colleges were, that (as appears by an ancient record found of late years at Oxford<sup>6</sup>) the students of Ardmacha being on a time registered, were found to be above 7000, which brought many of that country people to be (for their life & literature) so much esteemed that the Saxon kings of this land intreated Colum Cille, called Columbus, to take their children with him thither to be brought up, as Beda<sup>7</sup>

O'Roddy of Crossfield, in the county of Leitrim, wrote as follows in a letter to Lhwyl:—"I have the bookes of our Law, being 30 in number (though my honoured friend, Sir Richard Cox, was once of opinion that our law was arbitrary, and not fixed nor written, till I satisfied him to the contrary in the summer 1699, by shewing him some of the said law bookes)."—See "Miscellany of the Irish Archeological Society," vol. i. p. 123. It should be remarked, that Sir Richard Cox never acknowledged this fact.

<sup>1</sup> *The Coins stamp for the Kings of the Half of Conn, at Ardmach.*—It were to be wished that our author had informed us where these coins were to be seen in his time, as we cannot find any in our present cabinets. Dr. O'Connor mentions a coin struck for an Irish king, Aedh; and Dr. Petrie has described some bracteate coins found in the Round Tower of Kildare; but no evidence has turned up to show when, where, or by whom they were struck.

<sup>2</sup> *At Cassil [Cashel].*—Where are these coins? Did our author mistake them for Danish coins, struck at Cork or Dublin?

<sup>3</sup> *Frequentation of merchants.*—Our author had sufficient authority for this assertion, for Tacitus states, in the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, that the ports of Ireland were better known from commerce and through commercial men, than those of Britain:—"Portus per commercia et negotiatores melius cogniti."

<sup>4</sup> *Marts and fairs.*—The fairs of Tailten, in Meath, of Oenach Cholmain, on the Cur-

ragh of Kildare, and of Carman, at Wexford, are much talked of in old Irish writings.

<sup>5</sup> *Fair at Roscrea.*—This ransacking of the fair of Roscrea is not mentioned by any of the published Irish annalists. Our author must have had Munster annals not now accessible. Dermot O'Connor has foisted the previous account of the overthrow of the Danes at Roscrea into his corrupt version of Keating's History of Ireland, giving the encounter as if taken by Keating himself from "a reputable author, called Florence Mac Carthy, who has delivered down the transactions of Ireland for many ages." Dermot evidently became acquainted with Florence's statement, by having seen his letter in manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, when admitted to it by Dr. Raymond. Indeed, it appears, from various references in the handwriting of Sir George Carew, in the Library at Lambeth (particularly No. 635), that Florence Mac Carthy had old Irish chronicles in his possession. What Carew did with them when he rifled Florence's house, and sent him a prisoner into England, nothing remains to explain; but he is accused by the author of "Cambrensis Eversus," of having destroyed Irish MSS. Certain it is, that not a single MS. in the Irish language is now in his collection at Lambeth.

<sup>6</sup> *Ancient record found at Oxford.*—This is not yet sufficiently authenticated. Who found it? Of what age is it? Is it now preserved at Oxford? Where?

<sup>7</sup> *As Beda testifies.*—Our author is here perfectly right as to Bede's testimony, though

testifies. Neither will the Germans deny but that Bonifacius<sup>1</sup> one of the Scottish nation, was their apostle, and when Ferleus<sup>2</sup> Foilianus and Ultanus, sons to Gobh beñan, king of the Half of Mowh came in the year of our Lord 650 into France, king Clodoveus<sup>3</sup> accepted them favourable, and gave them their choice of any land there, whereupon they founded *Latiniacum monasterium*,<sup>4</sup> as Columbanus,<sup>5</sup> another of that same house, founded *Luxoniense monasterium*, in Clotharius his time, all which Placitus the German testifies.

I omit to trouble y<sup>r</sup> Lordship with divers others that increased religion and learning in Germany, France and England, where they founded Glastonburie<sup>6</sup> and divers other places, and taught the Saxons the use of letters, as appeareth by some of their own best antiquaries,<sup>7</sup> and by the Saxon letters which are our characters.

it is quite clear that he wrote from memory. Well indeed might he proudly adduce the testimony of Bele in favour of the learning and generosity of his ancestors. Bede writes, in his "Ecclesiastical History," book iii. c. 27:—

"In the same year of our Lord, 664, . . . a sudden pestilence depopulated the southern coasts of Britain, &c. &c. This pestilence did no less harm in the island of Hibernia. Many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation were there at that time, who, in the days of the Bishops Finan and Colman, forsaking their native island, retired thither, either for the sake of divine studies, or of a more continent life; and some of them presently devoted themselves to a monastic life; others chose rather to apply themselves to study, going about from one master's cell to another. The Scoti willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching gratis."

Dr. Ledwich, who was deeply imbued with prejudices against the old Irish race, is obliged to confess, in his notice of this passage, that "so zealous and disinterested a love of learning is unparalleled in the annals of the world."—"Antiquities of Ireland," second ed., p. 355.

<sup>1</sup> *Bonifacius*.—He was Archbishop of Mentz and General Visitor in Bavaria when Virgilius, an Irishman, a celebrated geometer, was Bishop of Saltzburg, A. D. 767. Bonifacius was the enemy of Virgilius; but our author is wrong in assuming that he was an Irishman himself.

<sup>2</sup> *Fursæus*, or Fursa, son of Fintan, of the race of Aedh Beannan, died at Peronne, in Picardy, on the 16th of January, A. D. 653. See Colgan, "Acta SS.," 22 Januarii, pp. 75,

87, 97; and Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," lib. iii.

<sup>3</sup> *Clodoveus*.—He was Clodoveus II., King of France, who succeeded A. D. 648, and died in 663. See Colgan's "Life of Fursæus," "Act. SS." p. 90, note 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Latiniacum monasterium*.—Described as "inter Lutetiam et Meldas." See Colgan, "Acta SS.," p. 91, note 27. It is "Pentinatric monaster" in Florence's own handwriting. He also wrote "Luxoniensiu."

<sup>5</sup> *Columbanus*.—See Colgan's "Acta SS.," p. 117. He was a disciple of the celebrated St. Comgall, of Bangor, in the county of Down, and travelled into Burgundy in the year 589, where he laid the foundation of the monastery of Luxonia or Luxeuil. He was afterwards driven from thence, and he retired into Italy, where he erected the abbey of Bobbio, near Naples, and where he died on the 21st of November, 615.

<sup>6</sup> *Glastonburie*.—This is described, in Cormac's "Glossary," as a large church near the Ictian Sea. St. Patrick was its patron saint, and the monks maintained that he was buried there, and not in Ireland.

<sup>7</sup> *By their best antiquaries*.—Camden and Spenser (the former a host in himself) state the Anglo-Saxons to have derived their letters from the Irish. This is controverted, on the ground that the ancient Britons had Roman letters earlier than either the Irish or Anglo-Saxons; that the Irish and Anglo-Saxon letters were only a modification of the Roman; and so far, if I understand the argument, that it is more probable the Saxons had letters from a British than from an Irish source. But the Saxons, as the *Christian missionaries found them, had no letters*. The old Britons, or Welsh, were so indignant at the Saxons for robbing them of the best

And for their own country St. Bernard in the life of Maelmaeobog O'Morpaig called Malachias<sup>1</sup> writes what monuments they left, and what a number of learned men have been there, who although their eloquence was great could not keep their unfortunate nobility from civil war, which moved some to threaten & foretell the infinite ruins that within a little happened, for shortly after the year of our Lord 800 Atreus or Airtre mac Catain,<sup>2</sup> commanding the Half of Mowh, and Gobh mac Neill the Half of Conn, the Danes began to invade that country called then of the nation Scotland,<sup>3</sup> until the country-people calling it Ere (of the wife of Mac Cuill that reigned there at our coming<sup>4</sup>); the Eastern nations added land<sup>5</sup> & so called it Ereland.

These (Danes) came first under Turgesius,<sup>6</sup> who spoiled Ard-

part of Britain, that they are reproached with refusing to teach those Pagan robbers anything, even the Christian religion, and preferring to let them live and die as they were—or, in other words, be damned! To the Irish missionaries, then, as having converted much the greater portion of the Saxon Hierarchy, and as having the *prior* knowledge and use of the very characters afterwards common to themselves and the Saxons, must the communication of those characters to the Saxons be *mostly* assigned—I say *mostly* (even if it should be established that, in the sixth and seventh centuries, when the Saxons were converted, the Roman characters were the very same as those of the Irish and Anglo-Saxons), the share of the Roman, compared with that of the Irish missionaries, in the conversion of England, having been comparatively small; but if the characters used by the Roman missionaries, or Augustine's followers, who had a share, however small, in converting the English Saxons, differed to any considerable extent from the characters used by the contemporary Irish missionaries, and so long those also of the English Saxons, then it will be still clearer that Camden and Spenser were right in assigning the introduction of such characters to the Irish *only*.

<sup>1</sup> *Maelmaedhog O'Morgair, called Malachias*.—St. Bernard, who wrote the "Life of St. Malachias" about the year 1148, scarcely bears out this assertion. He gives a lamentable character of the people of the diocese of Armagh. He found them rude, barbarous, and uncultivated—Christians in name, but Pagans in practice.

<sup>2</sup> *Artri, son of Cathal*.—He was King of Munster contemporarily with Aedh, son of Niall Farsach, monarch of Ireland, whose reign began, according to O'Flaherty's corrected chronology, A.D. 797 ("Ogygia," p. 433).

See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 747.

<sup>3</sup> *Scotland*.—Ireland was first called Scotland or *Scotia*.

<sup>4</sup> *At our coming*.—It is said that Eire was the wife of Mac Cuill, the reigning King of the Tuatha de Dananns, at the arrival of us [Scoti or Milesians] to invade it, and hence that we, their descendants, called the country *Eire* after this Queen, whom our ancestors subdued and killed.

<sup>5</sup> *The Eastern nations added land*.—i. e. the nations lying eastwards of Ireland: the Danes and Saxons. The same nations appear to have added *ster* in the termination of three of the Irish provinces, as Munster for *Munhain*, Leinster for *Laighin*, and Ulster for *Uladh*. The name of the fourth province, Connaught, was too long to admit euphoni-ously of this termination, and so we have the name *Connacht* remaining in its Irish purity, without this hybrid addition. *Ster* means land, *terra*,

<sup>6</sup> *Turgesius*.—The first great invasion of the Northmen was evidently under Turgesius, about the year 838. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 843, p. 467; "Ogygia," p. 433; and Giraldus's "Top. Hib.," iii. 39, 42. It is quite clear that our author took this account from the "*Cogadh Gaedhal fri Gallaibh*," the War of the Gaels with the Galls, of which there were many copies in Ireland in his time. Forannan was carried off prisoner to Limerick. It is strange that famous as Turgesius is in the Irish annals, written stories, and oral traditions, no account of any such chieftain is to be found in any northern chronicles of Denmark or Norway. Ledwich has attempted to identify him with Thorgils of Norway; but this prince was not born for at least two generations after the death of the Irish tyrant, Turgesius. It is very clear from the Irish annals that Turgesius was a Norwegian, not a Dane.



macha, where he settled himself driving away Pharananus the Primate, & all the religious men & students; from thence he came to Loghrie, where being taken prisoner with a stratagem by Maelpechlann<sup>1</sup> Prince or chief of Meath, and shortly after drowned at Logh-Aininn;<sup>2</sup> the Danes were overthrown in divers battles by the houses of Tireconnell, North Munster, Tireown, Meath, and by Olcobar.<sup>3</sup> King of the Half of Mowh: but in the end Gobb Fínnliath, King of the half of Conn<sup>4</sup> deserved the chief praise, by whom (by the help of the chiefs of Meath, Connaught & Leinster, they were driven away, altho' a great fleete & power was brought by Alanus [Aulavus<sup>5</sup>] the King of Denmark's son, who after his repulse supplied [recruited] his forces, & came into Scotland, where (coming to fight with the rest of our nation) he was overthrown and killed.

Afterwards in the time of Níall Glunob<sup>6</sup> son to Gobb Fínnliath aforesaid, Blind Sitrick O'Hiowmar,<sup>7</sup> first (by whom Ugarpe mac Oilella, the chief, & all the Lords of Leinster were overthrown & killed,) and thereupon the rest of the O'Hiowmars came with a mighty power & took Dublin, where the King, Níall Glunob, with the forces of Ulster Meath & Connaught, came to feight with them) was overthrown & himself with the nobility, and above 5000 of theirs killed; but within a while after Donnchað mac mic Maelpechlann<sup>8</sup> of Meath overthrew their chief forces at Tech mic n-Echað, and Congalach mac Maoilmichíð, King of the Half of Conn, overthrew them at Múine brocáin<sup>9</sup> where they lost 7000 men; and Ceallaçan,

<sup>1</sup> Taken with a stratagem by Maelseachlainn.—From this it is quite clear that our author believed in Giraldus's account of Turgesius' taking off. See Giraldus, "Top. Hib. Hist." iii. cc. 39, 40, 41, 42, and "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 848.

<sup>2</sup> Loch Aininn.—Now Lough Ennell, near Mullingar, in the county of Westmeath. Keating, as well as our author, makes the Lacus Loch-yreno of Giraldus the same as Loch Aininn; but it is clearly a mistake, for it appears from all the Irish Annals that Turgesius was drowned in Loch Uair, now Lough Owel, situate to the north of Mullingar. Loch Aininn lies to the south of the same town, which is nearly midway between these two remarkable lakes.

<sup>3</sup> Olchobar.—He was King of Munster, and defeated the Northmen at Sciath Neachtain, in the year 848. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 846.

<sup>4</sup> Aedh Fínnliath, King of the half of Conn.—Aedh was certainly monarch of all Ireland; but our author, with the usual prejudice of his race against the race of Conn, did not acknowledge the northern kings as monarchs of all Ireland. This is very wrong, for the old Annals of Innisfallen do not pretend to name

any monarch of all Ireland as of the Munster race since the time of St. Patrick, except five. For the account of Aedh Fínnliath's victory over the Norsemen, see "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 864.

<sup>5</sup> Alavus.—i. e. Amlaff, or Auliffe. A.D. 865, Amlaw and his nobility went to Fortren together with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland, spoiled all "the Cruhnes, and brought their hostages with them."—"Ann. Ul. Cod. Clarend." tom. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Níall Glunob.—See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 915. This great king, the progenitor of the O'Neills of Ulster, was killed by the Danes at Kilmashoge, near Dublin, A.D. 919. The Danes were at this time under the command of Sitrick O'Hivor.

<sup>7</sup> Sitrick O'Hiomhair.—i. e. Sitrick, grandson of Ivor. He landed in the east of Leinster, A.D. 915 (916), and defeated and slew Ugarpe, son of Ailell, King of Leinster, and made a great slaughter of his people. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 915.

<sup>8</sup> Donnchadh mac mic Maelseachlainn.—See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 918 (920). Donnchadh was son of Flaith, and monarch of all Ireland.

<sup>9</sup> Múine Brocáin.—This battle was fought

King of the Half of Mowh,<sup>1</sup> overthrew them in divers battles by land & by sea at their departure, who having supplied their forces came afterwards to Limberick with a far mightier power under the Hiowhmars, by whom the land was brought again under that barbarous cruel covetous nation, whose Tyranny was to place Lords and petty lords of theirs in every country & barony, sergeants in every town, and another under-officer in every house<sup>2</sup> that had yearly half the goods thereof. Their King's rente was not exacted of lands cattel or commodities but of men, for every body paid a mark yearly, or had his nose cut off; they destroyed the churches, religious houses, & academies, and led from Ardmacha 2000 students into bondage. At the first they burned all the books they found, which afterwards they took away with them.

And as divers helped before to repulse them, so now all was performed by the endeavour and valour of Brien, 2<sup>d</sup> son to Kinedy, or Cinneoi mac Lopcaim, chief of north Munster who (after his elder brother was unluckily killed)<sup>3</sup> foiled the Danes and others that stood in controversie with him and attaining to be King of the half of Mowh overthrew in many battles & expelled the Danes, and was by common consent received King of all Ireland. In his later days Maelmorba mac Murchada<sup>4</sup> chief of Leinster rebelled, & (by the help of a colony of Danish merchants which the King permitted to remain at Dublin) wrought Carolus, Cnutus & Andreas, the King of Denmark's sons, to come with a great army to Dublin, where (when the King of Ireland came) a terrible battle well ordered & arranged was long fought, in the which the Danes were overthrown, & their King's three sons, & all the nobi-

in the year 950, between Congalach, monarch of all Ireland, and the Danes. Godfrey, King of the Danes, was defeated, and 6000 of his men slain, according to the Annals of Ulster. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 949, p. 665.

<sup>1</sup> *Ceallachan, King of LeathMhogha.*—He was our author's ancestor. His battles with the Danes are not recorded by the Hy-Niall annalists; but they are blazoned in colours sufficiently exaggerated, and unworthy of credit, in the historic story called "*Tornidheacht Cheallachain Chaisil*," which Keating sets down as true history, but which Dr. O'Brien, in his "Genealogical History of the Dal gCais," published in Vallancey's "Collectanea," has shown to be a comparatively modern fabrication. Ceallachan died in 952.

<sup>2</sup> *An under officer in every house.*—This account of the cruelty of the Norsemen is taken by our author from the "*Cogadh Guedhal fri Gatiabh*." The Danes of Limerick were defeated by Mahon, son of Ken-

neddy, and brother of Brian Borumba, in 965.

<sup>3</sup> *Unluckily killed.*—He had been treacherously captured by Donovan, son of Cathal, ancestor of the O'Donovans, the ally of the Danes of Limerick, and delivered by him into the hands of Molloy, son of Bran, king of Desmond, who had him murdered in cold blood. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 974, p. 701. Brian Borumba, the brother of this Mahon, was the ancestor of the Earl of Thomond, to whom this letter is addressed, and who was very anxious to preserve the genealogies and history of the race of Oilíoll Olum, as appears by a beautifully written volume of pedigrees, compiled, under his superintendence, by several Irish antiquaries, and now preserved in the Carew Collection, at Lambeth, No. 599.

<sup>4</sup> *Maclmordha macMurchadha.*—He was the ancestor of the O'Byrnes of Leinster, not of the Mac Murroghs or Kavanaghs, as generally supposed. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1013, p. 777, note 7.

lity, & 6700 of those that were in the maine battle, and well nere 4000 of the Dublin men and Danes that were mingled with them, and the chief & nobility of Leinster & 3200 of their men were all killed. Of the other side the Prince of Ireland, Murchard, son & heir to the King, and chief commander of the army, who for valour & reputation in arms excelled, & his son, & almost all the nobility of both Munster & Connaught, & above 4000 of their men were all killed. Some few of the Danes that fled into the land lighted to the old King's tent, where they were killed, in which broil the King received a wound in his head, with an axe, whereof he died, being 88 years of age,<sup>1</sup> after he was 37 years King of the Half of Mowh, [Leath-Mhogha] & 12 years King of all Ireland. This battle was fought at Cluan Tarff by Dublin [Clontarf near Dublin] on Good Friday the 22 of April in the year of our Lord 1014, being the 25<sup>th</sup> battle wherein he overthrew the Danes, who never since attempted to invade that country. His 2<sup>d</sup> son Donnchað<sup>2</sup> succeeded him, who in his latter days, after he reigned above 50 years, went to Terra Sancta, leaving the kingdom to Toirbealbac,<sup>3</sup> son to his 2 brother Taoð, a man of good worth, that reigned 17 years, whose son Muirchertach<sup>4</sup> that succeeded him (being for his justice, generosity & valour well beloved and esteemed, and much favoured & affected by the King and the rest of the nation in Scotland, after he reigned 29 years) fell extreme sick at Ardmacha, in the year 1115, whereof he died 5 years after, and was the last King of the nation, this King that now is being the first after him, of the nation itself, that reigned over Ireland, of whose ancestors many have been before Kings of all Ireland, who being the first of our nation that reigned over these three kingdoms, altho' all sorts are hard to be pleased in this world, nobody can deny him to be a just King, which is the greatest praise that either King or anie other can have, and to be a man that wants neither sense nor utterance.

Upon Murchards sickness the provinces of Ireland fell to disobedience & dissension, and his 2<sup>d</sup> brother Diarmott took possession of North Munster, whose son Toirbealbac, that succeeded him therein, was much oppressed by the power of Toirbealbac mac Ruairi<sup>5</sup> chief of Connaught to whose son, Ruairi or

<sup>1</sup> In the 88th year of his age.—This was not Brian's true age, according to the Annals of Ulster, which place his birth in 941. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 1013, p. 773.

<sup>2</sup> His second son Donnchadh.—It is stated in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, as translated by Mageoghegan, A.D. 1063, that "Donogh, the son of Brian Borome, went to Rome to do penance, because he had a hand in the killing of his elder brother, Teige, and that he brought with him the crown of Ireland,

which remained with the Popes until Pope Adrian gave the same to Henry II."

<sup>3</sup> Toirdealbach.—He was considered King of Ireland, ðo bhræagarra, i. e. with opposition. He died in the year 1086, in the thirty-second year of his reign. See "Annals of the Four Masters," p. 927.

<sup>4</sup> Muirchertach.—He died in the year 1119. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 1119, p. 1009.

<sup>5</sup> Toirdealbach, son of Ruadhri, O'Conchobhair.—He was certainly as much mo-

Roderick<sup>1</sup> he & the chiefs of Meath & Ulster promised obedience whereby many called him King of Ireland. At which time Dermot Mac Murchard, cheif of Leinster, ravished Dearbhorgaill<sup>2</sup> daughter to Mupchað mac Flaunn of Meath, and wife to Oroirk L<sup>4</sup> of Brefny, which incensed against him the said Roderick by whom Leinster was spoiled, M<sup>c</sup>Murchow's house at Fearn<sup>3</sup> destroyed, and himself driven out of the land, who went to King Hen: 2<sup>d</sup>, that was then in France, by whom he was favourably used, and dismissed with letters to licence as many as would go here [in England] hence with him. In his return he conditioned at Bristol with Richard the son of Gilbert,<sup>4</sup> Earl of Stranguel, to give him his daughter Aive & Leinster, after his Decease, & from thence went to the Prince of Wales, Rice Ap Grifine, who enlarged for him out of prison Robert Fitz Stephens, upon promise to follow M<sup>c</sup>Murchow, that went then for Ireland, when he kept secretly until Rob<sup>t</sup> Fitz Stephens, Maurice Fitz Gerald, & others came with 90 horse & 300 archers, whom the Earl of Stranguel followed at Bartholomew's tide in the year 1170, with 200 horse & a thousand archers, & married the Daughter of Mac Murchow, who brought Leinster under his obedience, and surprised Dublin, whereof, and of the dissensions of the provinces of Ireland when King Henry was advertised he came the 8 of Ocb<sup>r</sup> in the year 1172 to Waterford, where the Lords of North and South Munster, & afterwards at Dublin the Lords Tirconnell, Brehny, Oiriel & divers others (being all weary of civill war) became subjects to his Majesty, who leaving Hugo de Lacie, his constable there, came for England. After whose departure the Earl of Stranguel behaved himself very irreligiously in burning of churches, unto whom Lacie was not much inferior. How John de Courcie then dispossessed many of their lands and (when he & Lacie were at odds for it) rebelled & how (when King John came hither) Walter de Lacie rebelled, whereby the King was driven to follow him into the north, to make a bridge of his ships over Strangford Haven, & to besiege Carrick Feergus, from whence Lacie fled for England; the cause of Rebellions since, and of all the losses that the crown & country sustained thereby, is not so much noted or remembered as the blame is cast generally upon that country people, who although they are

narch of Ireland as any of the family of O'Brien ever had been. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1106 and 1156.

<sup>1</sup> *Ruaidhri* or *Roderic*.—According to the "Annals of the Four Masters," Roderic O'Conor was inaugurated at Dublin, in 1166, monarch of all Ireland, in as honourable a manner as any king of the Gaeidhil ever had been.

<sup>2</sup> *Dearbhorgaill*.—She appears to have left her husband, by consent of her brother,

and to have carried her cattle and trinkets with her. She was at this time forty-four years old, and Diarmaid, King of Leinster, was sixty-two.

<sup>3</sup> *Mac Murchow's house at Fearn*.—Now the castle of Ferns, the property of Richard Donovan, Esq. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1166.

<sup>4</sup> *Richard, son of Gilbert*, usually called Strongbow. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1170, 1171, 1176.

thought by many fitter to be (as a Scottish Knight said) rooted out than suffered to enjoy their lands, are not so rebellious or dangerous<sup>1</sup> as they are termed by such as covete it, nor so rude or wilde as those Sicilians were (that as Plutarch writes by continual wars became as savage as beasts) with whom, nor with noe other nation wars continued not so long as with them, wherewith learning being decayed, the most part of those that wrote since did write without good order or agreement, whereby those that wrote before when they were learned, are thought best worthy of credit, together with those that wrote before they embraced Christianity or were so much learned, whose writings is very brief & obscure & language dead,<sup>2</sup> out of use, & hard to be understood, which is much written in verse, where their arms & colours is mentioned, by the which it sh<sup>d</sup> seem that he that gave this Lyon first in Scotland was of the house of Ulster, but those that were learned who wrote about 1000 or 800 years past, although their language also is now out of use, wrote more copious & elegant, to whose books, if this king were anything affected, I think his Majesty might best have them.<sup>3</sup>

This much of the Nation (being all the service that I am able to doe y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup>p.) I thought fit to acquaint y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup>p. withal, before I

<sup>1</sup> *So rebellious or dangerous.*—This was written by this great Irish chieftain, to show that he himself, the Earl of Thomond, and others of the Milesian Irish race, were as much to be trusted by the English Government as the Fitzgeralds of Leinster, or Desmond, or any other descendants of the first English conquerors.

<sup>2</sup> *The language dead.*—It is very curious to see how the ancient Irish language was considered unintelligible at so early a period. Teige O'Rody, of Crossfield, who was, perhaps, a better Irish and general scholar than our author, and who flourished nearly a century later, thus speaks of the ancient Irish language in his own time:—

“I have several volumes that none in the world now can peruse, though within twenty years there lived three or four that could read and understand them all, but left none behind absolutely perfect in all them books, by reason that they lost the estates they had to uphold their publique teaching.”—See “Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society,” vol. i. p. 123.

In the next century, another very celebrated Irish scholar, the venerable Charles O'Connor, of Belanagare, speaks more despondingly of the knowledge then possessed of the ancient Fenian or Brehon Law dialect of the Irish language:—

“I have seen and possessed some of our Phœnian tracts; and having an opportunity

in my youth of conversing with some of the most learned Irish scholars in our island, they freely confessed to me that, to them, both the text and gloss were equally unintelligible.”—Ledwich, “Antiquities of Ireland,” second edition, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> *His Majesty might best have them.*—“There is a double cause why I should be careful of the welfare of that people,” said King James I. to the agents from the Irish at Whitehall, in April, 1614, “first, as King of England, by reason of the long possession the crown of England hath had in that land; and also as King of Scotland; for the ancient kings of Scotland are descended from the kings of Ireland; so as I have an old title as King of Scotland, therefore you shall not doubt to be relieved when you complain, so as you will proceed without clamour.”—“*Macariæ Excidium*,” pp. 31–295. Dublin, 1850. See, also, what O’Flaherty has written on this point, with reference to King James I.’s grandson, King James II.; and what Dr. Kennedy has written on the same point with reference to King James II.’s son, Prince James Francis Edward Stuart, called the Pretender. From the Stuarts, in the female line, her present Majesty derives her title to the thrones of Great Britain and Ireland, and through the Stuarts, consequently, from the older royalty of the Milesian monarchs of Ireland—the most ancient in Western Europe.

end my life in the languishing torture of this close prison, where since my commitment I have bene threese tossed without any matter to chardge me withall,<sup>1</sup> and where, so long as God will spare me life, I will rest y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup>p's most humble and faithful to be commanded

FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.<sup>2</sup>

WOODS AND FASTNESSES, AND THEIR DENIZENS, IN  
ANCIENT LEINSTER.

BY HERBERT F. HORE, ESQ.

THE wide woods and lofty trees that adorn England so richly are the most prominent natural objects in a country devoid of the grander feature of broad and cloud-capped mountains. But as the few standing woods that remain in Ireland and all the finest timber grow only in sheltered vales, trees enter so little into the general scenery, that travellers are sceptical whether there is, or ever was, any considerable extent of sylvan shade in this island; and Americans, especially if backwoodsmen, admire the fact, that the country is "well cleared." Our archæologic readers, however, are well aware that, while, in the present time, Sir Robert Kane deplores the scarcity of wood, the number, vastness, and density of Irish forests formed a grievance to the English in the warlike days of Giraldus Cambrensis; and all lovers of "The Faerie Queene"

<sup>1</sup> *Without any matter to charge me withal.*  
—Both Carew and Cecil confessed one to another that Florence MacCarthy had left them no plea to imprison him; that "he had so drawn all his crimes within reach of his pardon, as they could not imprison him, except on discretion." Carew not being able to prove him guilty, calls him a *coward*, having mistaken his profound good sense and astuteness for cowardice. Carew's conduct proved himself to have been a *bully*, a *murderer*, and a *liar*.

<sup>2</sup> I have received the following from Mr. MacCarthy since the foregoing was in type:—"Touching your doubt of the British Museum letter being written by the big hand of the gigantic author, all I can say is, that having now had Florence's writing under my eye daily for months, and having copied many scores of pages of it, I should not be one bit the more convinced that that letter is his writing if I had sat by his side whilst he wrote it. Be assured, Florence's hand, and

no other, wrote that letter. Whatever theory may be requisite to explain the memorandum in Irish, I am sure you have ingenuity enough to supply." To the foregoing I have only to add, that it is distinctly stated in the Irish memorandum, already printed, that this letter, the composition of Florence MacCarthy, was written (transcribed) by Conor, son of Murrough O'Kinga, who also carried it with him to Ireland. This memorandum was written by Gillpatrick, son of Donogh O'Kinga, on the eve of the festival of St. Francis, when the said Conor O'Kinga, for whom he prays, was dead.

As the letter on which this memorandum is written is considered by Mr. MacCarthy to be undoubtedly in the handwriting of Florence, we can only infer that Gillpatrick, the son of Donogh, was not well acquainted either with Florence MacCarthy's handwriting, or even with that of his deceased friend, Conor O'Kinga, and that he wrote at random.—J. O'D.

remember the stanza in which the author, when a happy denizen of a sylvan district in Ireland, celebrated his adopted land as abounding in leafy honours. Yet the pleasing evidence poetry would give of the multitude and extent of our pristine woodlands must be abandoned for sober archaic accounts and stern statistics. It must do so, were we to proceed to give the true area of some of the larger woods as they flourished in Spenser's time, and if we subjoined some other notes on the topic, so as to enable a tolerably accurate idea to be formed of the real sylvan state of ancient Ireland. Local traditions often boldly declare that their districts were once so well wooded that the graceful little habitant of groves, the *cat croinn*, or martin, could leap from bough to bough for many a mile. But this amusing legendary exaggeration would be speedily dispelled by referring to the accurate maps of the Down Survey. A still more boundless continuity of shade, limited indeed only by the ocean, is claimed for Erin in the old rhyme:—

“Ireland was thrice beneath the ploughshare.  
Thrice it was wood, and thrice it was bare.”

None can believe that even one of these triad conditions was ever fully realized. Yet there can be no doubt that, primarily, this island, now so denuded, was clothed with trees wherever their growth was not forbidden by the violence of sea breezes and the nature of the soil. Ireland may, therefore, be supposed to have once been nearly covered with forests, of which swine, wolves, bears,<sup>1</sup> foxes, &c., and animals of the bovine and cervine species were the inhabitants, before

“Wild in woods the noble savage ran.”

Naturally, the best land was incumbered with the heaviest timber; so that the first settlers had, as in Canada, to make their fields by clearing the plains. The dates at which numerous fertile lowlands throughout Ierne were rendered arable are accurately chronicled by the Four Masters. Although no reliance can be placed on dates of so early a class, these entries tend to prove there were legends regarding cedual labours. Ireland must have remained utterly unfenced and, therefore, uncultivated, for many a century; and the sparse tribes that inhabited the country must have principally subsisted venatically. The cattle of the country, originally wild, would have required ages to become tame, and appropriate to communities. Another record in the chronicles, that at one primeval period milk was drawn from the does of the forest, as well as from kine, seems to point

<sup>1</sup> The skulls of bears were found along with those of the short-horned cow, &c., together with a large deposit of bronze and iron

implements, weapons, and ornaments, at Dunshaughlin, in the Co. Dublin, and are now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

to experiments in taming the fauna or *fera natura*. The cattle in a state of ferity were not white, like those preserved in Chillingham Park, as types of an antique breed, but "black," a designation still denoting mountain stock. Even almost all the sheep of the country retained the same mark of their wild origin so recently as the days of Cambrensis. Swine ran ownerless through the woods, unconscious of a "sty" or stay, and, for many centuries, of a herd; and when they became property, and when boars continued to give good sport in the chase, and were the best relished food at the feast, it was the most grateful of harvests that oak trees should be heavy with acorns. Venison must have been the ordinary meat of vigorous and skilful hunters, for red and fallow deer abounded; and it must have been long ere the last gigantic *Cervus Megacerus Hibernicus* fell either to the arrow or into the pitfall of the extinguisher of its species. Ireland was famous for stag-hunting in the time of the Venerable Bede; and the very name for a huntsman, *fiadhmuine*, given A. M. 4361 to one of the earliest kings, "Eochy Feemoney," on account of his passion for hunting stags in the woods, indicates that the chase took place in the *fiadha*, i. e. forests, rather than in the open country.

Besides the statement of Cambrensis, that the woodlands exceeded the area of the plain, or cleared land, there is evidence in an Act of Parliament,<sup>1</sup> dated in the century in which he lived, that the level country was so far covered with forests as that the few roads of the time, necessarily avoiding mountains and bogs, had also necessarily been cut through woods, however difficult in formation, and dangerous to the traveller; for, like the English forests to the rebellious and outlawed Saxons subsequent to the Norman Conquest, the Sherwoods of Ireland were the resort of *cetherne coille*, or woodkerne, whose leaders were less abstinent than William of Cloudesley and Robin of the Hood, for they preyed not only on the conqueror's wild deer, but on their cattle. The paragraph in the statute we allude to, which is of so early a date as 1297, is remarkable in a historic point of view. It recites that the Irish assume a boldness in their offences, by reason of the confidence they gain from the density of the woods, and the depth of the adjacent morasses; and that the king's highways are in many places so obstructed and impervious from the thickness of quick-growing wood, that even a pedestrian can hardly pass; and that, on account of this, when the Irish return to the woods after their misdeeds, they are able to disperse, so that, although the king's subjects commonly wish to pursue them, and that they are pursued, they often escape without loss, while, were the passage open, they might have been overtaken. Therefore it was ordained that all lords of woods, through which the king's highway anciently passed, should, together with their tenants, clear the passage

<sup>1</sup> "Arch. Miscell." vol. i. p. 21.



where the way ought to be, and remove all standing and fallen timber, so that the road should be of sufficient breadth.

The obsolete prophetic proverb, "The Irish will never be tamed whilst the leaves are on the trees," is generally misunderstood. It did not mean that the Gael could not be conquered so long as the country was full of woods, which formed their securest fastnesses; but implied that the best season for carrying on war against the natives was after the fall of the leaf; for they found shelter for themselves, and food for their horses and cattle, in and under forest leaves.

Sir John Davies thought that if the mighty lords among whom Ireland was cantoned—Strongbow in the east, De Courcy in the north, De Burgh in the west, Fitzstephen and De Cogan in the south, and De Lacy in the central plains—with all the great Norman peers who were the earls and barons of the Conquest, had been good hunters, and had afforested their woodlands according to the forest laws, the rigorous execution of these laws would have expelled the natives from out their sylvan retreats. Yet it was but fond imagination in James's Attorney-General to attribute greater power to the law in the twelfth century than it possessed five ages afterwards, at a time when these woods, diminished as they were from the continuous determined destruction of them, and the requirements of an increasing population, were still, during war, the redoubts of the natives, and at every period the abode of robbers. Davies also deemed it strange that, considering the great plenty both of vert (that is, forest or green land) and venison, he had seldom found mention made in records of a forest, and never of any park or free-warren; and also that, though the principal nobility and gentry were descended of English race (the most noted of all Europeans for love of hunting), there was, in his time, in the kingdom, but one park stored with deer. This latter deficiency is easily accounted for. It was needless to pen up deer so long as much of the entire country was either woodland or mountainous, and whilst it abounded in beasts of the chase. With respect to the first remark, we certainly can quote but one mention of free-warren, and none of a forest in the character of a preserve. Edward I. granted the Archbishop of Dublin right of free-warren in the see lands on the mountains in the metropolitan county, provided the land was not within the bounds of the royal forest—"foreste nostre."<sup>1</sup> This was the tract of wood and mountain afterwards known as "the king's commons," including *Fassagh Roe*, the red wilderness, *Rossaniera*,<sup>2</sup> &c. King John, when Prince and "Lord of Ireland," gave the Archbishop the custody of all his forests in Leinster which Richard Tyrrell had been keeper of. Probably this wood-ward, an ancestor of Tyrrell, of Tyrrell's Pass, in Westmeath, the famous rebel leader in Tyrone's rebellion, was a descendant of him whose

<sup>1</sup> "Chartæ Hib." p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> "Cal. Pat." Jac. i. p. 61.

arrow deprived William Rufus of life. When Magna Charta was extended to this kingdom, the "great charter for Ireland,"<sup>1</sup> dated in the first year of Hen. III., was addressed to all "earls, barons, justices, foresters, sheriffs," &c. And in the account for Leinster in the sixteenth year of that king's reign, there is a payment of five marks to Mac Gormogille for venison<sup>2</sup> taken in the king's forests. This son of Gormogille was, of course, of Scandinavian extraction. At an earlier period, in the reign of Richard I., Walter de Lacy granted permission to the burgesses of Trim<sup>3</sup> to gather wood in the adjacent forest for firing, taking it in sight of his foresters, of whom one, Nicholas the Forester, witnessed the charter. This was *Coill mor na-m-Breathnach*,<sup>4</sup> the great wood of the Britons, or Welshmen, now Kilmore, about four miles south of Trim, and which, perhaps, received its name from the Welsh extraction of many of the Strong-bonian settlers; yet should rather be celebrated as having been the resting-place of the illustrious Edward Bruce and his troops for several days during his return into Ulster, in the spring of 1317, from his unsuccessful military expedition through Ireland.

A wood was the point to which a Gaelic chieftain and his men usually made good their retreat whenever they were pursued. Its umbrageous shelter was also used by bands of cattle-lifters when driving away a prey to some other region. Thus, the Blackwood, in the county of Kildare, was a noted half-way resting-place for robbers and their four-footed booty, whilst on their way to and from the glens of Wicklow. Such receptacles for stolen goods were great nuisances to the lieges, and were accordingly cut down as speedily as possible. But as the gnarled stumps of oak and ash remained quick, as many sprouts grew from each as cow-stealers may have boasted of sons. The object of destroying the harbourage trees afforded is thus alluded to, as the principal cause of the denudation of the Pale, in a description of Ireland, written in the time of Elizabeth:—"There was then a great plenty of woods, except in Leinster, where, heretofore, for their great inconveniences, finding them to be ready hives to harbour Irish rebels, they have been cut downe, so that nowe they are enforced in those parts, for want of fewel, to burne turves."<sup>5</sup>

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Pale had been so thoroughly cleared, that the want was felt of accessible timber for the uses of husbandry and building, and it was recommended that tenants of land should be obliged, when ditching their fields, to plant trees, and especially oak, in the new fences, so that within some years there would be remedy for "the derth and lak of tymbre."

<sup>1</sup> "Reports, Record Com." vol. i. page 160.

<sup>2</sup> "Reports, Record Com." vol. i. p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> "Chartæ," p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> "Four Masters," vol. iv. p. 841, note.

<sup>5</sup> Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 1328.

Sir George Carew, Earl of Totness, in his rich MS. volumes of Irish Notabilia (Lambeth, No. 635), wrote the following memorandum, which shall form our text, as to—

“WOODES AND FASTNESSES IN LEINSTER.

- “Glandilour, a fastnes in Pheagh M<sup>o</sup>Hugh’s countrie.  
 Shilelagh, Sir Henry Harrington’s, in the co. of Dublin.  
 The Duffrin, in the county of Wexford.  
 The Drones and Leverocke, in the county of Catherlogh.  
 The great bogg in the Queen’s countie, which reacheth to Limerick.  
 The Fuse, in the countie of Kildare.  
 The woods and boggs of Mounster-Evan, Gallin, and Sleevmargy, in the Queen’s county.  
 The Rowry, nere St. Mullins, where the Nur and Barrow meete together, and make yt halfe an island.  
 Parte of Coulbracke, joyning upon the county of Kilkenny.”

“Glandelour” on old maps, *rectè* Glenmalure, *Hibernice*, *Gleann Maoilughra*, is the extensive and romantic valley environed by the highest mountains in the barony of Ballinacor and county of Wicklow. Edmund Spenser observed that it was “the strength and great fastness of Glen Malor” that made its chieftain so powerful; principally because, being situate near the richest lands of the Pale, it was frequented by numerous outlaws and robbers, who brought their spoils hither; and who, as they obtained the protection of its chief during peace, followed his banner in war. The good poet’s animosity to Fiach Mac Hugh, so marked in his “View of Ireland,” was doubtless owing to the galling defeat his patron, Lord Grey, received from this chieftain soon after he landed. Hooker describes the scene of the engagement as the “fastnesse of the Glinnes, by nature so strong as possibly might be, for in it is a valley, or combe, being in the middle of the wood, of great length between two hills; . . . the sides are full of great and mighty trees, and full of bushments and underwoods.” The heroic Red Hugh O’Donnell sought shelter in Glenmalure after his second escape from Dublin Castle, and was carefully concealed by its chieftain in a moate, “in a solitary part of a dense wood.”

The name of the next fastness, Shillelagh, is translated “fair wood” by Colonel Hayes, of Avondale, in his charming little work on Planting; and “fair wood” is the name Lord Strafford gave the park he formed in this forest. But this flattering translation must be rejected for the more probable etymon of *Siol-Elaigh*, or the race of Elagh district, a designation derived from the ancestor of the O’Gahan family, who was known as “Ely of the wood,” just as Shelmalier and Shelbyrne, in the county of Wexford, derive their names from having been the countries of races descended from Maolughra, and Bran, or Byrne. When that sylvan tract came into the possession of Strafford, who, in his princely

magnificence, had already commenced a palace near Naas, which he estimated would cost £6000, the noble viceroy determined to make himself a hunting-seat, whither he might occasionally retreat from the cares of government, and indulge in his passion for the chase, in a country in comparison with which Yorkshire was flat and tame. Many of his letters are dated from "Cosha, the Park of Parks," "a fine mountainous solitary place," that gave him "great content." Sir William Brereton, who visited this place in 1634, describes the park as seven miles round, and containing "great store" of red and fallow deer; and he speaks of the "abundance of woods, more than many thousand acres." The great Earl wrote to Archbishop Laud in 1637, that he had just given instructions for erecting a fine house, "a frame of wood," to be "set up in a park," wrote he, "I have in the county of Wicklow: . . . that so I may have a place to take my recreation for a month or two in a year;" adding that it would cost about £1200, and that, should the king come to Ireland, he, Strafford, knew of no place "able to give him the pleasure of his summer hunting like that park and the country adjacent."

In the ensuing year the imperious viceroy was "playing the Robin Hood in the country of mountains and woods, hunting and chasing all the outlying deer he could light on." Writing from Fairwood Park, 10th August, 1639, he describes himself as less seeking his own pleasure in forming a residence there, than in accommodating for his son a place "which in the kind," he declared, "I take to be the noblest one of them in the king's dominions, and where a grass-time may be passed with most pleasure of that kind;" and he added, "I will build him a good house, and, by God's help, leave him, I think, near £3000 a year, and wood on the ground as much, I dare say, if near London, as would yield £50,000." The Earl's intention of erecting a durable mansion seems, however, to have fallen to the ground; and although "Fairwood" is still the name of a townland, there is no trace of the site of the original timber house, nor is there any tradition that would tell where the renowned Strafford resided! Whilst in this abode of all the pleasures of which St. Hubert is patron, the English nobleman commenced to preserve a little denizen of the woods that is now nearly extinct, the martin, less for the sake of the sport it gave than for its beautiful skin, which was much prized for lining a robe of state. In the preceding century these furry little animals were found so plentifully in Irish woods, that the Earl of Ormonde had a special pack of small hounds for pursuing them. In 1638 Strafford wrote to the English Primate, promising to send him all the martin skins he could procure; but observed, that as the woods of Ireland decreased, her famous hawks and valuable martins became scarce: he purposed, however, "to set up a breed" of the last-mentioned animals in

his woods; for, says he, "a good one is worth as much as a good wether, yet neither eats so much, nor costs so much attendance; but then the pheasants must look well to themselves, for they tell me these vermin will hunt and kill them notably;" lively adding, "perchance you think now I learn nothing going up yonder amongst them into the forests and rocks?" In replying, the Archbishop pleasantly told his correspondent, that even if the martins destroyed the pheasants, it was not much matter, as "their feathers are so much better than the others;" and in the following winter the noble preserver sent his Grace of Canterbury ninety-two skins—"scarce as many," said he, "as to fur a gown, but all he could procure for love or money." Pheasants, now so scarce and difficult to preserve in Ireland, were formerly numerous enough, when no care was bestowed on them, Moryson remarking that he had seen as many as sixty served up at a feast. If our memory serves us, the armorial bearings of the O'Mores of Leix derive from these brilliant wood-birds.

In a grant of Glencapp, &c., Edward I. gave right of hous bote and hay bote in his wood of Balyconyn.<sup>1</sup> This was the privilege of taking wood for household and farm purposes. The Wicklow woods, of course, furnished the metropolis with its chief supply of timber<sup>2</sup> for the construction of houses in times when they were, for the most part, as Moryson observed, built of timber and clay; and also with wood fuel, before sea-borne coal came into common use. In 1518 the tenants of Glencapp were bound to send a load of woods from each house yearly to the Earl of Kildare's mansion in Dublin. It would seem that Shillelagh obtained its pugnacious celebrity from supplying holly and oak sticks to the great metropolitan suburban fair, whereby a "sprig" from this place modernly obtained as much reputation, as a national weapon, as the Lochaber axe in Scotland, and the Toledo blade of Spain. So formidable was a sapling in the hands of Irishmen in the age of Cambrensis—a period when the fierce revenges of the recent invasion left many of the Englishry dead by the lonely way-side, as in England the forests of Yorkshire and Northumberland had been strewn with Norman corpses—that Giraldus, in the pettiest spirit of penal laws, proposed to interdict the natives of Erin from carrying walking-sticks! "It were good," wrote he, in a chapter "how the Irish people, being vanquished, are to be governed," as translated by Hooker, "that an order

<sup>1</sup> "Cal. Pat.," p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The export of timber from Leinster to England at an early period must have been considerable. Besides the roof of Westminster Hall, we know of, at least, one other structure composed of Irish timber,—the spire of the ancient detached bell-tower of Worcester cathedral, erected in the thirteenth century, and taken

down in 1647. In Tomkins's MS., "Observations on Worcestershire," in the possession of Sir T. Winnington, this spire, which rose 150 feet above the stone work of the tower, is described as of "massive timber," the entire "being Irish and unsawed, polished only with the axe, not having one sawed side."—See "The Builder," vol. xiv., p. 630.—Ems.

were taken (as it is in Sicilia) that none of them should wear any weapon at all; no, not so much as a staffe in their hands to walke by,<sup>1</sup> for even with that weapon, though it be but slender, they will (if they can) take the advantage, and bewreake their malice, and cankered stomacks."

From the description of the locality which was the scene of the meeting in 1399, during the march of Richard II. to the metropolis, between the Earl of Gloucester and the high-spirited Art Mac Murrrough, it would seem it was in Glenart, near Arklow, that the Gaelic chief descended to the conference "from a mountain between two woods, not far from the sea." This meeting, of which an engraving, from a possibly contemporary drawing, is given in the "Ulster Archaeological Journal," is the subject of a vignette in Moore's "History of Ireland." The composed attitude of the English feudal Earl contrasts well with the headlong impetuosity of the Irish king. The relator of Richard II.'s expedition described the royal army as in three divisions, hunting the Leinster chief in his woods. But the narrator declared, that in his opinion it was impossible to take the wild king while the leaves were on the trees, and he proposed to burn the woods in winter time, as the best means of harrying this indomitable rebel out.

Idrone was granted by Strongbow to Raymond le Gros, from whom it descended to his relatives, the Barons Carew, whence, in the printed map of the barony, dated 1570, an extensive forest, under *Sliabh Lein* [*Laighen*], now Mount Leinster, is called "Carew's Wood." Yet the clan Kavanagh have more claim to give their name to a sylvan district that was for many ages their abode and fastness. When in 1399 Richard II. marched his splendid army against the brave Art Mac Murrrough, this chieftain, says the relator, "remayned in his house, the woods, guarded with 3000 stout men, such, as it seemed to me, the Englishmen mervayled to behold." The king's highway had anciently passed through this wood, which may, therefore, have lain between the mountains and the broad Barrow; and the road was so overgrown with trees that 2,500 men were employed to clear it. On the north-eastern side of *Sliabh Laighen* [now *Stuagh Laighen*] there was a large forest that also belonged to this clan. In 1634 Sir William Brereton passed from the county of Wicklow "through Sir Morgan Kavanagh's woods" to Clonmullen, the Gaelic knight's house, and describes them as having had good store of large timber, of which much had lately been cut.

The great morass in the centre of Leinster, mentioned by the

<sup>1</sup> Hooker has rendered his original incorrectly in this passage, as Giraldus alludes to some weapon, probably the famous *axe* which the Anglo-Normans found so formidable, and

which, he says, "de antiqua, imo iniqua, consuetudine semper in manu quasi pro baculo bajulant."—"Hibn. Expugnata," lib. ii. cap. xxxvii.—Ebs.

Earl of Totness as extending to Limerick, is, of course, the bog, or "fenns of Allan," as Spenser calls this extensive fen-land.

The name of the *Fiodha*, *Fuse*, or woods in Kildare, does not appear in the inquisitions; being, perhaps, a general name, including "the Blackwood," once a well-known haunt of cattle-lifters, and the woods of Rathangan and Ardscoil. The latter was the scene of Edward Bruce's victory over the Lord Justice of Ireland in 1316.

Monasterevan Abbey was founded in a wood called *Ross-glass*. Dysart-Gallen was the fastness of the O'Mores of Leix, and is described by Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, in a letter dated 1573,<sup>1</sup> as a waste desert, twelve miles in extent, all bog, mountain, and wood, the names of which were Scaghafoure and Slearerie, the Wolf's Mountain, Kildowny wood, and a long mountain called Sletamare. Derrybroke, "the great wood" of oak, is mentioned in the Calendar of Inquisitions. In a curious engraving in Derrick's "Image of Ireland," the famous rebel, Rory Oge O'More, is depicted as a vanquished and miserable outlaw, wandering, wrapped in a mantle, alone in his woods.

Upperwoods, the present name of the barony which comprises the eastern slopes of the Slieve Bloom range within its limits, indicates that, anciently, woodlands clothed the adjacent low-lying tracts of the Queen's County, as well as the mountain sides above them.

An extensive wood appears in the map of Idrone, dated 1570, between Slievemargy and the town of Carlow. In 1394 the Earl of Nottingham, Marshal of England, was met at Ballegory,<sup>2</sup> on the edge of this wood, by Art Mac Murrough and his subordinate chieftains, on which occasion they made formal submission.

The *Dubh-thir*, i. e. black district, now called the Duffry, contained the great wood Killoughram (*Coille augh-rim*), which was valued, in the year 1639, at the large sum of £8000, fully equivalent to £160,000 in the present day. In 1589,<sup>3</sup> Sir Henry Wallop wrote of this district:—"In the woods, not far from my house at Enniscorthy, there is as good and as great a store of plank and of timber needful for shipping to be had as in any place I do know either in England or Ireland." Like many another rich sylvan scene, this fine wood was reduced to a copse by the iron works of the seventeenth century. South of the Duffry, in the *Fassagh*, or wilderness of Bantry, was situated the ancient town of Old Ross, which takes its name from an oak wood that had dwindled to twenty acres in the reign of Edward I.<sup>4</sup> The banks of the Barrow were deeply fringed with wood above and below *Ross mic Triuin*, i. e. the wood

<sup>1</sup> State Paper Office.

<sup>2</sup> Dowling.

<sup>3</sup> State Paper Office, 8th Jan., 1588-9.

<sup>4</sup> Inquis. Tur. Lond.

of the son of Tréan, or Ross-pont, so called from the great timber bridge constructed by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. The surveyor sent over in 1608 to inspect Irish timber for the service of the royal navy reported that the extensive woods in the county of Wexford were nearly useless for want of good approaches by water; but such was their value that Lord Deputy Chichester recommended the English Government to establish a royal dock-yard at Ross.<sup>1</sup>

Offaly was distinguished for its extensive forests, which remained until the seventeenth century. In 1537 it was proposed that the castle of Trim should be repaired with four or five hundred great oaks, to be felled in Offaly. It is stated in the survey of this territory, made in 1550, that the island called Inchloghcowyr, the principal refuge of O'Conor, whenever this chieftain was hard pressed by his enemies, was "reputed a very fast place," being in the midst of a wide moor, and adjacent to "a great wood." The surveyor also noted that O'Conor had three eyries of goshawks in his woods. This was at the time of the construction of the forts of Maryborough and Philipstown, which, as Sir John Davies observed, were built "in the fastest places in Leinster;" and he added, that one effect of the establishment of garrisons in them was to waste the surrounding woods. Yet these ancient forests continued so undiminished in the time of Fynes Moryson that he speaks of them as "the great woods of Offaly." Besides these, there was a wood in the adjoining territory of Iregan, known as "O'Doyne's forest;" and the adjacent district of Fircall, the country of O'Mulloy, was as "strong as nature could devise to make it by wood and bogge." In 1557 the Earl of Sussex made a military expedition into this lesser region, expressly to expel the plundering *Cethern Coille*, or wood-kerne, as the annalists term these sylvan marauders, from their harbourage, when the whole country, from the *coillmor*, or great wood, was ravaged, to chastise its chieftain for protecting the plunderers, and the woods were cut down. Still, in 1599, the "fiery" Essex, when at the head of his fine army, found the passage in Fircall leading through the thick woods of Durrow so entrenched, plashed, and defended, that he avoided to pass that way, having experienced the hazardous nature of a similar passage when marching through the wood of Cashells, afterwards celebrated as the "Pass of Plumes." There was a pleasant jest of an English knight, Sir Edward Herbert, to whom a grant was made in this district, that "traitors were as plentiful in the court of England as in his woods of Durrow,"—the difference being, that the uncourtly rebels were the least concealed.

John dates one of his charters from "the wood of Thomas FitzAnthony," which we may suppose fringed the Nore near where

<sup>1</sup> State Paper Office.

<sup>2</sup> "Cal. Pat.," Jac. i., p. 123.



Fitz Anthony afterwards founded the still existing town which bears his name—Thomastown; but Kilkenny county was not remarkable for woods, except in the *Robhar*, or Rowre, and around the abbey of Graigue. The annalist of Kilkenny, Friar Clyn, records how, in 1331, after the slaughter of the Earl of Louth and nearly all the males of the Birmingham family, Sir William Birmingham, who was afterwards executed, and would seem to have instigated the act, fled with his family into the woods of the monks of Graigue, and remained there during the summer; and also how the marriage of Eustace, Lord le Poer, with one of the daughters of the slain Earl, was celebrated in this shady retreat. The hills of Ui-Duach, comprised in the present barony of Fassadinan (the *Fassagh*, or waste, of the Dineen river), were densely wooded until the iron forges of Sir Christopher Wandesforde consumed the timber. There were woods of considerable extent, also, on the border lands of the Queen's County and Kilkenny, in the neighbourhood of Durrow.

Our readers were first presented to Leinster when this region was too well clothed with wood to please the Saxon, and they have seen how, before three centuries passed by, English bills and axes had made an unremitting warfare against Irish trees, as English bows and bills against Irish men. It is out of our province to enter into the archaicisms of sylvan places in other parts of Ireland. We may be, however, tempted at some future time to become such an antiquarian WOOD-RANGER.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS  
OF  
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
FOR THE YEAR  
1857.  
NINTH SESSION.

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If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

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VOL. I.—PART II.

NEW SERIES.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M<sup>c</sup>GLASHAN AND GILL, 50, UPPER SACKVILLE-STREET.

1857.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

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Dublin : Printed at the University Press, by M. H. GILL.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS  
OF  
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
FOR THE YEAR 1857.

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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 14th (by adjournment from the 7th), 1857,

SAMSON CARTER, Esq., C. E., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

Lady Anna Maria Loftus, 63, Eaton-place, London; and Chichester Fortescue, Esq., M. P., Red House, Ardee: proposed by Rev. G. H. Reade.

Lieutenant-Colonel K'Eogh, Resident Magistrate, Ballina, county of Mayo; W. Andrew Armstrong, Esq., J. P., Rathmacknee, Wexford; J. A. Purefoy Colles, Esq., L. R. C. S. I., Assistant-Surgeon, North Tipperary Regiment; J. Macnamara Cantwell, Esq., Cantwell's Court, Kilkenny, and 24, Lower Dominick-street, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. James Graves, Hon. Sec.

Richard Nugent, Esq., 1, Gloucester-terrace, Belgravia, London: proposed by T. C. Mossom Meekins, Esq.

Rev. P. J. Lenihan, P. P., East Greenwich, Rhode Island, United States; and Felix J. Quinn, Esq., C. E., Enniskillen: proposed by Edward Fitzgerald, Esq.

James O'Mahony, Esq., Bandon: proposed by R. R. Brash, Esq.

Thomas P. Littleton, Esq., Cashel: proposed by P. Aylward, Esq.

P. J. Dillon, Esq., King-street, Kilkenny; proposed by J. G. A. Prim, Hon. Sec.

The Honorary Secretary then read the following Annual Report for 1856:—

The conclusion of your Eighth Session affords your Committee an opportunity of congratulating the Members on the satisfactory progress which the Society has made during the past year. At the six meetings which were held in 1856, 112 new Members were proposed and elected, leaving, after the deduction of 20 names removed in consequence of death, non-payment of subscriptions, and other causes, a clear gain of 92. Amongst those whom the hand of death has removed from amongst us the Society has deep cause to lament the loss of Richard Hitchcock, Esq., one of its earliest Members, and most useful and enthusiastic supporters. When you are told that, owing to his exertions, the list of Members has been increased by over 100 names; that his able assistance in correcting the proof-sheets of the "Journal" was ungrudgingly and unsparingly afforded to the Secretaries; and that on several occasions he had presented engravings to illustrate the Journal,—but a very feeble expression will have been given of the sense entertained by your Committee of the untiring exertions made by Mr. Hitchcock to advance the interests of the Society. Warm in his friendships, characterized by principles the most honourable and strictly upright, he will long be regretted by his personal friends; whilst those whose pursuits were congenial to his own will retain a vivid impression of the disinterested zeal for the advancement of Irish archæology by which he was actuated. In the abstruse department of our ancient Ogham monuments his exertions were indefatigable: he devoted himself to the collection and registering of such monuments, noting accurately their situations, and making *fac-similes* of the inscriptions wherever discovered. Professor Graves has already publicly expressed the high sense entertained by him of Mr. Hitchcock's labours in this field: indeed, his name must ever be associated with those of Professor Graves and Mr. Windele in connexion with the study of this most difficult branch of Irish antiquities. Of the extreme accuracy and untiring diligence which were the ruling features of his mind, several papers on topographical subjects, chiefly connected with his native and beloved county of Kerry, which from time to time he communicated to the Society, afford ample proof; and even in his last illness he found time for a short but interesting communication, which has been printed in the November part of the "Journal."

With the year 1856 a New Series of the Society's "Journal" was commenced. This step was rendered necessary by the unwillingness of new Members to place on their shelves an imperfect set of the Society's publications; the fact of the first volume having been long out of print rendering it impossible for the Secretaries to supply complete series. The impression of the New Series of the "Journal" amounts to 850; yet so numerous have been the accessions to the Society, that there remain on hands but 150 copies, thus rendering it advisable that all who wish to obtain perfect sets of the New Series should lose no time in securing copies whilst they are available. It is hoped that the New Series will be found not to have fallen off in value and interest as compared with the earlier volumes of the Society's publications.

The first part of the "Annuary" of the Society has been placed in the

hands of those who subscribed for it, but the continuation of the work must depend on the measure of support afforded. Much matter of an important and interesting nature is ready for publication if the necessary funds are subscribed; but your Committee cannot venture to incur further risk until more fully supported by the Members at large.

The appeal made to the Members for the formation of a fund by donations has been by many liberally responded to. But to effect the objects set forth in the circular which has been placed in the hands of Members, it is necessary that the Members at large should contribute their *quota*: were each even to double his subscription for the present year, the Society would be thereby enabled to carry into effect many desirable objects.

The Honorary Secretaries have, during the past year, been engaged in exertions to promote the preservation from further ruin of the noble Abbey of Dunbrody, in the county of Wexford; but, they regret to state, as yet without effect. They feel, however, loath to despair of final success, as the noble owner of the Abbey (Lord Templemore) must be conscious of the importance of preserving from impending destruction a building which forms so striking an ornament to his property, and affords such a matchless example of the piety, skill, and taste of our ancestors.

Your Committee, in conclusion, would earnestly seek to impress on the attention of Members the absolute necessity which exists for prompt payment in advance of their small annual subscriptions. *Surely, that often a twelfth part of the entire amount should be expended in the collection, is a grievous misapplication of the funds of the Society!* And yet, if Members will not take the trouble to recollect that the claims of printers, &c., must be paid, and that their subscriptions are due on January 1st in each year, it follows that repeated applications must be made to them. Hence arises a very considerable expenditure of money and labour, which would be far better expended on the "Journal" of the Society, thus rendering to each Member individually better value for the money he has paid, instead of merely serving to increase the revenue of her Majesty's Post-office.

The Report having been unanimously adopted, and the consideration of the arrangements for printing the Society's "Journal" for the present year proceeded with, it was—"Resolved, that Mr. Gill's estimate for printing having been taken into consideration, and adopted, in order to meet his reasonable demand for half-yearly settlements, the Members of the Society be called on to pay in their subscriptions promptly on the 1st of January in each year, as by the Society's Rules they are bound to do."

On the suggestion of the Chairman, it was—"Resolved, that in case more than one application be rendered necessary by want of punctuality in the payment of subscriptions, the additional postage incurred should be added to the subscriptions.

The Acting Treasurer said that, although many of the Members, apparently from forgetfulness, were tardy in sending in their subscriptions, yet at the end of each year very few, indeed, remained in arrear; all that could be complained of was that they did not all pay at once in the beginning of the year, and that many of them

required numerous "reminders." Some half-dozen Members seemed to have been struck with conscientious scruples at having taxed the Society's funds for so many applications to "pay up," and when sending their subscriptions had added the additional postage to the amount. Their example certainly was most worthy of general imitation.

It was Resolved, that the previous Officers of the Society be re-elected for the present year, with the following—

## COMMITTEE :

JAMES S. BLAKE, Esq., J. P., Barrister-at-Law.  
 REV. JOHN BROWNE, LL. D.  
 JOSEPH BURKE, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.  
 SAMSON CARTER, Esq., C. E., M. R. I. A.  
 HERBERT F. HORE, Esq.  
 JOHN JAMES, Esq., L. R. C. S. I.  
 REV. PHILIP MOORE, R. C. C.  
 MATTHEW O'DONNELL, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.  
 JOHN O'DONOVAN, Esq., LL. D.  
 REV. JOHN O'HANLON, R. C. C.  
 THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF WATERFORD.  
 JOHN WINDELE, Esq.

It was also "Resolved, that the Treasurer's accounts for the past year should, in accordance with the General Rules, be brought up at the March Meeting, and that Mr. J. G. Robertson and Mr. P. O'Callaghan be requested to act as Auditors."

The Secretary then read the following protest :—

"We, the undersigned, hereby protest against the Kilkenny Archæological Society being made the medium of misrepresenting the Irish character, by the publication of such documents as that of *Thomas Dinley*, at page 170 of the September Number. We joined the Society, believing it to be established for the purpose of developing *useful* antiquities, not of circulating *unfounded statements* concerning our native land. We deem it our duty to make this our protest against such unjustifiable conduct, and to require of the Committee to publish this expression of our dissent in the next Number of the Transactions of the Society.

"JOHN SPEATT, D. D.

"PETER WARD, P. P., Turlough.

"MARTIN A. O'BRENNAN, 57, Bolton-street,  
 "Author of 'Ancient Ireland.'

"*Dublin, December 9, 1856.*"

It was then proposed by John F. Shearman, Esq., seconded by John James, Esq., F. R. C. S. I., and—

"Resolved, that having received and considered this protest, we order it to be inserted on the Minutes; at the same time, it is the sense of the Meeting that the Society, by its Rules, is not identified with any expressions or statements to be found in the document alluded to, which has been printed solely as an archaeological curiosity, and as forming a portion of a larger MS., calculated to throw much light (both by drawings and descriptions, of which the portion yet to be printed solely consists) on the architectural and monumental remains of Ireland."

The Rev. James Graves laid on the table a large folio volume, containing the newspaper reports of the Society's Proceedings, from its formation in February, 1849, to the end of the year 1853. These reports had been collected, arranged, and bound by the late Mr. Richard Hitchcock, and were now, in pursuance of his expressed intentions, presented to the Society by his widow. In consequence of the smallness of their funds, the earlier volumes of the Society's publications comprised merely a selection of the matters brought before the various Meetings, full reports of which were alone afforded by the local newspaper press. This greatly enhanced the value of the present donation. The destination of this volume by the lamented compiler afforded another strong proof of the deep interest which he took in everything connected with this Society.

A small collection of ancient coins, from her late husband's cabinet, was also sent for presentation by Mrs. Hitchcock, to whom a special vote of thanks was then voted by the Meeting.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for December, November, and January.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 51.

By the London and Middlesex Archæological Society: their "Transactions," Vol. I. part 1.

By the Sussex Archæological Society: their "Archæological Collections," Vol. VIII.

By the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society: their "Proceedings" for 1855.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 718 to 727, inclusive.  
By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 16.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," Third Series, No. 9.

By the Cambrian Institute: their "Journal," part 12.

By the Author, T. L. Donaldson, Esq.: "Memoir of the Commandatore Canina, and History of Alnwick Castle:" London, 1856.



By the Author, Martin A. O'Brennan, Esq., LL. D. : "An Essay on Ireland:" Dublin, 1856.

By Clayton Savage, Esq. : a farthing of King Charles II., in good preservation, and a manuscript of the year 1708, both of which had been found in the roof of Kilcreene House, when being newly slated in 1839. The document was an order for £11 10s., drawn on Alderman Josias Haydock by Robert Fitzgerald, collector of the rents of the Duke of Ormonde; and it is supposed to have been carried into the roof of the house by mice. Kilcreene House appears to have been built some time before the year in which the document was written, by Alderman Haydock, whose daughter was mother of Sir William Haydock Morres, of Kilcreene, who represented Kilkenny city in the Irish Parliament for a considerable period, in the middle of the last century.

By Mr. Lawless : an ancient paper-clip.

By S. Atkin, Esq. : a small perforated stone, of the class known as "fairy millstones."

The Rev. John O'Hanlon communicated the following remarks to the Society, which were heartily concurred in by the Members present :—

"At the half-yearly meeting of the Mining Company of Ireland, held on the 1st day of January, 1857, Edward Atkinson, Esq., Chairman of the Company, presiding; after the Annual Report of the Directors and Statement of the Accounts had been submitted by the Secretary, the Chairman, in moving their adoption, amongst other remarks, said :—

"The ruins of the ancient church of Glendalough were now in possession of the Company, and it was a consideration how far it was their duty to do something—not to restore the building—but to preserve it from total decay. The Board being of opinion, that as these relics of ancient times were considered of sufficient interest, from the peculiar circumstances attaching to them as connected with the history of the country, to induce eminent men from all countries to visit them, that it is their duty to prevent them, at least, from going to total ruin."

"The foregoing creditable recommendations appear to have met with a hearty and approving response from all the shareholders present, and the Directors are justly entitled to the gratitude and respect of every archaeologist and enlightened patriot in the country, for the resolutions to which they have given expression. There is an example worthy the imitation of every holder of landed property throughout Ireland, and furnishes a just rebuke to the acts of individuals who are said to have perpetrated desecrations, at no remote period, on the venerable objects and remains of this valley of Glendalough. The name of one individual is well remembered in this locality, but held in no especial veneration; as the words of a ballad familiar to the peasantry of the district testify, which says—

" ' He cut down the sacred yew  
That holy Kevin planted.'

The desecration of the burial-ground of the Priory of St. Saviour is still vividly remembered, and related to travellers, by the local guides. Let us trust that, henceforth, we shall not have such instances of Vandalism to place upon record."

It was resolved that the thanks of the Society should be given to the Mining Company of Ireland for the laudable example set by their resolution to preserve from injury, and desecration, the far-famed architectural antiquities of Glendalough, of which they have become the proprietors.

The following communications were sent by Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq., comprising extracts from letters in the State Paper Office:—

"In 1574, the seventeenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that august lady took scandal at the luxurious excess to which the dress of her courtiers was carried. The reader well acquainted with the portraits of Elizabeth may be surprised to hear that 'the neck attire called ruffs,' with huge, wide sets (*involutris voluminosa*), attracted her especial displeasure. She had discovered that large sums annually left her kingdom for the purchase of silks and other costly stuffs, and, with the prompt decision, the unbending will of the house of Tudor, she resolved to put a stop to the evil, to restore the *patrius cultus*, and to compel every man to conform himself in apparel to a certain prescribed fashion. Her Highness was a scholar, and a lady of extensive reading, and could scarcely be unacquainted with the various attempts of sovereigns of all ages, and of all lands, who had, like herself, taken offence at the vanity of dress, and the extravagance that accompanies it: she was herself able to remember proclamations upon the subject by her father and sister, and she knew what had been uniformly the result of these royal attempts at reformation. In order to succeed where they had failed, she resolved, with peculiar shrewdness, to eschew, in the first instance, the extreme proceeding of a proclamation, and to encounter one vanity by another, a costly by a cheap one. She determined at once to remodel the attire of her personal attendants, and to make homely dress the fashion. At this precise period my Lord Clanrickard was, by very slender instalments, paying off a tailor's bill of some standing, and incurring new charges for the clothing of the two young rebels, his sons, named in the bills 'Mr. Burke' and 'Darby.' It would appear that he compromised for indulging himself in a few 'outlandish braveries,' by attiring his sons in canvas, fustian, and leather.

"1578, August 20th.—*My Lord Clanrickard's Tailor's Bill.*

To the Earle of Clanrickarde.

Item for 3 doz: of bottones for your dublet . . . . .	12 <sup>s</sup>
Item for making your dublet of sattin and hose of lace velvett . . . . .	20 <sup>s</sup>
For 7 doz: and half of lace to the same at two shillings the dozen . . . . .	15 <sup>s</sup>
For silk unto the same hose . . . . .	3 <sup>s</sup> 9 <sup>d</sup>

2 M

For half a yard of fustian to foote two paire of stockes and for foting them . . . . .	12 <sup>d</sup>
Item for a skaine of silk to mend your rosset sattin hose . . . . .	2 <sup>d</sup>

## More unto the Earle of Clanrickarde.

Item for making your cloke of fine puke . . . . .	5 <sup>s</sup>
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More unto the Earle of Clanrickarde.  
20th of August 1578.

Item for making your dublet of sattin, cut rased and laced . . . . .	5 <sup>s</sup>
Item for making your hose of sattin cut and rased . . . . .	5 <sup>s</sup>
Item for sowling two paire of stockes with fustian; one paire of morre, and the other paire of rossett . . . . .	12 <sup>d</sup>
Sum: pag <sup>e</sup> . . . . .	56 <sup>s</sup> 11 <sup>d</sup>

Received in parte of payment . . . . .	30 <sup>s</sup>
More received . . . . .	20 <sup>s</sup>
More received in parte of payment . . . . .	20 <sup>s</sup>

## More unto the Earle of Clanrickarde for Mr. Bourke.

Item for making his dublet of yellow canvas pinckt for the 9th June 1578 . . . . .	5 <sup>s</sup>
Item for making of his Venicion hose . . . . .	4 <sup>s</sup>
Item for a paire of leather pockets to the same . . . . .	6 <sup>d</sup>

## More for Mr. Bourke.

Item for making his hose of new sad collored broad clothe . . . . .	13 <sup>s</sup> 8 <sup>d</sup>
Item for sowling a paire of ash collored sockes . . . . .	6 <sup>d</sup>
Sum: pag <sup>e</sup> . . . . .	23 <sup>s</sup> 8 <sup>d</sup>

More unto the Earle of Clanrickarde for Darby,  
17 March 1578.

Item for making his green Venicion hose . . . . .	2 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>
for a q <sup>t</sup> of an ounce of silk for traunslating his rounde hose of leather . . . . .	12 <sup>d</sup>

## More for Darby 15th June 1578.

Item for making his browne canvas dublet . . . . .	4 <sup>s</sup>
for an Elle & half of browne canvas to make the same at 20 <sup>d</sup> the Elle . . . . .	2 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>
For four yards half of long clothe to line it at four pence the yard . . . . .	19 <sup>d</sup>
For 20 yards of lace to the same . . . . .	20 <sup>d</sup>

For white thread to sowe the lace of the forsaid dublet, and to make botten holles . . . . .	6 <sup>s</sup>
For three dozen blue and white thread bottones to the forsaid dublet . . . . .	6 <sup>s</sup>
For half a yard of Elle broad Taffetta to face the forsaid dublet . . . . .	21 <sup>d</sup>

More for Darbie.

Item for making of his white fustian dublet cut and laced . . . . .	5 <sup>s</sup>
Sum: pag <sup>s</sup> . . . . .	21 <sup>s</sup>

“The usual abode of the Earl of Clanrickard was so remote from the sphere of her Majesty, that the radiance of royal example reached him but feebly: indeed, the very laws of her Highness sometimes failed to pass the frontiers of his distant country, and, therefore, some allowance may be made for his partial adoption of the homely fashions it was her wish to introduce. But there dwelt in greater proximity to her court a numerous body of her subjects, over whom she could exercise such control as it pleased her in the article of dress and many other particulars. Residing under the parental care of Sir Owen Hopton, leading rather sedentary lives, furnished by her Majesty’s bounty with ‘keepe, fewell, attendaunce, and other necessaries,’ and with only such restraint upon their liberty as the regulations of the Tower required, there dwelt from time to time notable men of all classes, from the great nobleman like the Earl of Clanrickard, to the poor seminary priest, who accepted without delay or murmur any change in their costume that might be judged suitable or becoming to them; and we are fortunately in possession of many details concerning their attire, from which we may learn the cost, and presume ‘the conformity to the prescribed fashion’ which her Majesty commanded in the seventeenth year of her glorious reign. It is gratifying to perceive that in some few instances—I think two, in the course of eight years—HATS were furnished to individuals in that numerous family of the Lieutenant, implying that they occasionally walked abroad amongst their fellow-creatures. Other curious matters may also be found, as the reader will perceive, in the Tower bills of domestic expenses; such, for example, as the use and price of ‘warmynge pannes;’ the fact that in the course of eight years one person demanded a ‘Bible in Englishe,’ and that the sum of 13s. was paid for the same. There is one unpleasant little group of charges opposite the name of a countryman of ours, which serves to show that Sir Owen Hopton had occasionally forced upon him the painful duty of paternal chastisement; but for this, so bountiful, so indulgent, so careful of the warmth, cleanliness, and health of his inmates does this functionary appear to have been, that the precise nature of his establishment would not be apparent from his bills. The single unruly member of the Hopton family was a man of some notoriety in his day. Long after he was supposed to be in safe custody, he suddenly appeared, half naked, on the walls of Cork,—the ‘conformity to the prescribed fashion’ he had found, probably, inconvenient for public travelling. He was taken before the Mayor, who, ‘eyeing him well,’

saw through an adopted name, ascertained that he had broken prison, and sent him back to 'boulds, manackles, and shackylls.' By the return of the stray lamb to London a direful purpose of Cecil was defeated: his sentence awaited him in Cork, where no formalities would have reprieved him; but, once in England, all that the powerful minister could do was to write on the margin of his bills, 'to be proceeded with by Justyce;' notwithstanding which, he continued wearing the Queen's new shoes, hose, 'stockynes,' and other matters, for several years."

The following are the extracts from the Tower Bills alluded to:—

"The demaundes of Sir Owen Hopton Knight Lewitennant of Her Majesty's Tower of London for the Diette and other Charges of Prisonn<sup>rs</sup> in his Custodie &c.

In primis. Fewell, and Lights at y <sup>e</sup> rat of vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> per weeke.	
Item Dubblett and hose of Fustyan . . . . .	xvij <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a payre of Stockyns . . . . .	iv <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> Washing xiv whole weeks . . . . .	v <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> ij sherts & ij bandes . . . . .	xvij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> For a sute of apparel . . . . .	xvij <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> A Cloake . . . . .	xxxv <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a Hatte . . . . .	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a Gerdle . . . . .	xij <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a payre of Shooes . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> iv <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> Fower Handkerchiefs . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> iv <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> A Gowne . . . . .	xxj <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a Sheepske and Mending hose . . . . .	xii <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> ij Shirts . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> Canvas for a Bedd . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> Barber . . . . .	vj <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> Ruge Gowne . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> A payre of Stockyns and Garters . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a Dussen of Pointes . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a Hatte and Brushe . . . . .	vj <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> Half a Dussen of Bandes and Cuffes . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a Gerdle and Gloves . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a Warmyng Panne . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> iv <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a Bason and ij dishes of Pewter . . . . .	xij <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> a Payre of Shooes and a payre of Pantoffles . . . . .	iv <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> For an Englyshe Bible . . . . .	xij <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> A payre of Mannacles, and for mendinge the Shackylles	ij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>m</sup> For ij Staples iv hengis, and a bould for a Pryson Dore	ij <sup>s</sup>

The Rev. John O'Hanlon, sent the following continuation of his researches in the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park, relative to the King's County:—

'The matters, as contained in the Index relating to the Ordnance Survey for the King's County, are thus enumerated:—I. Names and Descrip-

tions from Down Survey (see Leinster, vol. i.). II. Extracts, two volumes. III. Common-place Book, "O," at Miscel. IV. Rough Index to Irish part of ditto (viz., Extracts), not arranged. V. Letters, two volumes. VI. Name-books, 70. VII. Parish and Barony Names, one volume. VIII. Memorandums, one volume. IX. County Index to Names on Maps, one volume. X. Memoir Papers; see detailed list annexed. XI. Sketch, one. To enter, therefore, on a minute description of each, it may be observed, that No. I. will be found to contain the King's County Index to Barony and Parish Names, included in the Leinster, vol. i. pp. 400, 401. Then follow the names of the Baronies, Parishes, and Townlands, from pp. 403 to 493. Then follow a few blank pages, and afterwards a 'General Description of the King's County, extracted from the Down Survey.' I find written under the title, in pencil characters, 'Index included in the Index to Barony and Parish Lists preceding.' This description is included within pp. 501 to 598, a few blank leaves intervening. This description also contains the 'Extracts from the Burned Volume of the King's County,' commencing at p. 567. At the foot of this page I find, written in pencil characters, 'The Index included in that of Barony and Parishes preceding.' This Down Survey, Leinster, vol. i., is in folio, and contains the counties of Carlow, Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny, King's County, Longford, and Louth.

II. Extracts, two volumes.—Vol. i. is preceded by an Index of names of places referred to, in the body of the volume, in five columns. The extracts are from the 'Annals of the Four Masters;' from those of 'Clonmacnoise;' from the Irish of the 'Battle of Moylena;' from O'Flaherty's 'Ogygia;' from the 'Irish Calendar;' from Lanigan; Harris' 'Ware;' Mr. Petrie's 'Collection on Clonmacnoise;' 'Liber Regalis Visitationis;' Archdall; Colgan; and Ussher; in 468 closely written quarto pages. Vol. ii. contains extracts from Cambrensis's 'Topography,' 'Annals of Innisfallen,' Seward's 'Topography,' Carlisle's 'Topographical Dictionary,' Mac Firbis's translation from the 'Registry of Clonmacnoise' for Sir James Ware ('Leabhar Breac,' 'Annals of Tighernach,' of Ulster, and of Kilronan, O'Dugan's 'Topographical Poem,' O'Huidhrin's 'Topographical Poem,' Mac Firbis's 'Book of Ballymote,' 'Poem on Hugh O'Byrne,' 'Book of Lecan,' 'Adventures of Conall Gulban,' Mac Firbis's 'Pedigrees,' Keating).—all included within brackets, in the Irish character, for the most part in the handwriting of Messrs. Curry and O'Keefe,—Moryson's 'Ireland,' Inquisitions, Mac Geoghegan, Hardiman's 'Irish Minstrelsy,' and queries of Mr. O'Donovan, with letters from Messrs. Petrie and O'Keefe, besides other extracts from the sources indicated in vol. i. This vol. ii. contains 360 closely written quarto pages. I have been thus minute, in order to give our Members an idea of the matter likely to be found in the Kilkenny and Queen's County excerpts, where I did not enter into particulars.

III. The Common-place Book "O" may be considered as a continuation of the Extracts. It contains extracts from the 'Liber Regalis Visitationis,' the Latin 'Life of St. Kieran, Abbot of Clonmacnoise' (not yet published), and a curious French 'Généalogie de la tres-Noble & tres-illustre Maison des O'Cahane-s communément nommée par les Anglois O'Kean ou meme Kean, en supprimant l' O', comme un titre odieux à cette nation qui a voulu regler, determiner, fixer, annoblir, avilir, abaisser les differentes maisons du Royaume d'Irlande, selon maxime invariable de tout peuple

conquéran't qui fixe tout relativement à ses intérêts dans l'ordre civil, militaire et Politique;' a Spanish extract, transcribed from an original document, which was in the possession of the Rev. Mr. O'Moore, a Spanish ecclesiastic (bearing an Irish name) residing in London, and who was engaged in compiling a History of the De Lacy family. The following is the prefixed Spanish title:—'La Familia De Lacy se divide en tres ramos quel son. 1. Lacy de Ballingary. 2. Lacy de Bruff. 3. Lacy de Bruree.' Both these extracts are interesting, in a genealogical point of view, as referring to members of the said families in Ireland and in France and Spain, with their female alliances, and their civil and military positions abroad. This volume is only numbered to the end of the 'Liber Regalis Visitationis,' including 271 pages, with Index to the Diocese on last page. On counting the remainder of the volume, I find 41 pages additional; in all, 312 very closely written quarto pages. IV. Of the Rough Index to Irish part of Extracts referring to the King's County, I find 71 loose folio leaves, and loosely written, only on one side. V. The King's County Letters are in two volumes, quarto.—Vol. i. is preceded by a well-arranged Index in Mr. O'Lalor's handwriting, as also may be observed of vol. ii.—Vol. i. contains twenty-one truly admirable antiquarian letters, written by Mr. O'Donovan, the first of which is dated Portarlington, December 18, 1837, and the last Banagher, January 18, 1838. Three of these letters were written from Portarlington, nine from Tullamore, and nine from Banagher. They contain pen-and-ink sketches of the ancient districts of the King's County, many of the names of the old territories, written in the Irish character, being on these maps. I could not possibly describe how completely and accurately these maps are drawn, nor how indispensable copies of them would be for the future historian of the King's County. But what are these even to the accurate descriptions of the ancient territories, with their exact limits proved to a demonstration? The learning, research, and industry of our distinguished countryman, in matters connected with Irish history and antiquities, are truly prodigious, and this at a period of life when he was a very young man. In this volume are included a traced map of territories in the ancient lordship of Ui Failge (O'Connor Faly's country), a copy of an old map of Leax and Ophaly (preserved in Trin. Coll., Dub.), and a map of the diocese of Kildare, from Beaufort's 'Ecclesiastical Map.' Mr. O'Connor wrote five letters, the first dated Tullamore, January 1, 1838, and the last, Banagher, January 16, 1838. Three of these were written at Tullamore, and two at Banagher. The whole number of letters, therefore, in vol. i., is twenty-six, in 272 closely written pages. Vol. ii. contains twelve letters written by Mr. O'Donovan, and eleven by Mr. O'Connor. The first of these letters, written by Mr. O'Donovan, is dated Banagher, January 20, 1838, and the last, Roscrea, February 10, 1838. He wrote one letter from Banagher, eight letters from Birr, and three from Roscrea. The first of Mr. O'Connor's letters is dated Banagher, January 21, 1838, and the last, Roscrea, February 11, 1838. He wrote one from Banagher, five from Birr, and five from Roscrea. In this volume are included a trace of the King's County, from engraved map of the Down Survey, and a most valuable hand sketch, with territories marked upon it, by Mr. O'Donovan. I should remark that, in all the Ordnance Survey Letters, there are occasional extracts in a different handwriting, arranged and

bound up with the letters, to illustrate certain passages in them. Thus, it will be seen that vol. ii. comprises twenty-three letters in all, contained in 208 closely written pages. VI. The Name Books are seventy in all, that is, about one for each parish in the county. Descriptions of the parish and its several townlands will be found in each of these. VII. The Parish and Barony Names will be found in a thin quarto volume, containing 61 pages, with Index prefixed, 2 additional pages. Various spellings are here given for the several parishes, with the Irish name in the Irish character, and the English translation, in Mr. O'Donovan's handwriting, on the top of every alternate page. I should remark, that there are double the number of pages enumerated, as only alternate pages are marked with figures. VIII. Memorandums.—The volume thus entitled is in quarto, and is preceded by two Indexes, on 3 pages, in double columns. One Index refers to Memorandums, the other to Extracts. Besides, there are 7 pages of Index in double columns, signed 'W. Mooney, 12th Nov., 1838.' This W. Mooney is brother of Mr. Joseph Mooney, the present Chief Clerk in the Ordnance Survey Office. These memoranda were for the most part forwarded, from the various localities of the King's County, by the officers of the Ordnance Survey there engaged; and the queries they contained, chiefly with regard to antiquarian features of the country, were answered underneath by extracts, copied from the letters written by Mr. O'Donovan and Mr. O'Connor, and forwarded to the questioner. We usually find added in a note, opposite the information, 'inserted on the plan.' This had reference to the filling up of a map for the purposes of the engraver. There are some notes and letters of local gentry and clergymen, inserted in this volume, who courteously furnished information for the use of the Ordnance Survey staff. This volume contains 161 variously written pages, mostly in close handwriting. IX. County Index to Names on Maps is contained in one folio volume of 114 pages; the pages, however, are not numbered. We have the names of townlands, with the parishes and baronies in which they are situated, written on slips, and copied in neat writing, for the use of the engravers. X. Memoir Papers.—The only memoirs I can find is a pen-and-ink bird's-eye view plan of the old churches of Clonmacnoise, restored to their imaginary original shape and appearance, with their relative positions, and those of ancient crosses in the cemetery, which appears enclosed. This sketch is headed—'Ecclesiarum & Cæmeterii Clonmacnoisæ Descriptio,' and is very curious, although on a small scale. There are letters marked on the plan, referring to the following Index beneath:—A. Temple Kerab. B. Temple Ri. C. Temple Conor. D. Temple Velly. E. Temple M'Dermot. F. Temple Hurpan. G. Temple Espic. H. Temple Gauny. I. Temple Killin. K. Temple Finian. Underneath is written, 'W. Hollar, fecit.' There is one sheet of note-paper, written in faded ink, and headed 'Clonmacnoise.' It is descriptive of the state of the ruins at the place, but has neither date nor signature. I am inclined to think it like Mr. Petrie's handwriting; but of this I cannot be certain. After a careful examination of the parcel in which these scraps were contained, I could find nothing else referring to the King's County. XI. The only sketch referring to this county is one in pen and ink, about 6 inches by 10. It is one of Garry Castle, by an *amateur* artist apparently, whose name is affixed, but the characters are so illegible, I am unable to



make them out. It is tolerably well executed; but there appear to have been no professional artists employed on the Ordnance Survey of the King's County. In closing this accurate list of the papers contained in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, referring to the King's County, might I be permitted to suggest how desirable it would be for persons living in the various localities of Ireland, whose antiquarian features have not yet been sketched, to forward drawings of old ruins, objects, &c., at present existing, accurately designed, to any of our Archæological Societies? Thus, I am sure, a collection of such drawings would be acceptable to the Council and Members of the Royal Irish Academy, to the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, &c. The storms and commotions of the elements that pass over our heads disarrange the present form, and, frequently, totally destroy many of those memorials of the olden time; not to speak of the injury done, from year to year, by neglecting to preserve those ruins, or the Vandalism so often exercised, by removing every vestige that would give us an idea of the former purposes for which they were destined."

The Rev. James Graves called attention to a remarkable ring of gold, represented in the accompanying plate. The antique was at present in the possession of Mr. James H. Greaves, of Cork. Although termed "ring-money" by its present owner, it was plainly an armlet, though of very unusual, if not unique, fashion.

The Rev. Duncan M'Callum sent the following communication on the frequent intercourse of Irish with the Scottish Highlanders:—

"The two nations, the Scots and Irish, speaking the same language, and separated only by a few hours' sailing, had frequently visited each other, and had frequent intercourse to a late date. The writer of this paper remembers them trucking fine linen of the one island for woollen stuff of the other. This was in the last century. But there has been closer connexion, and more familiar intercourse between them in former times.

"The Scots or Highlanders went to the college of the bards in Ireland and studied under the famous sacerdotal order of the Celts. Every Highland chieftain in those days kept a bard, who was held in high respect, and was esteemed a sacred character. When he lived not in the family, he had in possession a farm, as the Mac Vurichs. The famous bards of Clanrouald, the eldest branch of the Mac Donald clan, held in Uist the largest island of the Hebrides, and is known at this day as *Baile Bhaird*, the farm of the bard. The high office was hereditary in this great family. The son succeeded the father, and could reckon eighteen generations. They commonly went to Ireland to perfect them in the art or science. Mac Vurich was the shenachi—historian or genealogist—as well as bard; and one of them left a written history, and some ancient Gaelic poetry, in the book entitled '*An Leabhar-Dearg*.' The bard of a chieftain might be of another clan. The Mac Vurichs were so famous, that other chiefs also employed them.

"It may appear singular that the old bards disliked the music of the bagpipes. They used the harp, and preferred it, previous to the celebrated Mac Crumins, of the isle of Skye, where there was a college of pipers.



*(Full Size.)*  
Unique Specimen of  
**GOLD RING "MONEY."**  
Found in the Co. Waterford.

*Wt. 1 oz. 10 dwts.*

In the possession of JAS H. GREAVES, Marlboro' St Cork.

Apprentices were sent to them from distant quarters, who composed pipe-tunes, and became themselves performers. Modern Gaelic poets adopted their music, and composed some excellent pieces, as *Bein dourain*, and *Mola-Moraig*.

“There was a third class, that visited either islands in their turn, viz., the minstrels. They sung their compositions. They were welcome wherever they went, were entertained in the first families, and well rewarded. As the Druids brought the faculty of memory to the highest state of perfection during the long period of time attending their institution, the bards, who were the order next to the priests, committed 50,000 verses to memory; so that they had an immense store of poetry in reserve for all occasions, whether their own or others’ compositions. The minstrels added music, which enhanced very much the value in which their acquirements were held. The most popular of their pieces long survived the age of minstrelsy. Some Irish poems have been taken from oral recitation, and inserted in collections of Gaelic poetry. I might mention several; but will confine myself to one—*Mali Bheag Og*, which is well known over the Highlands of Scotland, and is much esteemed for its beautiful air and pathos. The subject is a melancholy one: a young man fell in love with a female of high rank; he entered the army, distinguished himself, and returned an officer. The reciprocal passion being increased by absence, brought the lovers again together. As her father would not give his consent, the beautiful daughter eloped with the handsome officer. The sire pursued with a party, and, overtaking the lovers, a struggle ensued. The officer, being an excellent swordsman, drew, and, to prevent bloodshed, the fair one rushed between them, and received the blow that was intended to be given the most forward of the party. He threw away his sword, was imprisoned, and condemned, but, becoming insane, was, after a long confinement, liberated. He came across to Cantire, a peninsula of the county of Argyle, and wandered through the country. Poor *Leaghlán Hágai* (young Lachlan) was known to many here a century ago. He composed the poem called *Mali Bheag Og*, or, Young little Mary, during his confinement, of which the words are plaintive and touching, and the air is inimitable.”

Mr. McCallum contributed a metrical English version of the song alluded to. He also wished to have it stated, that the words “Iar-rion” and “Hebridæ,” at p. 106, line 42, and p. 107, line 11, *supra*, should be printed “Iar-inn” and “Æbridæ;” and believes the latter to be derived from Hubba, the leader of a Gothic race who were the first inhabitants of the islands commonly called Hebrides.

Richard Caulfield, Esq., contributed two original letters of Robert Clayton, Bishop of Cork, respectively dated December 6 and 20, 1753; and proving that the ancient cathedral of St. Finn-Barr was not demolished until after that year, from which must be dated the erection of the modern incongruous structure which serves as the cathedral of the diocese.

The following paper was then read.

THE "JOURNEY" OF THE BLACKWATER: FROM THE STATE PAPERS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY, ESQ.

WITHOUT question, the greatest risk England ever ran of losing her hold upon Ireland—or, in varied phrase, the greatest opportunity Ireland ever had of ridding her soil, at one sweep, of Normen, Palemen, and Undertakers—was after the great fight under the walls of the Fort of Blackwater. That day the valour and skill of an Irish chieftain almost achieved the freedom of his country; but, astonished at the very magnitude of his success, he lacked the decision to close "the barbarous hand" into which that great prize had fallen.

The rebellion of 1598 had long been foreseen by English statesmen; yet, so great was the Queen's aversion to the enormous charge attending the ordinary government of Ireland, that her ministers shrank from urging upon her the additional outlay requisite for any considerable increase of her army. As early as April, 1594, Sir George Carew had, "from his lodging in the Minorics," written a long letter to Cecyl to prove, not that rebellion was imminent,—for that he presumed the minister saw as clearly as he did,—but how a rebellion, to be successful, ought to be, and, no doubt, would be, conducted. His opinion of O'Neill was this:—"Tyrone having had his education in our discipline, and naturally valiant, is absolutely and worthily reputed the best man of war of his nation. The most part of his followers are well-trained soldiers, using our weapons, and himself the greatest man of territory and revenue within that kingdom; and at this present, by reason of his great alliance, and, as well for friendship as fear, the absolute commander of all the north of Ireland."

The warning of Carew met with little attention: some trifling supplies were sent to the army in Ireland; but when the rebellion broke out, the whole force there consisted but of 10,082 foot, and 521 horse, of which number about a third were mere Irish, "ready, to use the Queen's words, to run away and join the enemy against her."

In 1595 Sir Henry Russel, the youngest son of Francis, Earl of Bedford, succeeded Sir William Fitz-Williams as Lord Deputy of Ireland, and, "foreseeing a storm of war arising," applied for reinforcements and an experienced commander to be sent from England to his assistance. It was time! for the plans of O'Neill were ripe: he had assembled an army of 1000 horse and 6280 foot, not of the wild kerne of his own country, but of "expert soldiers, who had been trained and exercised to their arms, and had already served in

the wars of the Low Countries." No sooner did the tidings reach him of the coming of Sir John Norreys, with 1300 old soldiers who had served in Bretagne, than he at once burst into rebellion, and seized the Fort of Blackwater, which commanded the passage into the land of Tirowen. On the arrival of Norreys he was compelled to relinquish his prize; but not until he had wasted the surrounding country, and burned the town of Dungannon and his own house in it. The Queen's army was stopped at Armagh for want of provisions; a garrison was placed "within the metropolitan church" of that city, and the troops led back to Dublin, where, by proclamation, O'Neill was declared a traitor, by the name of Hugh O'Neill, and [grand]son of Mathew Fardareugh, i. e. the Blacksmith. Jealousies broke out between Norreys and Russel: the former entered into treaty with O'Neill, which led to a series of short truces; during which Russel was recalled, and a new Deputy, the Lord Borough, "a sharp-witted man, and full of courage," was appointed in his place. Norreys had expected that high post for himself: he sickened of the disappointment, and shortly after died of chagrin. O'Neill had again possessed himself of the Fort of Blackwater, and the Deputy at once led a force to recover it. He succeeded, strengthened its fortifications, and returned to Dublin, having confided the command of it this time to a gallant officer, of the name of Williams. Tyrone again led his "companies" to that Fort of evil omen, and the Deputy again marched to its relief. In mid journey he was stricken by sudden illness, and died, leaving the army without a leader, and Ireland without a governor. Williams, though his small force was half famished, and sickness was amongst them, refused to surrender the Fort. The garrison had eaten their last horse, and were living upon "grass that grew upon the bulwarks." O'Neill had surrounded the place on all sides, and "swore by his barbarous hand, that as long as he could get a cow from the English Pale to feed his companies, he would not leave it." In the meantime Ormond, a stern, cruel man, with a hand of steel and the heart of a lion,—the same who, fifteen years before, had trampled out the great rebellion of Desmond,—was appointed Lieutenant-General of the army; and, until the Queen could make up her mind to the selection of a new Deputy, the civil government of the country was placed in the hands of Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, Sir Robert Gardiner, and two or three others, with the title of Lords Justices; and never were the destinies of a nation confided to men more pusillanimous! The purpose of the following narrative is less to relate the fortunes of the Fort of the Blackwater, though a hero commanded within it, than to tell what happened under its walls; how the grandson of the blacksmith kept his "great oathes;" what the Lords Justices thought of it; and what Queen Elizabeth thought of *them*. Yet the gallant conduct of the officer who commanded the garrison well deserves its

own share of notice; and, therefore, before entering upon "the disastrous journey of Armagh," we will present the reader with the account of one day's assault, and the hero's speech, which—after the usage of times heroic—preceded it.

"1598. Aug<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>a</sup>. *A Book on the State of Ireland* by FRANCIS COSBIE.

"After this mishapp His Honor seeing no possible means to accomplish his desier except he had been able to have had another convenient army to have landed at Loghfoyle, and soe to have sett upon Therle Traytor on all sydes, victualled the Fort [of the Blackwater] placing therein as Counstable a valyant gentillman named Cap<sup>n</sup> Will<sup>m</sup>, with som ccc soldiers, and after brake up campe and returned to the Newry, where making but small abode drewe towards the Cavan in Owreylies country, and there placed Sir Christopher S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence commander of certaine companies there laide in garrison, and then repayred to Dublin; and there not contynuing long, for that he considered the proportion of victualls left with Capt<sup>n</sup> Williams at the Forte was neerehand consumed, drew thetherwards again with as much expediçion as might be; and even the same day he cam to Aramagh, Tiroane's forces had beleagured the forte, and in the ende the most valyantest men in his retynewe undertooke to wyne the same; for that they had pfect intelligence that the warde was not onely sick and un-serviceable for the moste pte, but all their victualls consumed; and so advauncing themselves upp upon their scaling ladders gave a most wonderfull and bould assault; contynuing the same very long w<sup>h</sup> greate resolucion, as well in their fighte, as contynuallye supplyinge of fresh men in the places of the slayne, hurte, and wyckened; and with great lyklehoode they had wonne the same at that instant if they had met with a cravynne, as they buckled w<sup>h</sup> a man of worthe; for the worthie constable Capt<sup>n</sup> Williams, when he saw the enemy first approaching to him with so great a resolucion, and assured of their intente, comforted his soldiers in the best manner he might, and tould them that now it was the tyme to shew themselves as beseemed men of their places fighting in the right of their Prince and country, wch if it were their fortunes to w<sup>h</sup>stande the enemies first assaulte, their natures and cowardyse was suche that either they would recule or fight in greater feare, to his and theire advantage; not doubting of the victory, by the help of God, wherefore hee wished them in generall, as well the whoole y<sup>t</sup> was very few, as the sicke psonnes that could stand up and but advance their weapons, and to do theire duties in that measure, as was fittinge for soldiers in their case, the sight of wch woulde be a terror to the enemy; and remembrynge lykewyse what reputation they should get either lyvinge or dyinge like men: where on the contrary pte, no more was to be expected at thenemies hands, if they should pvaile against them, and shame and infamy for ever if either they shoulde yeld their bodies as psoners, or by force to be taken by them lyke a sheepe going to the shambles, and therefore, said he, pull up your harts, for this hand of myne havinge a linstock therein, shall give fyer to this traigne, and bothe blowe youe and myself up into the skyes rather then those miscreants shall enioy this chardge of myne! Upon wch every man that was able to stand and hould a weapon beinge anymated to doe their

best, upon those former speeches, cried out We will dy with honor to the last man.

“ Then the Enemy being advanced to the top of the wall as aforesaid, and coveting by all means to enter, were in that manner received by the soldiers that the ditches were filled with their dead corpses; yet stood they to it right manfully, untill they sawe that the soldiers, contrary to their expectacions, purposed to fight it out to the last man, and for to make their payment sterlinge, the two feild peeces planted in very necessarie places w<sup>h</sup>in the forte, and charged w<sup>h</sup> muscet shot paid them their hyer bothe comynge, stayinge, and retourynge; and glad they were (although it is a custome among them to carrye away as many dead corpses and maymed men as they may), yet for all their cunninge they left xxxiiii behind them in the ditches, w<sup>h</sup> all their ladders, and some furniture, for a witness they had come there; but I ensuer you there was a nombre slaigne and hurte that were conveyed away, and very few of the warde either slaigne or hurte. Upon the next day the Lo. Deputy drewe towards the forte, and at his arryvall made an oracion to the constable and soldiers greatlie commendynge boath him and them for their good service; and after he had victualled the forte; and supplied the same with fresh and able soldiers, he stayed there not long.”

Captain Williams had done the *devoir* of a brave commander; and his half famished garrison, as well the “ sicke as the whoole,” had taught O’Neill what English soldiers could do when fighting in the right of their Prince. The Irish chieftain profited by the lesson, and attempted no more assaults, but vigorously set about digging trenches around the fort, and thus cut off from Captain Williams the forlorn hope of future sallies, and the *capture of his enemy’s mares*. These trenches are described as works of amazing magnitude, such as had never yet been seen in Irish warfare; they were more than a mile in length, several feet deep, “ with a thorny hedge on the toppe,” and connected with vast tracts of bog; every approach to the unhappy garrison was “ plashed,” and rendered impassable for artillery, as the English afterwards found to their heavy cost; and the Irish forces so distributed, that a battle, under every disadvantage, must be fought by any army coming to relieve the Fort. O’Neill was too good a politician not to be informed of the exact state of the country, the resources of the Lords Justices, and the impossibility of their opposing in any effective manner at one time more than one division of his forces. Camden informs us that “ the state of Ireland was at this time very much out of order, for all Ulster beyond Dundalk, except seven garrison castles—namely, Newry, Knockfergus, Carlingford, Green Castle, Armagh, Dondrom, and Olderfleet, and almost all Connaught, were revolted.” If any man could have extricated the government from its miserable plight, it would have been Ormond. “ *Vir magnæ strenuitatis et audaciæ.*” Yet even he looked with dismay upon the unequal struggle before him. “ The times,” he wrote, “ are more miserable than

ever before." "If our wants be not speedily supplied, the whole kingdom will be overthrown." "The garrisons everywhere at this moment are ready to starve." "The soldiers run away daily, though I have hanged many of them in the maritime towns."

"And now to drawe to an ende of this my raw intelligeance," writes Francis Cosbie, "Cap<sup>t</sup> Williams, before rehearsed, lying longe in that unhappy forte w<sup>th</sup>out any reliefe but suche garrons and horses as he by pollicy could attayne unto for the suffynginge of himselfe and hungry ward, acquainted the estate with this their woeful misery; who, havinge as well regarde of theire distresses, as the saffety of that great bulwarke, sent for the Lo. Liefteñant-Gen<sup>l</sup> to Dublin; where, after debating what courser was best to be held, in the ende concluded that Sir Henry Bagnall should have the general command of this expediçõn."

Such was, indeed, the result of much debating, and greatly contrary was it to the opinion of the civil members of that Council. They, after wringing their hands in utter consternation and indecision, had written to England for advice and help; and, could they have had their way, they would have desired Williams to make the best conditions he could, and surrender the Fort; but the soldiers overruled them. Bagnal cried shame upon the timidity which would bring dishonour upon the army, and insisted upon an instant march to revictual the fort, and drive O'Neill from before its walls. And then was taken the fatal resolution of dividing the English forces into two bodies; one to march without delay to the Blackwater, and the other to proceed against the Cavanaghs. It was the wish, nay, the earnest prayer, of the Council, that Ormond himself should undertake to deal with O'Neill; but it chanced that Bagnal and O'Neill were bitter personal foes; O'Neill had married the Marshal's sister, and out of that alliance had sprung a mutual feeling of deadly hatred. Bagnal entreated Ormond to allow him to meet his enemy, and it was so decided. The rest of this interesting story will best be told in the language of the parties concerned in it. They passed through the various phases of panic, shame, repentance, and recrimination; and, fortunately for us, disastrously for themselves, they wrote long letters under each transition.

"1598. SIR GEFF<sup>t</sup> FENTON TO CECYL. *June 11<sup>th</sup> from Dublin.*

"I receaved yesterday yo<sup>r</sup> Honors fre wch brought no small gladdness to me, as well for yo<sup>r</sup> saffe delivery out of that trecherous country of Fraunce, as for that by yo<sup>r</sup> retorne the nyseries of Ireland are in way to receive some measure of comforte, wch by yo<sup>r</sup> absence they cold not have: and I am not a little sorrye, that there is no better matter from hence to congratulate yo<sup>r</sup> comynge hoame than the unsavory events of this kingdome, which daily do multeply to worse, w<sup>th</sup>out expectaçõn of better tyll Tyrone be turned out of Tyrone, wch I see will not be donn, w<sup>th</sup> Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> honor



for the pntē; nor with the saffety of the kingdome, for the tyme to come, without his entire extrpaciōn and banishment.

“The last truce expired the 7th of this monneth, and w<sup>h</sup>in ii daie after, Tyrone made this devesion of his forces; one pte he sent before the Blackwater, w<sup>h</sup> now he holdeth envyroned, swearing by his barbarous hand, that he will not depte till he carry the forte; another pte he thrust into the Brenny, and at this pntē assalteth the castle of the Cavan there promising not to leave the place so long as he cann gett a cow out of the English Pale to feed his companies.”

“1598. *June 17.* THE LORDS JUSTICES to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

“Where in the forefronte of this Ire we made mençōn of the forte of Blackwater, and how yt is blocked by the Traytor Tyrone, not mençōning then for how long tyme it was vittled, wch is but tyll the last of this monneth at the furthest, and forasmuch neither the trayto<sup>r</sup> force can be removed, nor the place releevd w<sup>h</sup> vittles, but by the cuntenance of an army, yt standing so far in the mayne land, as there is no comōdity to succor it by water, wee doubt, that thorow these extremeties, yt may receive suche disaster as wee shalbe sorry for; and yet not hable to remedy yt, not having meanes thereunto for want of force: therefore we thought good upon these consideraçōns to desire yo<sup>r</sup> LLs advice and direction, whether (the great necessity of the forte not being otherwaies to be releevd) we may not advise suche as have chardge there, to consider how they may quitt the place with the best advantage for their own saffety. The garrison there consisteth upon 4 companies of foot, suche as in former attempts made by Tyrone against that place, have behaved themselves with great valo<sup>r</sup> and resoluçōn, whose worthe services have well deserved not to leave them to be exposed to the uttermost hazard and cruelty of the ennemy, yf there be any waye to preserve them; in wch respect we humbly pray again to have yo<sup>r</sup> LLs speciall resoluçōn therein with all possible speed. I, the L. Lieftenant, and all the rest of us being not a little greeved to make this ov<sup>t</sup>ure, yf wee cold advise any other meanes to prevent the mischeif by removing the traytors by force; and for my pte, I, the L. Lieftenant (yf thextremety be not to be holpen afterwards) doe thinke yt less dishon<sup>r</sup> to have yt razed or yelded upon composiçōn then the soldiors to be left to thuttermost daunger.”

“1598. *June 18, Dublin.* ORMOND to CECYL.

“You write that you of the counsell wear sensible of my lacks; I confess hit is no small hart grefe unto me to hold the place I do, and to want the meanes wherbye I shold be inhabled to perform that I most desier against the traytors. I protest to God the state of the scurvie fort of blackwater, which canot be longe held, doth more toche my hart then all the spoyles that ever wear made by traytors on myne owne landes. This fort was always falling, and never victualled but ons (by my self) without an armye, to her Majesties exseding charges.

“Your most assured and loving Friend,

“THOMAS ORMÖD ET OSS<sup>r</sup>.”

" 1598. July 7. SIR G. FENTON to CECYL. *From Dublin.*

" Touching the Forte of Blackwater being the second place now holden for Her Ma<sup>y</sup> in Ulster, I dowte the nexte newes I write to yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> thereof wilbe that that place wilbe forced by the Rebels, and either the garrison putt to the sword, or dryven to quitt the place upon suche condicōns as they cann make for their owne saffety."

" 1598. July 22. THE LLs JUSTICES to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

" The Forte of Blackwater is yet helde w<sup>h</sup> greate honour and resolu<sup>cion</sup> by that valyant Gent<sup>m</sup> Capten Thomas Williams, whoe comāndeth it; and although Tyrone have lately bent his whole forces to surprize it, and have lost many men still about yt, whoe have blocked them in on all sydes of that forte, yet that worthie Captain dothe still defende himselfe and the place; and as wee understande hathe latelie by some stratagem issued forthe, and besydes the killing of 2 or 3 principall men of Tyrones, hath gotten divers horses and mares of theires into the forte, which as we are enformed is victualled yet for a month; and wee hope that upon the Lo. Leeftenants comīng hither his Lo. will have an honourable care for the reliefe and supplie of that servitor, and the risk of the soldiors in that forte, who have hitherto with suche hono<sup>r</sup> and resolu<sup>cion</sup> preserved yt for Her Ma<sup>y</sup> from the many assaltes used by the rebell to gett yt, wherein wee will assist His Lo. w<sup>h</sup> o<sup>r</sup> best advise and furtheraunce."

" 1598. July 24. SIR GEFF. FENTON to CECYL.

" The Forte of Blackwater holdeth out still, notw<sup>h</sup>standinge Tyrone hath lyen affore it above a moneth, and hath spent the most parte of that tyme in plashinge of passes, and digginge deepe hoales in the Rivers, the more to distresse the armye that should come to releeve yt. Cap<sup>m</sup> Thos. Williams comāndethe in the forte, hath done many worthy s<sup>r</sup>vices in defence of yt as well by soundry sallyes, wherein he repulsed the traytors and slew some of their best men, as by many rare stratagemes by w<sup>h</sup> he hath draiven into the forte many of their horses and garrans, wch stande him and the garrison in good steade for foode: The Gent<sup>m</sup> deserve the great comēda<sup>cion</sup>s, to whom if yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> wolde p<sup>u</sup>re a fre from the LLs acknowledging his good s<sup>r</sup>vices, yt wold comfort him muche, and give others incoragen<sup>t</sup>."

" *Extracts of a Letter of Intelligence to SIR G. FENTON.*

" The 13th day I made an excuse to goe into the forte, and the Capten told me all his casse; w<sup>h</sup> was that he wold keepe the forte yet this moneth; wch he may well doe; for that he hathe gott of late into the forte 17 or 18 of therles mares, w<sup>h</sup> will serve him and his company a good tyme. He prayeth yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>r</sup> to haste away the Queenes armye to succor him, or els that he may know from you w<sup>h</sup>in 20 daies whether he shall make his composi<sup>cion</sup> with therle or not.

" Therle hath made great plashes betweene Armagh and the blackwater, and there he sayth he will fight w<sup>h</sup> the m<sup>r</sup>shall yf he come to vittell the forte: He lyeth there stronge w<sup>h</sup> as great an armye as ev<sup>r</sup> I saw in the

north, and yet he hath of late geven leave to O'Donnel, M<sup>c</sup>Wm. Magwire, and James M<sup>c</sup>Sorley to go hoame into their countreys and be readie to come agayne when he shall send for them."

" July 31. ORMOND to BURGHLEY.

" The proporcion of muniçions nowe sent by me w<sup>h</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Marshall to the Blackwater is so great as yt leaves veray litle in the storehouse, and the chardge so excessive as I do not holde the place worthe the victualling agayne, unless Her Highness sende forces to Lochfoyle, wch will be to veray great purpose for Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> service."

" 1598. Aug<sup>r</sup> 2. THE LORDS JUSTICES to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

" It may please y<sup>r</sup> LLs to understand that uppon consideraçion had of the forte of Blackwater wch yet holdeth out as we are informed, thoughte with great extremetie, and comparinge likewise the state of Leinster endangered in ev<sup>ry</sup> pte by the rebels of the same province and ayded by forces from Tyrone, as in o<sup>r</sup> laste former letter wee have written, Sir Henry Bagnall the Marshall is now to drawe into Ulster w<sup>h</sup> pte of the armye consisting upon 3500 foote by polle, and about 300 horse, to revittle the Blackwater; and w<sup>h</sup> an other pte of the armye I, the L. Liefteñant Gen<sup>l</sup> w<sup>h</sup> such fewe companies as remayne am to attend the psecucion in Leinster.

" The daye appoynted for the Rendevoues for the Ulster armye is the 16<sup>th</sup> of this month; when all the companies are appoynted to assemble at Ardye, and from thence to marche to the Newrie, and so to the Blackwater; the successe and accydents of wch Jorney shalbe advertised to yo<sup>r</sup> LLs as they shall fall out; wch wee pray God to p<sup>ro</sup>sp<sup>er</sup> to Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Hon<sup>r</sup>, and the saffetie of the armye, onely we understand that Tyrone hath plashed the waies, and digged deepe holes wth other trenches and fortificaçions to ympeache the armye betweene Armagh and the Blackwater."

" 1598. Aug<sup>s</sup> 14. *The Ill Newse out of Ireland.*

" The 12<sup>th</sup> of August thay cam from the Newry to Armaghe: The 14<sup>th</sup> of August theye sete forwardes towardes the Blackewater with 4000 footemen and 350 horses:

" Capt: Percy and Cap Cosbey led the firste regiment of foote, being 2000; Cap Percy was hurt: Cosbey slaine; and almoste all the regimete slayne.

" S<sup>r</sup> Henry Bagnall ledd the second regiment, being of 1000, he was shott into the hedd, slayne, and moste of the regemete.

" Sir Calistianes Brooke ledd the horses, being 350, was shott into the belly, and thought to be slayne. About 2000 footmen slayne and

Cap: Cosbey	Cap Streete	Cap Bethel
Cap. Evans	Cap. Elsdon	Cap Fortescu
Cap Morgan	Cap Banke	Cap Harvey
Cap Turner	Cap Petty	Cap Molmarey Orrely
Cap Leighe	Cap. Henserve	Cap Bource

William Poule Commesarey a vollentarey, slayne  
 Jaymes Harrington, soone to Sir Henry Harrinton  
 Maximilaan Brooke taken or slayne,  
 Mr Counstable a vollintarey gentelman slayne."

" 1598. Aug<sup>o</sup> 16. THE LLs JUSTICES to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

" It may please y<sup>r</sup> LLps at the L. Lieftenants last being heare, wch was at the tyme of o<sup>r</sup> last dispatch to y<sup>r</sup> LLs of the 2<sup>d</sup> of this mouneth: uppon conferment had in counsell touching the distresse of the Blackwater, and the revitlinge thereof. The M<sup>r</sup>shall beinge also present at that consulta<sup>o</sup>n, and sent for expressly by the L. Liefte<sup>n</sup>ant, som of us were of opinion that the hazard were too greate to adventure so many of Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>s forces as were thought requisitt to be employed in that expedi<sup>o</sup>n; yelding this reason amongst others, that the forte being valued at the highest was noe way comparable to the loss, yf tharmy shold receive any disaster in the attempt; But when wee saw his Lo., and the M<sup>r</sup>'shall stande so muche uppon the honor of the service, alledging how greatly yt concerned Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> in hon<sup>r</sup> to have the forte releevd, we left to themselves the resolu<sup>o</sup>n, wishinge by waye of advice after they had determyned yt shold be attempted, that the L. Liefte<sup>n</sup>ant wold undertake the matter in pson; alledging amongst many other respects, that in that case his Lo. might drawe w<sup>th</sup> him many of the nobilitye with their followers, wch wold greatly strengthen the acc<sup>o</sup>n, and besides his psence in the field might move Tyrone, eyther for feare or for som other respectes, to give way to him, whereby the service might be pformed with less daunger. And before this consulta<sup>o</sup>n havinge considered thorowly the pills in this enterprize of the forte, and the difficulties to accomlishe the same, the Lo. Lieutenant and o<sup>r</sup>selves jointly together wroaste to the M<sup>r</sup>'shall, lyinge then upon the borders, and wth all sent our specyall Ires to bee conveyed by his meanes to the Cap<sup>n</sup> of the Blackwater, advisinge him to consider howe he might make his composi<sup>o</sup>n with Tyrone in tyme, to the most hon<sup>r</sup> he cold for Her Ma<sup>ty</sup>, and best safety for himselfe and the garrison there; but the M<sup>r</sup>'shall stayinge these Ires in his owne hands, did not send them to the forte; but brought them back agayne with himselfe, affirminge how dishonorable it wold be to hold that course; and that he knew by good intellegences that the forte was yett in case to hould out; and that he had tryed by stratagem to send some vittles into them. In our advice wch we gave to his Lo. for undertaking the service in his owne pson, wee putt him in mynd that the prosecu<sup>o</sup>n of Leinster might bee commytted to som other duringe his absence: But his Lo. and the M<sup>r</sup>'shall agreeinge afterwarde, his Lo. tooke upon him the matters of Leinster, and left to the M<sup>r</sup>'shall the acc<sup>o</sup>n of the Blackwater; who accordingly came to Armagh the 13<sup>th</sup> of this mouneth, wthout any loss, other then the takinge of Cap<sup>n</sup> Ratcliff prisoner, and some 4 or 5 others cutt off in the straight betweene Dondalk and the Newry, who stragled after the armye, and did not march under the safety thereof: and the next day, beeinge the 14<sup>th</sup> of this psente, th armye dislodginge from Armagh with purposse to pass further to revittle the Blackwater, the rebels of the North havinge waylaide them there, in places to ou<sup>r</sup> disadvantage roase owt with their mayne forces to stopp their passage; where after a sore tryall made by the army,

stryvinge to put the rebells from the advantage of their place, our forces were repulsed with a grevous loss, both of the Mshall himselfe with sundry other pticular Cap<sup>ns</sup> with their coolloors, and also a great number of the souldiers; the resedue that remayned (except som of the Irish who rann to the rebells) retyred to Armagh as the next place of succor they cold gett, where they remayne in the church there, awaiting for soch comfort as men in so great a calamity may expect. These heavy newes were brought to us this day by Cap<sup>t</sup> Charles Montague who having the second place of chardge of the horsemen in the service, and beeing appointed by the consent of the Cap<sup>ns</sup> (as he affirmethe) to adventure thorow thenemyes cuntry to come to us, hath made declaracōn to us of this lamentable accident in this summary manner, w<sup>h</sup> herewith we send to y<sup>r</sup> LLs under his hand. A matter soe grevous to us, in respect of soe greate a dyminucōn of Her M<sup>ty</sup> forces in so daungerous a tyme as this. And to have soe greate a pte of the armye (beeing 1500 men, as Cap<sup>t</sup> Montague reportethe) cooped by in the church of Armagh envyroned round aboute with the rebells, as we cannot but feare farr more daungerous sequells, even to the utter hazard of the kingdome, and that owt of hand, yf God and Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> prevent them not: for we assure ourselves that upon this accident in the North the whole combinaçōn of the reste of the rebells in all ptes of the Realm will grow mightely prowde, and will not spare to take the opportunitye of the tyme, and pursue this success at Armagh to their best advantage in Leinster, Connaught and all other places of the realm. And they know as well as ourselves that we are not hable without psente succor owt of England to fetch off those poore distressed companies that are in Armagh, who (as Cap<sup>t</sup> Montagu reportethe) hath vittles to serve them for 8 or 9 daies, and not further; wthin wch tyme wee have no meanes to reskew them from thence by force, nor after that tyme to releve them with vittles; wch being a most lamentable distress to us, wee have now signified the same to the Lo. Lieftenant Generall, who as we heare is at Kilkenny, praying his speedy repayre hither upon this heavy occasion. This encounter at Armagh was the 14<sup>th</sup> of this psente, and the report thereof brought to us this daye about 9 in the morninge; since when we have bin busie to send owt many dispatches into sondry ptes of the realm to prevent daungers, and contayne the people as moche as in us lyeth; and have speccially written to the Lo. Lieftenant Gen<sup>l</sup> to haste hether with all speed to thende to consider with him of the pnte daunger in all ptes, and howe Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> forces, that are left, w<sup>h</sup> are wholly under his chardge, may be employed to the moaste saffety of the realme, and pservaçōn of that w<sup>h</sup> remayneth. But under yo<sup>r</sup> LL's honorable reformaçōn, and in all humble dischardg of o<sup>r</sup> duties, wee wishe that Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> were thorowly enformed of the daungerous estate of this realme, as well for want of forces, by reason of this defeate as for lack of skillfull and experienced cofmanders; and pticularly this desaster of Armagh having taken awaye the Mshall, w<sup>h</sup> place is in Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> disposicōn, wee humbly wishe that som well chosen pson beeing of good understanding in the warrs may be sent from thence owt of hand, to supply that office, to thende that by thassistaunce of suche an officer Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> mitial services may bee carryed in that course wh is requisitt agaynst so many prowde rebells in sondry ptes of the realm. And though the Lo Liefテナ'nt bee now absent from hence wherebye wee

cannot communicate with him in this and other things as were meet, yett yf his Lo. were here, wee doubt not but he seeth reason to be of our opinyon, that inasmuch as the distresses of this kingdom are devided into many ptes, and every pte hathe his pticuler daunger, that that necessity presseth to have a further assistaunce in the proceedings of the warr, and a subsistinge authority to be joined with his Lo. unless Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> would be pleased to settle the whole government entyrelly in one man's hands, w<sup>h</sup> for our ptes, wee wishe, for the avoydinge of many confusions, growinge in the mayne government, now that the authoritie is devided, wch it is not unlyke wold be better redressed, yf the sup<sup>r</sup> authority were reduced into one man's hand, as Her Ma' deputy; the considera<sup>ō</sup>n whereof we humbly submytt to y<sup>r</sup> Lo. grave advice. Onely and lastly beseechinge y<sup>r</sup> LLs with all the dutye and carefulnes we can, that tyll a Deputye may come a M<sup>r</sup>shall may be sent with suche other assistaunts for the warrs as yo<sup>r</sup> LLs shall think requisitt, and that also a further force of men may be sent owt of hand, the certaine nomber whereof we cannot otherwaies lymitt then according the greatness of our daungers: and that such as shalbe sent may be trayned men, well weaponed, and consistinge of hable bodies, to be hable to beare owt the toyles of this hard service. This choiss of a Deputye, or in the mean while some good assistaunts for the warrs, to be assigned and sent owt of hand with forces, the longer yt is deferred the more will it encrease the daungers of the realme, for that boath thennemyes will multiply, and insult, knowinge how weake wee are, as well in commanders as in men; and the subjects that yett stand will take yt for an occasion of discouragement when they see soe small means to defend them. Suche further advertisements as wee shall receave of this desaster of tharmy in the North, or of any other matter occurringe in any other ptes shall be signified to yo<sup>r</sup> LLs with the beste speed we can, being most greeved that this wicked land will not yett yeld better matter to advertise to yo<sup>r</sup> LLs. And so beeing greatly fearfull that Tyrone in the pryde of this success will bend some daungerous attempts against the Newry, Dondalk, Knockfergus or other frontyer places of importaunce, wee most humbly take our leve

“ In great haste at Dublin 16<sup>th</sup> August 1598,

“ Y<sup>r</sup> LLs most humbly at commandment

“Least Tyrone might use further violence to those distressed companies in Armagh we thought good to send a Pursyvaunt to him with o<sup>r</sup> Ire, the copy whereof wee send to yo<sup>r</sup> LLs herewith having directed the Pursyvaunt to learne the true state of the soldiers, with other instru<sup>ō</sup>ns wch was our chefe purpose in sending him to Tyrone.”

“ AD. DUBLIN  
“ ROB. GARDENER  
“ ANTH<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> LEGER  
“ H. WALLOP  
“ GEFF. FENTON

“ 1598. 16 Aug<sup>th</sup>. *The Reporte of Capt<sup>o</sup> CH. MONTAGU.*

“On Mondaie the 14<sup>th</sup> of Auguste th<sup>e</sup> Armie marched from Ardmagh (leving there all o<sup>r</sup> victualls and some munic<sup>ō</sup>n) for the Blackewater, by computa<sup>ō</sup>n 3500 foote and 300 horse: their forme was in 6 regiments: we marched severally sum 6 or 700 paces, distance betweene ech regiment;

o' waye beinge harde and hillie grownd, within calliver shotte of wood and bogge one both sides, which was whollie possessed by thennemy, continually playing upon us. After a myles marching thus we approached thennemys trench, being a ditch caste in fronte of our passage, a myle longe, som 5 footte deepe, and 4 footte over with a thorney hedge on the toppe: In the middell of a bogg som forty score paces over, our vanguard passed the trench: The Battaill stood, for the bringinge upp of the Saker, wch stucke fast in a forde, and also our reare, wch being hard sett to, retyred fowly to Ardmagh. In the mean tyme the vangard passage on, was soe distressed as they fell to runne, and were all in effect putt to the sworde, without resistance: Upp cam the Marciall, beeing cheife coñander to releave them, whoe was killed dead, in the hedd wth a bullet; not withstandinge 2 other regements passed over the trench: The Battayle coming upp, 2 barills of powther tooke fier amongste them, by wch they disrancked, and rowted. In which whyle thos 2 former regements beeing passed the trench were for the most pte putt to the sworde; then by the helpe of our horse, thennemies muniçõn beeing well spente, wee brought off the reste into the plaine, and soe recovered Ardmaghe, where the Capteins resolved to refreshe their men with victualls, and muniçõn, and soe to marche dyrectlie to the Newrie. In the meane tyme thennemies approached and fell round on all sides of us with their whole force: then the Capteins fynding thinsufficiencie both in mind and means of ther men, concluded that the horse shold adventure to breake forwthe through th'ennemy's quarters, and soe passe into the Palle to advertise the Statte, that psent succor might bee sent to fetch them off; or ells thennemie seeinge the horse gone might bee pswaded that they havinge a monethe, or 2, victualls, wch indeed was there but disposed upon their first resoluçõn soe as they made account they had not now left meatt for above ten daies at the uttermoste, that thennemye cold not keepe together, hearinge by a prisoner that was taken that O'Donnell and M'Gwier was then reddie to depte. The horsemen accordinge their desiars pformed yt with som losse: by the Capteins estimaçõn wee had killed and run away to thennemie not less then 1800 foote, some 10 horsmen and 30 horses; the ennemie loste, as wee hearde by som of theirs that we tooke, 7 or 800. Ther remains of ours about 2500 in the church of Armaghe.

" CH. MOUNTAGU."

" 1598. 16 Aug". THE LORDS JUSTICES AND COUNCIL to TYRONE.

" We have taken knowledge of the late accident hapned to pte of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> forces employed in Ulster, only for vitlinge of the Blackwater, and that many of them are retyred into Armagh, where they now remeyne: we thought good upon this occasion to sende to you on their behalfe; thoughte wee thinke that in y' owne consideraçõn you will lett them depte w<sup>thout</sup> doinge them any further hurte: wee are to putt yo<sup>e</sup> in minde howe farr you may incense Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> indignaçõn towards you if you shall doe any further distresse to those companies, beeinge as you know in cold bludd; and on the other side howe farr you may move Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> to know a favorable conceite of you by usinge favor to these men; and

besides your auncient adversarye the Mshall being now taken away, wee hope you will cease all further revenge towardes the rest, against whom you can ground no cause of stinge against yo'self, being employed by Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> in theis Her Highness' services. Thus much we thought good to sygnifye unto you, and by waye of cawtion to admonishe you, to avoyde to pvoke so mighty a Prince upon such a matter as to distresse her servitors in cold bludd.—To this ende we have sent this bearer the pursyvant, by whom wee expect yo' answer. At Dublin 16 Augustj 1598

“ AD. DUBLIN, CANC.

“ RO. GARDENER

“ H WALLOFF.

“ GEO BOURCHIER

“ GEFF FENTON

“ *To Therle of Tyrone.*”

“ 1598. Aug<sup>o</sup> 17. THE LORDS JUSTICES to the PRIVY COUNCIL

“ It may please y<sup>r</sup> most hon<sup>r</sup> LLs. Albeit we have now joined with the rest of this council in a lre to y<sup>r</sup> LLs sygnifying the most wofull and greevous accydent of the Marshall's death, and defeating of that army, yet fearinge greatlie least that blame might bee ymputed unto us w<sup>h</sup> we have not deserved, we have made most humbly boulde in our own discharge to trouble y<sup>r</sup> LLs w<sup>h</sup> these fewe lynes in *private* from o'selves: we hope y<sup>r</sup> LLs do well remember, howe absolutelie Her most excellent Majestie hath left the managing of all the marshall affaires in this realme to therle of Ormond L<sup>o</sup>Lieften<sup>ant</sup> Gn<sup>l</sup>; and wee lymitted onelie to the administracōn of civile justice; not havinge to deale with so muche as the distribuōn of the treasure sent. Nevertheless, as by all former dispatches yo<sup>r</sup> LLs might pceave wee have not fayled to bend our whole studie in assisting his Lp: from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes with our best advise in any of his affayres concerning Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> service: And touching the victualling of the forte at Blackwater, yt it is well known to all this table, uppon consultaōn had thereof, howe muche agaynst our advise and myndes the same was undertaken. We alleadged the difficulties to pform yt, the charge and exceedinge trouble that yt wold bee, both to the soldiers and miserable contry, and lastlie the great pril and imynent daunger wch yt wold bringe the whole realme into (yf yt were undertaken, and tharmy defeated) as now yt hath don. Yelding our opynion that yt were more convenyent and far more salfe, rather to quitt that forte wch might have bin don wth good condicōns beeing of little worthe in respect of other places, and easy to be built agayne, with good convenyency, and thre or four daies stay of tharmy whensoever they should pceed northward—and therefore to defend the Pale beeing the hart, and in a manner all that is now left of the whole body, untill Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> resoluōn had bin understood here for a full and through psecuōn of these warres, wch hetherto had byn so exceedinge chardgeable unto Her Highness. This we urdged with suche vehemenye as was offensive to som, howbeit all the reasons and pswasions wch we cold use wold not drawe his Lp: and the Marshall from their intended purpose to victualle yt, wch beeing so determyned by him who had the disposing of those causes absolutelie



in his own hand, and no power in us to alter yt, we then wyshed, and urdged muche that his Lp would himselfe undertake that service, beeing of so great ymportance, and then alleadged two reasons which did especiall move us so to advise his Lp. The first was that wee knew yf his Lp wold goe himself in pson he shold bee accompanied with the moast pte of the nobilitie, and their followers, with many other gent<sup>n</sup> voluntarie attendaunts, whereby he shold bee a farre better and greater armie then otherwise he cold sett out with the marshall: Thother was that yf yt came to that extremitye wch now (alas!) yt hath don, wee thought the great Rebell would have had more reverence and regard to his Lps pson, place, and calling then (we were sure) he wolde have tothe M<sup>r</sup>shall, agaynst whom he bare a deadlie hatred. Yett his Lp, beeing either unwilling or unable to endure that troublesome journey, answered us that himselfe could not be spared from the service in Leinster, wch he wolde attend. And havinge so resolved, layed that other service upon the Marshall, who spedd unfortunatelie therein, tothe losse of his owne lyfe, and a great pte of that Army, except the horsemen, whereof as wee understaud, none perished. The distresse of the rest, now invyroned bythe Rebell at Ardmaghe, and apparent pill of this whole state. The L. Lieutenant returning then to Kilkenny hathe there and thereabouts remayned ever since, as yett he dothe; the Leinster rebells beeing nevertheless exceedingly increased, and daily burning, preying, and spoyling the contrye, havinge already possessed themselves of all the Queenes County called Leix, some three or four castles at the most excepted, which cannot long hold out. There they possesse the lands so dearly bought by Her Majesty and her pdecessors, and doe even in peaceable manner enjoye the goodes and cutt downe and gather the cornes of thauncient English gent<sup>n</sup> of that country; to the great discomfort of all our naçõn remayning in this wretched contry. (the lyke sturre have they already begon in offaly, called the King's county, and the lyke ende, in all lykelyhood, will they make there; the Rabbell of them beinge nowe by this disaster so encurraged and encreased as they doe even what they list w'houit controlm'. A greate pte of the county of Kildare they have already spoyled and burned, and daylie advertisem<sup>t</sup> we have of there entraunce into the county of Dublin, and of their purpose, even this day, as we understand, to make heade even towards this citie; to wch God knoweth they may make an easie approach, yett have wee, to encounter their comynge, sett out this present mornng the number of six or seaven hundred of citzizens and others to ympeache their purposed approache. This (and worse than wee have saide) is the state of Leinster. For Connaght, howe muche this blowe hathe weakened yt, and strengthened the Rebells of that Province, yo<sup>r</sup> LLs may conceive: and Mounster not free from infection, very lykely to brust out, and this is now the state of this poor and most miserable lande!

" Thus muche in effect have wee in divers our former private l<sup>r</sup>es foretould, and sygnified to yo<sup>r</sup> LLs, and this doe wee now agayne in discharge of our most bounden duties declare to yo<sup>r</sup> LLs. Wee have noe meanes left in us to help o<sup>r</sup> selves, and the remnant of Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> poore subiects here; onely this wee beseeche Thalmighty God soe to styrr upp the hart of o<sup>r</sup> gracious Sovereigne hir most sacred Mat<sup>ty</sup>, as yet at leingth (and almoste to late) she will behold o<sup>r</sup> miseries w<sup>th</sup> the eyes of compassion: thinke

upon a present course touching the forme of this government; and speedily undertake a Royal and stronge psecution agaynst these vile ungratefull Rebels, otherwise shall not wee bee hable to render any other account to Her Highness then that her Realme is lost. We have in all hast by two sev<sup>al</sup> messengers acquainted the Lo. Lieftenant w<sup>h</sup> this callamytie, desyring his speedy repayre hither, w<sup>h</sup> suche forces as hee may make, and convenyentlie spare, at whose comynge wee will use all o<sup>r</sup> beste meanes for the bringing off the rest of tharmy now remayning in Ulster, wch wee thinke wilbe very weake: and so w<sup>h</sup> o<sup>r</sup> prayers we comende yo<sup>r</sup> LLs to God's most blessed ptection

" From Dublin the xvij<sup>th</sup> of August 1598

" Yo<sup>r</sup> LLs most humbly at comandm<sup>t</sup>

" AD DUBLIN

" RO GARDENER

" For her Ma<sup>ty</sup> Affayres

To the Honorable the LLo: and others  
of hir Ma<sup>ty</sup> most Honorable Privie Councill  
*Haste, Haste, Haste, Haste, Haste.*

Delivered to the sea: on Fryday at 10 of the clock  
in the fornoone, the 18 of August

" AD DUBLIN."

" 1598. Aug<sup>r</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>. LIEUTENANT WILLIAM TAAFFE to H. SHEE, ORMOND'S  
*Steward.*

" M<sup>r</sup> Steward, notw<sup>h</sup>standing that my Lo. Liftenant may be advertised by others of o<sup>r</sup> ill successe this northren Jorney, yet for that I sawe the same, I thought good to wryte to youe therof, not presumyng to send unto his Honor. On monday last the Marshall sett forward from Ardmagh a myle on the right hand side of the co<sup>m</sup>on high way in wch my Lo. Borough past to the Blackwater, and on either syde of us thEnemy shott at us contynually, untill our vantgard possesss the trenche wch thenemy made for our stay; and past forward to a skons made upon the topp of the hill beyond the same; where they remayned a pretty while, and skhrmish being hotlie entertained upon our Reare, thenemy on horsse and foote chardg our companyes and bett them back to the trench agayn, where they were for the more parte all slaine; and their sev<sup>al</sup> collo<sup>ty</sup> taken by the enemye. The Marshall was then cominge from the Reare of the armye and chardged downe with the battle of our army, and our horsse wch were in the vantgard, and in his goinge downe he was slayne w<sup>h</sup> a shott through his forthead; after whose death wee that were on horsseback found no goinge where the rebels stood by reason of a mayne bogg; and neverthelesse our battle of foote went thether, where they lost the moste parte of their shott, and four Captains, and came by force of thenemy agayne, at what tyme the wheele of our saker, the great peece, being broken, leving the same behinde wee made our retreyte unto the Abbey of Ardmagh, and rested there till night; and finding our weakness to com from thence, the next daye wee concluded that the foote companyes should lye there, having vittualls for som while; and wee came ourselves that were of horsse hither. And now M<sup>r</sup> Steward yf youe will have my opinion in

the cause of our losse, I protest it was only for the great distaunce that was betwixt us in our marche; for when the vanguard was chardged they were w<sup>h</sup>in sight of our battle, and yet not reskued untill they were overthrown. Withall in the same time wee had a fyrcken or two of powther that went a fyre in the battle, which spoyled many of them and disordered others, and withall our great peece did us much hurte, stayinge our marche at every 12 score ende. We lost 18 Captains, of wch M<sup>r</sup> Moylmoora Reylie is one, whoe in presens of many tryed his loyalty and valure. And so God save me, so did the rest of the captains as much as might be donn in so ill grounde; beinge woode and Bogge on either side of a marche unto the trenche; thennemye had numbers of shott; we understand of thother side to have lost som three hundreth, beside Art M<sup>r</sup> Barron's two sonnes, Magyr his sonn, and two of their leaders, and wee lost above a thousand soldiers. And seeing there are soe many captains lost I thought fitt to praye youe to bee a meane to my L. Liffenant that I may have one of their chardges, asshuring myself that very fewe will be sutors for the lyke. The greatest in numbers of their soldiers that escaped is not 12 men to any one company; wherein I trust you will deale carefully, for w<sup>h</sup> I will rest thankfullie unto yourself, and I wold understand my L<sup>m</sup> pleasure herein by this berer, to thend I may erect some followers agaynst his Honor's coming downe, for they wilbe hardly gotten nowe, unlesse men have friends of there owne that will followe him, as ptly I have; yett ther armor and making upp will cost a great deale of money. I referr that matter to yo<sup>r</sup> discession and will looke for present answer by the berer. Yf my Lo. Liffenant will graunt me any companye, peure me Capten Hushies, who hath 10 Englishmen left. Yf you wold knowe the names of those that are slayne, of the captens I remember theis many, Pettytt, Street, Tornor the great, Leig, Evans, Hawes, Elsdonne, Fortscue, Hushie, Brooks & Ratcliff. Taken prisoners Cosbey, Burk, Bethell; and many others slayne, and thus hartely comendinge mee to yourself and all in genfal not forgetting my cosen Taaff, M<sup>r</sup> Butler, Watt, and Harry Gore, I take leve the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, 1598.

"Yo' wo' to use

"WILL<sup>m</sup> TAAFFE."

"1598. Aug<sup>r</sup> 18. ORMOND to the QUEEN.

"Most gracious and dred Sovaine I cannot in regard of my most humble dutie but make known to yo<sup>r</sup> Highness that the traitor Tirone, having sent forces to sevall pts of Leinster to assist the traitors there, and stur rebellion in Mounster, hit was concludid by the LLs Justices, the Council and myself, upon a mo<sup>o</sup>con and offer made by the m<sup>r</sup>shall, that he w<sup>h</sup> a force of 4000 foote & upwards, and 320 horse by pole, shold go to relyve the forte of Blackwater, and my selfe w<sup>h</sup> the fewe companyes that were spared to prosecute the traitors in Leinster (of whiche pvince yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>r</sup> in yo<sup>r</sup> tres, and the LL. of yo<sup>r</sup> Highness councill ther comanded mee to have speciall care): In whiche psecution som of the chefe traitors among them w<sup>h</sup> divers of there follow<sup>r</sup> were putt to the sworde, others also that were entering into rebellion in Mounster werę stayed by mee, and beeing nowe redy to make a roade against Donill Spanaghe, I received (to my exceding grefe) sevall tres from the LL. Justices & others, of the m<sup>r</sup>shals ill successe, hapned

(as it is enforced) for want of good directions; the particulars of all whiche (for avoydinge yo' Ma<sup>ties</sup> trouble) I have sent to the LL. of yo' Highness councell to be made knowen to yo' Ma<sup>tie</sup>, most humbly praying yo' Highness that it may stand w<sup>th</sup> yo' princely pleasure (for the saftie of yo' Realme) whiche is hearby greatlie endangered to send greater forces with all spede, w<sup>th</sup> victuals munition & other necessaryes to suppress the prid of these malicious & unnatural traitors, whom God of his goodness spedely confounde! and blesse yo' Ma<sup>tie</sup> w<sup>th</sup> a long, most happy & victorious raigne, to the cōferte of mee and all other yo' faithfull subjects.

“Your Maiesties most faithfull

“And obedient Subiect

“And Sarvant, till death

“THOMAS ORMÖD ET OSS.

“From Yo' Ma<sup>ties</sup> Towne of Kilkenny  
the 18<sup>th</sup> of August, 1598.”

“1598. Aug<sup>r</sup> 16. CAP<sup>n</sup> MONTAGU to ORMOND.

“I have sent yo' Lo. herein a note of all the Capt<sup>ns</sup> slayne: of soldiers I assure myself not less than 2000 w<sup>th</sup> many offycers. The Cap<sup>tn</sup> finding themselves noe waye able to returne, for that thenemy fell round about ther quarters, w<sup>th</sup> all ther force, resolved, that yf I wold adventure w<sup>th</sup> all the horse in the night to breake through them, and soe yf I cold, to passe to the Newry, then they had shuch a preporcion of vittuals as wold kepe them viij dayes. In wch tyme they hope yo' Lo will make some speedy expedition to fetch them of: or ells O'Donell and M'Guoire, being also in want of victuals would returne hoame, and then they would see if they cold pass away in one night to the Newry. I thought my lyfe well adventured to save soe many, attempted it, and cam away w<sup>th</sup> sum vij score horse, w<sup>th</sup> very little loss, though they contynually followed mee, and at my passage out of the campe gave me a great volley of shott: they have veray small store of municōn, and ther Irish run continually to the rebels. I much feare they will betray them, for I was no sooner gone but I might here them in very hot skirmishe in the quarters. These I cold not but signify to yo' Lo. in brefs, leaving the particulars till I may attend yo' Lo., and so humbly take leve.

“Dublin the xvj<sup>th</sup> of Aug<sup>r</sup> 1598

“CH: MONTAGU.”

“1598. Aug<sup>r</sup> 23. THE LORDS JUSTICES to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

“It may please yo' LLs since our last dispatch wee have used sundry meanes by espiall and otherwaies to discover the manner of the late disaster near Ardmagh, and the estate of the residue of the companies remayninge of that defeate, and retrayted into the church of Ardmagh, as wee have formerly written to yo' LLs: By which course wee have received many intelligences from seval ptes, but for that they contayne both varieties and uncertainties, we cold not settle any good ground of advertisements to yo' LLs tyll this daye that Capt<sup>n</sup> Fernando Kingsmeale and Cap<sup>n</sup> Georg Kingsmeale, beeing both actors in the same, returned hether, assuring us that all the companies remayninge of that defeate were safely returned to

the Newry with bagg and baggage, and their collors displayed, and are there remayninge, awaytinge som good opportunitie to be drawn from thence to their former places of garrison: these two Capt<sup>ms</sup> being p<sup>re</sup>sente in the acc<sup>o</sup>n, wee have willed them to sett downe faithfullie their observa<sup>o</sup>ns of the whole p<sup>re</sup>cedings, together with all meet circumstances in their knowledge for the xplana<sup>o</sup>n of the whole service, which collection digested and subscribed by them wee have sent herewith to yo<sup>r</sup> LLs, untill wee have a more full informa<sup>o</sup>n from Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield, Lief<sup>te</sup>nant Colonell, and Capt<sup>m</sup> Lundy, S<sup>r</sup>jeant Maior of those companies whoe are nowe at the Newry, and have not as yett written anything to us of this matter. We find by the 2 Kingsmeales that at the de<sup>re</sup>ptinge of the companies from Ardmagh, yt was agreed that they shold marche dyrectly to Dondalk, but they, for som respects knowne to themselves, breakinge that agreement tooke their way ymmediately to the Newry, from whence yt wilbe veray hazardous for them to come to Dondalk by land, havinge to pass thorough a dangerous strait betweene the Newry and Dondalk, called the Moyerye, which wee heare Tirone hath manned to impeach their passage, taking, as yt seemethe, his occasion in that they went to the Newry at first, and not to Dondalk, according the agreement. But we are now in considera<sup>o</sup>n howe to fetch them from the Newry either by land through the Moyerye, wch will be veray dangerous, if that strait be manned by the traitor Tirone, as we hear yt is; or els by sea from Carlingford, by the helpe of such shippinge as wee may p<sup>ro</sup>vide here; which though it may be thought not fully honourable, for that heretofore yt hath not bin usuall, yett for that the companies are pestered w<sup>h</sup> sundry hurte men whoe are not hable to march by land w<sup>h</sup> the army, and that they have muche baggage, which otherwaies they cannot carry, beeing utterly destitute of garrans and all portage overland, we dowte that this necessity may dryve us to fetch them of by sea; yett, with their p<sup>re</sup>serva<sup>o</sup>n and saffety wee find that they cannot passe through the Moyerye, and yett in either of these choises we knowe there wilbe great difficulty. Wee have written to them to leve a suffycient gard in the Newry before their cominge from thence, and in the mean whyle I, the L. Lief<sup>te</sup>nant, will give order to send from hence to Dondalke a companie of foote to reinterforce that garrison, yf from the Newry noe other companies be sent thether aforehand. Touching the manner of this service neere Ardmagh, and the numbers of outside that fell therein (which we finde are not so many as was geven out at first) together with the remain, which (God be thanked are more than was reported to us by Cap<sup>a</sup> Montague) wee humbly referr yo<sup>r</sup> LLs to this report now sent of the 2 Kingsmeales, whom Tirone detained with himselfe as pledges for the saffe retorne of such as he sent with the companies from Ardmagh. And by their reporte yo<sup>r</sup> LLs may see in what sorte the forte of the Blackwater was delivered up, and that dystressed garrison preserved which hath bin the cause of all this desaster. Such further matter as wee shall gather, either from Sir Thomas Wingfeild or the S<sup>r</sup>jeant Maior, or otherwaies tending to a more certainty or p<sup>ar</sup>ticularity of this conflict, yo<sup>r</sup> LLs shall receive from tyme to tyme, as the same shall come to our hands: humbly beseechinge Yo<sup>r</sup> LLs in the mean whyle, as in o<sup>r</sup> last letters we urged, to remember to comfort us with a p<sup>re</sup>sent force of men armed and weaponed answerable to supplie the losses of tharmy sustained

in this defeate; a matter which we eftsones doe most humbly and earnestly recommend to yo<sup>r</sup> honourable care, the better to enable us to stand against so many imminent daungers which from sundry pts threaten this estate, and that yo<sup>r</sup> LLs would cause vittles to be sent with them proporconable to the numbers that shall come.

“AD DUBLIN. RO GARDENER  
 “THOMAS ORMÓD ET OSS  
 “ANT<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> LEGER G. BOURCHIER  
 “Geff. FENTON.

“Since the signinge of this letter wee received advertisement from Sir Thomas Wingfield that the companies that came from Ardmagh, are come saffely to Dondalke over the Moyery without any impediment of thenemies, and I, the L. Lieftenant Gen<sup>l</sup> am now preparing to drawe to the borders to take order for disposinge of them, and I hope the losse will not fall out so great as was reported, for that I understand by one Marmeaduke, Lieftenant of the Marshal’s horsses company, who was in the fight, that the nomber slayne is a good deale under a thousand men.”

1598. Aug<sup>r</sup> 23.

“The declaration of the Cap<sup>m</sup> Ferdinando and George Kinsmells to certaine questions demanded of them touching the late service.

“First—Howe marched Tharmy from Armaghe towards the Blackwater ?

“The said Cap<sup>m</sup> say Tharmy marched in six Regiments, the Vanguard led by Corronell Piercy, seconded by the Marshal’s Regiment. The Battayle led by Corronell Cosby, and seconded by S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Maria Wingfield’s Regiment.

“The Rere of all led by Cap<sup>n</sup> Cuynys regiment and seconded by Cap<sup>n</sup> Billings regiment.

“Howe far from Ardmaghe began the fight ?

“Within half a myle we entered the skirmishe, and cominge w<sup>h</sup>in the daunger of a bogg and woode where they played on us on all sydes, which was mayntayned to the trenches, being two miles from Ardmaghe.

“What was the reason the Vanguard was not seconded beeing possessed of the Trenches ?

“Cap<sup>n</sup> George Kingsmell who was in the poynte saieyth that the Marshal’s regiment who was to second the poynte was in distance soe far of, and hotly fought withal that they cold by noe means com up to second them, whereby the whole Regiment was defeated, and all the Cap<sup>m</sup> slayne. Collonell Piercy and Cap<sup>n</sup> George Kingsmell onely excepted, who by a stand made by the horsses recovered their second.

“What did the broken Regiment when you came to the second ?

“Capten George Kingsmell saieyth they joyned with the Marshal’s Regiment their seconds, and put themselves in order, and chardged agayne to the trenches, which they won the second tyme, and for want of secondinge by the Battayle was defeated as the first.

“What was the reason the Battayle came not up ?

“They say that the saker, being bogged, staid the Battayle so longe, and thenemies gathered soe about them in such multitudes as they cold

not boothe second the Vanguard and save the ordinance. Yet Collinell Cosby, having the vauntgard of the Battayle, advanced with his Regiment for the saffegard of those that were broken, w'h whom he joyning, and the Rere of the Battayle remayning with the saker: for want of seconding, his Regiment was lost, with the rest of the Vauntgard, and Cosby himself taken prisoner. The Rere of the Battayle mayntained fight for the

saker, which cold not be recovered by reason yt was bogged, and the oxen killed that drew it; uppon which accident and the former defeatment Sir Thomas Wingfield chief commander, the Marshal being dedd, commanded the Retreat to Armagh: and Cap<sup>n</sup> Ferdinando Kingsmell who was in Cap<sup>n</sup> Cuyny, S'jeant Maior's, Regiment in the

vauntgard of the Rere saieth that they were so hotely fought withal by the force of O'Donell, Magwyre and James M<sup>c</sup>Sorley theire horse and foote, that in an houre and a halfe they cold not marche a quarter of a myle forward, by

which means they never understood in the rere

of the killinge of the Marshal, nor of the defeatinge of the former Regiments, until they came up to fetch off the Battayle with whom they joined, and leving the saker bogged and not to be recovered they marched with the assistaunce of the horsse, altogether to Ardmagh, where we fortified and kept the place until Therle offered composiçõn uppon these condiçõns following.

"First that we shold quit the Blackwater, leving there the collors drumms and muniçõn; the Cap<sup>m</sup> having left them onely their Rapiers and hacknies; and that beeing delivered, the whole Army with those men of the Blackwater shold marche away from Armagh with all their carriage and hurte men to the Newrie or Dondalk, for pformance whereof pledges were putt in on both sides. For the Army the 2 Cap<sup>m</sup> Ferdinando and George Kingsmell, and on Tirones pte two of the Hagans the men of most estimaçõn in this country, wch of each pte was accordinly pformed, and the army beeing come to the Newrie where yet it remayneth, the two Cap<sup>m</sup> were sent to Dondalke, who are now repayed hither, and do make this reporte.

"Howe many do you thinke of the soldiors did run away to the enemy?

"By the reporte of all the officers there run away no lesse then 300 of the mere Irishe being Ulster and Connaght men, and two Englishe men of the newe supplies, who the next morninge called to their fellowes and told them Therle would give them 20' a piece for ymprest if they wold serve him, and for all the rest of the newe supplies wee think that the better halfe of them is lost, for many of them were slayne without making any resistance.

"What strength thinke you the army to be of nowe?

"We can give no certaine reporte thereof; but by the certificate made of them at Armagh they appeared to be above 2000.

"Howe many were the Enemyes in number, do you thinke?

"We cannot reporte any certainty thereof; but by viewe and estimacōn they seemde to bee about five or six thousand shott; and Richard Weston hath reported and saith he will depose that before ioyning they were mustered 8000.

"What is the reason, as you have heard, that Tیرهone offered such composition to the army?"

"Being pledges for the pformance of the condiçōns before specified, Thearle gave for the reason that he was at five hundred pounds charge by the daye, in kepinge his forces together to attende our army; and that he supposed wee had a moneth or six weeks victuall, in which tyme he knew (as he saide) that forces would land in Loghfoyle, and therefore he thought it better to save that charge, to gayne the forte of the Blackwater, and to bend himself to hinder the landing of our forces in Loghfoyle, then by lyinge by us, w<sup>th</sup> so greate charge, to hazard so many inconueniencues as he feared he might otherwise fall into.

"FERDINADO KINGSMYLL.

GEORGE KINGSMILL."

"1598. Aug<sup>r</sup> 24. ORMOND to CECYL.

"S<sup>r</sup>—Although I know the jointe fres written to the LLs there from th LLs Justices myself and the Councell here, of the late accident hapened to the Marshall in the north, will com to your hands: yett the losse of our syde being since delyvered to me by severall men, as appeareth in the enclosed notes, I thought fytt to sende the same to you; whereby yt appeareth that our losse, God be thanked, is not all so greate in the slaughter of the men as was first reported; though to greate and shamefull as yt is! Our newe men sente over for supplies never offered to fight; but, as their leaders saye, ranne away most cowardlie: castinge from them their armour and weapon, as sone as the rebells chardged them. I finde by examyninge this matter that wante of good direction was the cause of their overthrowe; for the armye were putt to sixe bodies, and marched so far asonder as thone of them could not come in tyme to seconde nor help thother; whereof I warned the Marshall to take speciall care, before he went hence. In the middest of this feight there were 2 or 3 barralls of powder putt a fyre in the Battayll, which blewe upp and hurte divers of our men; wherew<sup>h</sup> the traitors were encouraged, and our men dismayed. Hit is very necessarie, uppon the sendinge over of forces, to sende trayned men that have seene som service, consideringe that they come to be presently employed, and can have no longe tyme to be dysciplined here. Fewe or none of the newe supplies brought backe their armes; soe as the proporçōn of municōn to be sent hether had nede to bee the greater. I wish the leaders of those that shall come were men of experience in service, whereof I doubt not you will have that consideraçōn that is fytt. And so for this tyme I committ you to God's blessed protection.

"Your veray loving

"And assured Frend,

"THOMAS ORMÖD ET OSS.

"From Dublin the 24<sup>th</sup> of August, 1598.

"I do sende you hereenclosed the copie of a fre wch pre<sup>r</sup>telie I received from the constable of Her Majesty's house of Dongarvan."



" 1598. Aug<sup>r</sup> 24.

" On Weddensday the 16<sup>th</sup> of this psente, wee beeing at the Newry, the Chaunter of Armagh came thether, wch when we understoode of, we went unto him to entreate hym, yf he cold, to use som meanes for the obteyning of leve from Tharchtraytor Tirone to bringe the deade corpes of the Marshall Sir Henry Bagnall from Armagh (where yt then was) unto Newrie, wch the Chaunter promised us he wold doe his beste to pforme; that he wold go himselve unto Tirone about it. Then we demaunded of hym what newes he had heard from Tirones campe concernynge the nomber of tharmye that was slayne, and the nomber that was likewise slayne of the Rebells; to wch he answered; that he had newes from Tirones campe by some of his owne people that came from theynse, that they did reporte amongst themselves howe they had killed 600<sup>th</sup> of Her Majesty's Armye, and that there was killed of their own men but six score, whereof, the Chaunter said the chefest were two of Art M'Barrons sonnes, two of O'Cahans sonnes, M'Kennahs sone of the Trough, and a sonne of Donell M'Sorleys sonne; and the Chaunter told us for certen 600 was all that Tirones campe did make reporte of, they had slayne of the armye. And thus much is all that we can delyver touchinge this matter, wch wee will if we shall thereunto be required, affyrme uppon our corporall oathes to be the true reporte of the said Chaunter unto us. Witness o' hands the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 1598

" MAR: WHITECHURCH, Lieftenente of the Marshalls horse troupe

" JOHN LEE, Secretary to the Marshall.

" *Captens and Officers slayne in the Jorney to the Blackwater.*

The General

Capten Strete

" Pettitt  
 " Henshawe  
 " Foskewe  
 " Evans  
 " Turnor  
 " Leigh  
 " Morgan  
 " Elsdon  
 " Radcliff  
 " Mulmore O'Rylie  
 " Romney  
 " Langhton  
 " Bethell

The Generalls Lieutenant  
 The Lo. of Delvin his Lieut'  
 Sir Henry Norreys his Lieut'  
 Capt<sup>n</sup> Strete his Lieut'  
 Cap<sup>n</sup> Fernando Kingsmill his Lieut'  
 Cap<sup>n</sup> Parker his Lieut'  
 Cap Leigh his Lieut'  
 Coronell Percye his Lieut'  
 Lieut<sup>t</sup> Massye.

Captain Cosby taken prisoner.

Hurte men 363

Slayne 855.

The Generalls ensigne Coullors Loste

Coronell Percyes ensigne Coull<sup>r</sup> Loste

Sir George Bowrchiers ensigne Coll<sup>r</sup> Loste

Capt<sup>n</sup> Turnors ensigne.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Eustaces ensigne Collours Loste  
 Cap<sup>n</sup> Pettitts Col' Loste  
 Cap<sup>n</sup> Foskewes Col' Loste  
 Cap<sup>n</sup> Evans Col' Loste  
 Cap<sup>n</sup> Leigh his Coullors loste  
 Cap<sup>n</sup> Morgan's Col' Loste  
 Cap<sup>n</sup> Elsdén Col' Loste—Cap<sup>n</sup> Langhtons Co<sup>l</sup> Loste

13—”

“ *The Opyinion of Corronell BILLINGES and the Cap<sup>tn</sup> of that regiment whoe are nowe at Dublinge, whose names are underwritten.*

“ It was concluded by the cownsell, the daye before wee marched tow<sup>d</sup> Blackwater, that the syxe Regiments showlde marche in syngle bodyes till such tyme as they sawe eache other ingaged, and then to ioyne in three bodyes for eache others releife, yf they founde the grownde answerable. The daye of our fyght, weare first commanded Cap<sup>n</sup> Lee and Cap<sup>n</sup> Turnor w<sup>th</sup> a partie of men to leade the forelorne hope. The pceedinge whereof, and the secondinge of them we comende tothe reporte of Sir Richard Percy and the commanders of the Marshalls Regiment; and to the secondinge of those two regimentes to the reporte of Cap<sup>n</sup> Cosbye, whoe had the vann of the Battle, and to Sir Thomas Winkefeilde whoe was to ioyne with him. The Vann of the Reare, Capt<sup>n</sup> Cuyny, bein Sarjent Maior, had, and the Reare of all had Capt<sup>n</sup> Byllinges. So the other Regymentes marching, the Sarjent Maior's Regiment and the Reare marched in one bodye to the forde, and at the forde the Sarjent Maior's Regiment tooke the vann of the Reare, beinge his place. The Reare noe soner recovered the hill beyonde the forde tow<sup>d</sup> Blackwater but the enemye charged us with horsse and foote, to the number of 2000 foote, and 400 horse. Havyng long entertained skyrmishe, and by reason of the great number of the enemys shott and horse comyng so neare and faste upon us, we weare forced fore or fyve severall tymes to charge with our Coullors in the heade of the fyghte, by reason our shott was so beaten, and our newe men bringing the rest in confusion; being thus in fyght our Regiment could not gayne a buttes lengthe in three quarters of an hour. The wch the horsemen of the Reare, and the Sarjent Maiors Regiment canne witnesse, whoe came to seconde us; whiche when thenemye seeinge qytted us, and then bothe Regimentes made tow<sup>d</sup> the Boogge, wheare beinge neare upon the entraunce of the Boogge the Sargent Maiors Regiment drue of the right hande, and the Reare directly over the Boogge, and being noe soner come over but the Sargent Maior gave me, Cap<sup>n</sup> Byllinges, dyrection to retreat, and make good the Forde. And in our retreat we garded the deade bodye of the Marshall, and Sir Calystynes Brookes being hurte, and the most of the hurte men. Besydes the three peeces of ordynance and the remaynder of the muny<sup>con</sup>. So beinge come neare the forde we sawe thenemye bothe horsse and foot with the collours flyng wch was taken from the Vanguard of all, myndinge to make goode the forde before us. Then wee first havinge atteyned the forde, made it goode. Then Smythe one of the corporalls of the feilde came to mee, Cap<sup>n</sup> Billinges, in the hearinge of Cap<sup>n</sup> Hawes, with dyrection to make good a hill betwixt Armaghe and the forde tyll suche tyme as the rest came upp;

the wch was pformed, and in our retreat tow<sup>ds</sup> the hill the enemy's horse cominge to cutt betwixt us and Armagh, we shott off the biggest of the three peeces of ordynance which made the enemy to stande. So leving this our knowledgements for that dayes service under our handes, to which wee wilbe sworne, and pawne our lyves. Comēdyng the same to yo' Lordships Judgements to sensure accordinge to our desartes.

" ANTHONY HAWES.

" I. BYLLINGES

" F. FETEPLACE."

" 1598. *Sep*' 4. THE LORDS JUSTICES to the PRIVY COUNCIL.

" It maye be that some dislyke may growe upon a Ire wee thought to send to Tirone upon the first reporte of the accident at Armagh. And though at that tyme wee had som reason to hould that course, yett upon better deliberaçōn *wee revoked the letter* and wold not suffer yt to bee sent; having this devicē at the first, that the letter shold bee but a coollor to send to see the state of the companies, wth direccōn that yf there were anie possibilitie to fetch off those companies, the letter shold not be delivered; which was accordingly pformed, and wee have at this psente the Ire in our handes, which is true upon our creditt.

" AD. DUBLIN. RO. GARDENER

" F. WALLOP. ANTH' S' LEGER

" GEFF. FENTON

" FENTON to CECYL.

" R' Honourable youe may see by the general Ire nowe sent what an entraunce is made to a devisiō amongst the principal commanders in this government, yf yt bee not stopped in the beginning. The LLs Justices have gott knowledge that the L. Lieftenant seekethe in som sorte to inclp them for the disaster of Armagh, and pticularly that they were the cause that the Inshall was employed on that acçōn and not his Lo, which they deny, and may truly defend the contrary. Their LLs with som moe of the counsell having advised the L Lieftenant in a consultaçōn, holden for the matter of the Blackwater, to take that service upon him in pson. But by these differences I see a preparation to a further devisiō daungerous for this state yf from Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> yt bee not countermanded, assuring your Honor that, the kingdome beeing rent and broken in diverse ptes of yt, there remaineth nothing whole, savinge the unity of the counsell; which I see will fall by these variaunces in the heads, yf owt of hand yt be not pvented, and therefore yt may please your Honor to move Her Majesty that, by the next, a round and pemptory comādem<sup>t</sup> may come in Her Mat<sup>ty</sup> name to us all to surcease all private emulacōns and pticularly all further proceedinge in this contention of the Blackwater; but that wee shold all lend our uttermost endeavours to recover this kingdome that is almost gon; and rather to supple the general soares thereof by good agreement, one with another, then to make bleed more through our disjoynings and differences. A Ire to this ende despatched in the begynninge wold (I thinke) ende the matter fully, or at least stay yt tyll with better opportunity yt might be further examined. I penned the general letter now sent, being so commanded by the LLs Justices whome I might not disobey;

but my advice in council was, that seeinge (I saide) as Her Ma<sup>y</sup> was to muche troubled already with the distractions of Ireland, so she cold not but bee deeply offended to see these disagreements amongst the council whose ptes it is to kepe the whole in unity, they wold therefore forbear that course. Besides I alledged that for their LLs to contend by accusaçõs and expostulaçõs in a matter that already is past remedy it cold not but be thought to hold more of faccõn then of good pretence or ground of matter: for my pte I have subscribed the letter, for that in so runninge a consent, yt was not meet for me to dissent, yet I stand cleare by the advice I gave, that the letter shold be suppressed, and not sent, which I humbly pray yo<sup>r</sup> Honor, may serve for my defence. And so do leve yo<sup>r</sup> Honor to consider that this is a daungerous fruite of this devided and doble authority in the government, which still will break owt to further mischief tyll yt shall please Her Ma<sup>y</sup> to settle the government in a Deputy's hand; which the longer yt is deferred the more are the daungers norysed. God Almighty preserve yo<sup>r</sup> Honor.

"In haste at Dublin 16<sup>th</sup> Sep'.

"Your most humbly to be commanded

"GEFF. FENTON."

"Sept' 15. ORMOND to CECYL.

"The LLs Justices might have written more advisedly then to say the hole army was overthrowne; truly hit might have beñ so, yf God had not letted hit; for there disorder was suche as the lyke hathe not beñe amonge men of anye understanding, deviding tharmye into six bodies, marching so farr asonder as one of them could not second nor help thother till those in the vangard wear overthrowen. Suer the devill bewiched them! that none of them did prevent this grose error. Sir, for that I understand the LLs Justices wrote over to you after this disaster that hit was not there act to send the Marshall, but that it was a plott set downe betweene him and me, I have thought goode for profe of the contrary, to send you the inclosed notes which I pray you make knowen to Her Majestye in my discharge; being lothe to trouble you farther at this tyme I committ your guiding to God.

"From Ratothe the 15 of Septēber, 1598.

"Your fast assured loving frend,

"THOMAS ORMÖD ET OSS.

"The bearer was with the Marshall when he was slayne, who can tell you how ill ovr companies were placed, not beeing able to coñ to help one another I pray you afford him your honourable favor."

"Sept' 12, 1598. THE QUEEN to the LORDS JUSTICES.

"Wherein [the arrival of Sir Richard Bingham] we knowe that you and our cousin of Ormond, our Lieutenant, will find great ease in every way. It beeing neither fitt nor possible that you shold spend your bodye

in all services at all tymes, and yet we must pleynely tell you that we did much mislike (seeing this late accōn were undertaken) that you did not above all other things attend yt; thereby to have directed and countenanced the same; for yt were strange to us when almost the whole force of our kingdome were drawn to hedd, and a mayne blow like to be stroken for our honor, agaynst the cappytall rebell, that youe whose person wold have better daunted the Traytor, and would have carryed with yt another manner of reputacōn, and strengthe of the nobilitie of the kingdome, shold employ yourself in an accōn of less importance and leve this to soe meane a commander.

"Wherein [in the matter of the Black water] we may not passe over this fowle error to our dishonor, when you of our counsell framed *such a letter to the traytor after your defeate, as never were read the lyke either in forme or substance for baseness! being such as we persuade ourself, yf you shall peruse yt agayne when you are yourselves that you will be ashamed of your own absurdities, and grieved that any feare or rayshness shold ever make you aucthors of an accōn so much to your Sovereign's dishonor and to the increasing of the traytor's insolency.*<sup>1</sup> For other things past wee have well observed, that all y<sup>r</sup> Jjourneys and attemptes upon the northe have had these successes that not only our armyes have come backe w<sup>h</sup> losse or doeing nothing, but in their absence other parts of our kingdome have ben left to be spoyled and wasted by the rebels; and thoughte the unyversalltye of the Rebellion may be used as a reason of the mischiefe, yet it is almost a miracle that w<sup>h</sup> the charges of an armye of eight or nine thousand men the provynciall rebels of Leinster and Wexeforde and other places should not be mastered.

"POSTSCR:

"Synce the wryting of this Ire we have understoode that y<sup>r</sup> Ire w<sup>h</sup> wee heard from yo<sup>e</sup> was sent to the Traytor by y<sup>e</sup> hath synce ben stayed by *accident*, whereof for our owne honor wee are very gladd, thoughte for y<sup>e</sup>selves the former purpose still deserves the same imputacōn.

"At Greenwi<sup>ch</sup> the 12th of Sept<sup>emb</sup> 1598."

"Thus," writes Camden, "Tiroen triumphed according to his heart's desire over his adversary, and obtained a remarkable victory over the English; and, doubtless, since the time they first set foot in Ireland, they never received a greater overthrow!—13 stout captains being slain and 1500 of the common soldiers, who being scattered by a shameful flight all the fields over, were slain and vanquished by the enemy. This was a glorious victory for the rebels! and of special advantage; for hereby they got both arms and provision, and Tiroen's name was cried up all over Ireland as the author of their liberty."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Italics are not in the original.

<sup>2</sup> For the account of this battle given by P. O'Sullivan Beare, Fynes Morrison, and

various Irish authors, see "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1598, edited by Dr O'Donovan.

Why did O'Neill permit that broken, dispirited, famishing band of fugitives to depart unmolested? Why did he not march on Dublin? A satisfactory answer to either question must be sought elsewhere than in these State Papers. O'Neill knew, as the Lords Justices truly wrote, as well as they did, the full extent of their forlorn condition. There was not, as far as we know, a single soldier left in that panic-stricken city. Six hundred townsmen were all that could be mustered to venture forth to impeach his approach; the gates were instantly closed behind them, and kept closed by day and by night. About 4000 effective foot soldiers and 300 horse, exclusive of the disorganized companies, cooped up in the church of Armagh, were all that now remained of English force in Ireland; and they were far away, with their Lieutenant-General in Kilkenny. O'Neill knew this perfectly. It is true that a reinforcement of 2000 men was daily expected from England, and their destination was Loughfoyle; but O'Neill was too good a soldier to believe that such a handful of men would venture to traverse a country up in arms, to encounter a force flushed with victory, and, perhaps, ten times their number! It is stated that O'Donnel and Maguire, who, unlike O'Neill, had come without provisions, could no longer keep the field; but as "the ordinary food of the rebel Irish was a kind of grass," they might have pastured themselves along the route to Dublin as well as elsewhere. A thousand men, nay, a hundred! would have taken Dublin on the 16th of August, 1598, or any successive day, till Ormond returned!! But Tyrone went back into his own country, and Ireland was saved for "her most sacred Majesty."

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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**GENERAL MEETING**, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on  
Wednesday, March 18th (by adjournment from the 4th), 1857,

**THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY**, President of the Society,  
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Lieutenant-Colonel Dunne, M. P., Brittas, Clonaslee: proposed  
by Chichester Fortescue, Esq., M. P.

James Werland, Esq., M. D., Warren's-place, Cork; Charles  
Armstrong, Esq., M. D., King-street, Cork; Lieutenant-Colonel  
North Ludlow Beamish, K. H., F. R. S., &c., Lota Park, Cork; and  
William T. Jones, Esq., Great George's-street, Cork: proposed by  
R. Corbet, Esq., M. D.

Henry Bradshaw, Esq., A. B., Fellow of King's College, Cam-  
bridge: proposed by Charles C. Babington, Esq.

Rev. Daniel MacCarthy, Professor of Sacred Scripture and  
Hebrew, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth: proposed by the Very  
Rev. the President of Maynooth.

The Rev. David John Reade, A. M., Clondalkin Rectory, Tal-  
laght; John Madden, Esq., Hilton, Scotshouse, Clones; and Mr.  
Patrick Durnin, Nicolstown, Louth: proposed by the Rev. G. H.  
Reade.

The Rev. Ulick J. Bourke, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth;  
and John Russell, Esq., Pass House, Maryborough: proposed by  
the Rev. J. O'Hanlon.

Robert Langrishe, Esq., J. P., Ballyduffe, Inistiogue; John A.  
Blake, Esq., Mayor of Waterford; John Roe, Esq., J. P., Bally-  
cross, Bridgetown; Edmond Alen Byrne, Esq., J. P., Rosemount,  
New Ross; Popham MacCarthy, Esq., Madras Artillery, 2, Port-  
land-place, Bath; Francis Comyn, Esq., 75, Stephen's-green,  
South, Dublin; Gilbert J. French, Esq., Thornydyke, Bolton;

Mrs. Hitchcock, Rockview, Rathgar; and Mr. Edw. Kelly, Kilkenny: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Rev. Maurice Mooney, R. C. C., Dungarvan: proposed by W. Williams, Esq.

J. M. Rivers, Esq., Tibroughney Castle, Piltown; and Mr. Cuolahan, Piltown: proposed by John H. Leech, Esq.

Mr. Denis Hoyne, Thomastown: proposed by the Rev. Philip Moore.

John M. Kemble, Esq., was elected as an Honorary Member of the Society.

The Rev. George H. Reade, and Felix J. Quinn, Esq., C. E., were appointed Local Secretaries for the districts of Dundalk and Enniskillen, respectively.

Mr. James G. Robertson, one of the Auditors appointed at the Annual General Meeting, then laid before the Members the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year 1856, as under:—

## CHARGE.

		£	s.	d.
1856.				
Jan. 1.	To Balance from last year's Account (see p. 32, <i>supra</i> ),	16	10	9
Dec. 31.	„ Ordinary Subscriptions, at 6s. each, . . . . .	206	5	0
	„ Special Subscriptions, at 10s. each, . . . . .	32	0	0
	„ Cash received by Donations for general purposes,	53	5	0
	„ „ for old Woodcuts, . . . . .	1	12	0
	„ „ from British Museum for “Transactions,” . . . . .	2	15	0
	„ „ for Advertisements, . . . . .	0	4	0
	„ „ by Donations for the repair of Jerpoint Abbey, . . . . .	116	15	6
		<hr/>		
		£429	7	3

## DISCHARGE.

		£.	s.	d.
1856.				
Dec. 31.	By Postages of the “Journal,” circulars, and general correspondence, . . . . .	34	1	11
	„ Cost of Illustrations, . . . . .	12	10	0
	„ Cost of printing, binding, and paper of 850 copies of the “Journal” for 1855, . . . . .	127	7	7
	„ One year's Rent of Museum, . . . . .	15	0	0
	„ Carriage of Parcels, . . . . .	1	8	4
	„ General Printing and Stationery, . . . . .	11	3	1
	„ Fuel, and Roomkeeper of Assembly Rooms, . . . . .	0	10	0
	„ Messenger, . . . . .	0	2	0
		<hr/>		
Carried forward, . . . . .		£202	2	11



	£	s.	d.
1856.			
<i>Brought forward,</i> . . . . .	202	2	11
By Sundries, viz. :—			
By Advertisements, . . . . .	£2	7	0
„ Purchase of early volumes of “Transactions,” . . . . .	4	10	0
„ Rent of Jerpoint Abbey, and Salary of caretaker, . . . . .	3	0	0
„ Purchase of Antiquities, . . . . .	1	6	2
„ Purchase of 3 copies of fourth and fifth parts of O'Neill's “Ancient Crosses of Ireland,” . . . . .	4	10	0
„ Mr. Gill's bill for Sundries, . . . . .	6	0	6
„ Cost of Indexing Vol. III. . . . .	2	0	3
„ Petty Cash, . . . . .	6	2	0
	29	15	11
By payments to the Contractors for the repair of Jerpoint Abbey, . . . . .	93	0	0
„ Sundries in connexion with the Jerpoint Special Fund, viz. :—			
By printing, postage, and stationery of Circulars, . . . . .	19	11	7
„ Rent of Abbey, and Salary of caretaker, paid out of special fund, . . . . .	6	0	0
	25	11	7
„ Balance in Treasurer's hands, . . . . .	78	16	10
	£429	7	3

We have examined this Account, and find that there is a balance of £78 16s. 10d. in the hands of the Treasurer.

JAMES G. ROBERTSON, }  
PETER O'CALLAGHAN, } Auditors.

The Acting Treasurer stated that the Special Fund for the repair of Jerpoint Abbey appeared for the first time in their accounts for 1856, as the general funds had been called on in that year to bear a portion of the expense. The Special Fund had been contributed, and the greater portion of the money expended, in the years 1853 and 1854.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors :—

By the Author, M. Boucher de Perthes: “Du Vrai dans les Mœurs et les Caractères. Les Masques.”

By the Cambrian Institute: their “Journal,” part 13.

By the Publisher: “The Gentleman's Magazine” for February and March, 1857.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: “The Ulster Journal of Archaeology,” No. 17.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their “Proceedings,” Vol. II. part 1.

By the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 52.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 728 to 735, inclusive.

The Rev. Constantine Cosgrave forwarded a sketch of Ballymote Castle (made by a lady, Mrs. Mac Dermott, Authoress of "My Early Dreams"), and some particulars concerning the history of that pile. It was originally the feudal stronghold of the warlike M'Donoughs. It "was commenced to be built" in 1300, and was demolished in 1317, as appears by the Annals of the Four Masters for those years. It came into possession of the "Queen's people" in 1585, but was retaken by the original inheritors in 1598. In this latter year there was a contest for the purchase of its possession between the Governor of Connaught, Sir Conyers Clifford, and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, which ended in the latter becoming its owner at a cost of £400, and three hundred cows.

Mrs. Butler presented two documents found amongst the papers of her husband, the late James Butler, Esq., Kilmogor: one was a commission, signed in autograph by King James II., to Valentine Walsh, as Captain of the company formerly held by the Earl of Clare, in Lord Tyrone's Regiment, dated 12th November, 1689; the other document was the printed Case of the Claim of John Butler, Esq., of the Castle of Kilkenny, to the dignities of Earl of Ormonde, Earl of Ossory, and Viscount Thurles, which had been presented to Mr. Butler by the Ormonde family at the time of making the claim.

Henry Monck Mason, Esq., presented, through P. Connellan, Esq., Coolmore, a sketch of Jerpoint Abbey taken in the year 1837.

Mrs. Hitchcock presented a volume containing a collection of the newspaper reports of the Society's Proceedings, arranged by her late husband, Richard Hitchcock, Esq., and being a continuation of the valuable volume presented by her at the last meeting.

Thomas O'Gorman, Esq., sent a drawing of a small bronze dagger, here engraved. The antique had been found in a moss or



bog near Magherafelt, and, as it appeared to have the original handle still attached, he thought it might be interesting to the Society. This handle was made of oak, without any attempt at ornament, except at the top, round which ran a band or fillet, cut out of the

solid. The handle was extremely small, only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, to where the blade joined, or in full  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, of which one inch overlapped the blade on each side. The blade was of antique bronze,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, of which about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  were available for use; it was inserted into the handle, and both were fastened together by means of rivets, now lost, and also by thin layers of oak, acting as wedges. Where the handle and blade joined, the former appeared to have suffered from fire, but the blade itself was in perfect preservation, and quite sharp.

Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, the efficient Local Secretary of the Society at Youghal, sent the following:—

“A week or two since, in company of a few friends, the ruins of the Dominican Friary or North Abbey here were visited. After a brief perambulation we observed a mutilated lump of light freestone, about three feet in length, lying at the east end of the ruins: on inspection we perceived several traces of sculpture on it, which proved, after closer examination, to be mail and plate armour. The stone before us was the mutilated remains of the trunk of a statue—the mail armour showing on the under part of the abdomen the plate overlapping it, and passing down the upper portion of the thighs, which remain. From the large proportion which the plate armour bore to the mail, we were able to pronounce it to date in the sixteenth century. A few years ago, in making some researches and measurements at this Abbey, with the Rev. Samuel Hayman, we were informed by the sexton, that in digging a grave he came on a statue, in stone, of a man in armour with a sword by his side; we begged him, if he ever came on it again, to let us know, that we might have it taken up. This, I am sorry to say, he has now grossly neglected to do, as, on making inquiry of him after the late discovery, he said in making the grave they were in such a hurry with him that he was obliged to break it up with a crowbar. On inquiry after the other fragments of it, he said there was a horse-load of it taken away by women for ‘freestone,’ i. e. to break up for scouring purposes.

“I beg to throw out a hint here to clergymen of all denominations, of whom it is most pleasing to see such a goodly number among the Members of this Society, that a great amount of archæological discoveries, and the preservation of them, depend on their will; for one word from them on the subject to their sextons would effect more than if laymen were lecturing for ever, as all or most of our ecclesiastical remains and churchyards are under their protection.

“I have a right to mention here, that the sexton above noticed is not the sexton of St. Mary’s Church, John Burke, before noticed in the Transactions, who is as much interested in archæological research in his own line, as any member of the Society.

Mr. Edward Fitzgerald also contributed the following paper, entitled, “Jottings in Archæology, No. II.,” being in continuation of a former paper of his,—see p. 40, *supra* :—

"Few may imagine an old moss-grown hedge the most probable place to poke an ancient monastery from, but the following 'jotting' shows that old roads and hedges are not to be eschewed from archæological researches; for, no matter how small the chink, or indistinct the glimpse, both are worth following up; and, indeed, one of our great objects should be, to rescue from oblivion anything connected with the history of the past; but especially of our early religious foundations, and our great and good men of days gone by. St. Coran of Youghal, and the Shanavine Monastery, are both illustrations in point, as neither have been known to fame or the compilers of Church history, at least in our times.

"Some three or four years ago, the writer, in a rural ramble through the fields, about a mile south of Youghal, poked a few suspicious-looking, weather-worn, moss-grown stones from an old hedge, and, on examination, found they were light-coloured freestone, some rabbited, others moulded, and others splayed and curved; two were pieces of beaded door-jamb, and the others, portions of moulded window-jamb and arches. On getting all the relics together, he was able, from certain peculiarities of cutting which they showed, to pronounce an opinion, that they were fragments of a building of the middle Hiberno-Norman period, somewhere about 1060; but then the question arose, what brought them there, or what did they belong to. Here was a bait for our Youghal annalist, the Rev. Samuel Hayman, who, of course, was now brought on the trail, and when both heads were put together, we found an ancient road leading to the locality, called from time immemorial the Killcoran-road, and the field or glen in which the fragments were found, called the Shanavine, in Irish, *pean-mín*, i. e., the 'old little field,' or plain. An old, gray-grown hawthorn, from under which a crystal streamlet trickled, called our attention to an ancient well, now choked up with field stones; this we found, on examination, stood near the south-east corner of the ancient monastery, and for many years has not been used for 'rounds,' but was formerly; and, when in its full tide of popularity, was so sanctified, that if desecrated by filth of any kind, 'it immediately dry'd up, and sorra a drop ever entered it until the old woman who took care of it brought some blessed water and threw it in, when the beautiful water sprung up as good as ever.' We now had recourse to the 'oldest inhabitant,' a silver-headed patriarch of about 90, who formerly lived in the locality, and who well remembered seeing the ruins some seven or eight feet in height, and about thirty feet in length; his legend of it was, that it was built by Frenchmen, and that it was the oldest church in Ireland. A curious coincidence is, that when the field was broken up, two French coins, liards of France, were found in it. Another venerable patriarch pointed us out the site where *he* saw the ruins a long time ago; and another remembered seeing the opes of the windows, and a cross wall which divided the building into two lengths—no doubt into nave and chancel; he also remembered seeing the foundations of other buildings on the north side, most probably of the domestic offices of the monastery; he also narrated—'that about sixty years ago a farmer named Garret Cody knocked down the ruins and built a barn with the materials, but he never had a day's luck after, for he swelled up like a big bull, and died a miserable death.' In 1849, Mr. Seward, the owner of the ground, had it broken up, when the foundations

of the monastery were uncovered and cleared away; the plough also exhumed numerous relics of mortality, and we were told several monumental stones were discovered, but we could not get any trace of them.

"All our 'shanachies' were unanimous in ascribing the foundation to the Augustinians, of course, handed down by tradition to them, which we found borne out by Friar Lubin, as he gives, in his valuable History of that body, a map of Ireland specifying the localities where houses of the order existed. In Munster, we have at the mouth of the Blackwater 'Yoalensis' marked, along with the monasteries of Ardmore, Lismore, and Dungarvan, but there are no particulars given, and as all the other religious foundations at Youghal are already identified, we can see no reason why this should not for the future be set down as the identical one noted by Lubin.

"We now turned our attention to St. Coran, to whom we had little doubt, from the name of the road leading to it being called Kill-coran, this foundation was dedicated, and found him set down in the Irish calendars, at the 9th February, *Kuarain*, Koran, *Curvinus*, or, the bowed. He was called 'the wise' son of Nestman, and was of Deisi in Munster. In the Festilogium of Ængus the Culdee he is called 'Meus parvulus curvinus,' that is, my little humpy. The Annals of Ulster record, under the date of A.D. 1121, the death of Donald, son of Ardgar, son of Lochlin, King of Ireland, and says that it took place 'in quarto Id. Februarii, et in festo Mochuarochi,' i. e. on the fourth of the Ides of February (February 9), and on the Feast of Mochuaroc, showing plainly that his feast was observed at this date as of considerable importance. In Harris' edition of Ware, vol. i. p. 549, among the early bishops of Lismore, we read:—'St. Cronan, the son of Nethsemon, a learned man, and called Cronan the wise, was descended of a noble stock, and died on the 9th of February, 717. He was of the same family with Ailbe, Bishop of Emly.' And Dr. O'Donovan, writing on the same subject, says:—'I have never seen a Life of St. Cuanan of Deisi Mumhan. Colgan has put together all he could find about him under the wrong name of *Cronan*, at the 10th of February, but this is probably a misprint, for, in the calendars which Colgan used, he is called Mochuaroc, *alias* Cuanan the wise, of Deisi Mumhan. He was contemporary with St. Carthach of Lismore; but very little is known about him, as no regular life of him has yet been discovered.'

"We, therefore, lay claim to the honour of reviving the memory of a saint and monastery of Youghal, which its inhabitants knew little about for centuries past.

"Another religious house to which we would call attention is the ruins of the Preceptory of Knights Templars at Rhincrew, about a mile and a quarter north of Youghal.

"Rhincrew is in Irish *Reen-cruagh*, i. e. the 'firm promontory.' The ruins of the Rhincrew Preceptory are extensive, and occupy the highest point of a bold wooded hill, overlooking the river Blackwater, as it pours into the harbour of Youghal; and commands a most extensive and beautiful prospect of the town and surrounding country, and speaks much for the skill and taste of those noble knights who occupied this airy height some 600 years ago.

"Numerous heaps of moss-grown stones mark out the site into an

irregular quadrangle. Our woodcut gives a good idea of the buildings still to be seen. In this view the chapel is on the left, portions of the four



The Preceptory of Knights Templars, Rhincrew.

walls being still standing; it measures, inside, 52 feet by 27 feet in breadth; the walls  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick; the apses of the east, and two of the west windows, are shown in the sketch. The stone-arched, cellar-like building to the right is the old dining-hall, or refectory, which stands north and south: this is almost in a perfect state, and gives a good idea of the rough but manly habits of our early forefathers, with its original clay floor, unplastered stone ceiling and walls, and lighted by small, deeply splayed spike-holes; its size inside is 41 feet by 17 feet 9 inches. The side walls are 2 feet in height by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, from which springs the stone-arched Gothic ceiling, the highest point of arch measuring 10 feet from the floor. The kitchen and cellars are at the north end of the dining-hall, as usual in all well-planned establishments of the kind; and the dormitories occupied the whole extent over the kitchen, cellars, and refectory. Some remains of the cloisters and other buildings, on the west side, can also be traced out.

“The stones used throughout the works are very small, and show no traces in any part of carvings, mouldings, nor even of plastering.

“The foundation of this Preceptory is universally ascribed, by tradition, to the Knights of St. John; yet, from the architectural remains, dating towards the end of the twelfth century, we are led to give the Knights Templars the credit of its origin. Still, as the Knights of St. John succeeded to the Templars' possessions, after their suppression in 1304, there is little doubt but the tradition is correct so far as the occupancy of the Preceptory down to a much later period by them. The foregoing conclusions are much strengthened by the fact of a church and a ruined castle, situated a mile north of the Preceptory, in the parish of Rhincrew, still retaining the name of *Temple Michael*, evidently an outpost of the order. We find also Ware recording that, in 1186, Raymond le Gros

about this year closed his eventful life, probably in the Templars' house at Rhincrew, and is said to have been interred in the abbey of Molana (about a mile and a half north). But we have a more accurate record of Raymond from the pedigree of the Windsor family:—1186. 'Raymond, surnamed Le Gros, bu: in the Abbey of Molan, nere unto Youghall.'—Carew MSS., British Museum.

"Tradition has also handed down, that in former days statues of cross-legged knights, clothed in armour, lay in the chapel, until destroyed by the Cromwellian soldiers, and that there were several outworks and sally-ports excavated in the hill; but there are no appearances of them now.

"The writer is strongly impressed with the idea that Raymond was the founder of the Preceptory at Rhincrew, as we have the Geraldines identified with every religious foundation at Youghal from this date down to the sixteenth century—the date of this building exactly corresponding with their occupancy of the district. We have Strongbow founding a Preceptory in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, in 1173, and a son of Hugh de Lacy founding one also at Kilsaran, in the county of Louth, in the year 1199; and what more probable, that, now the fire of war and conquest being on the wane in Strongbow's most famous commander, Raymond, a Preceptory would be the first step towards the more matured and ascetic life of the monastery in after years; and we, therefore, find the succeeding Geraldines establishing a light-tower, and endowing the Nunnery of St. Anne's about the close of the twelfth century, at least so saith tradition. Besides, we find these remains are identified in records with the Franciscan Friary, which was founded by Maurice Fitzgerald in 1224. In 1268 we have Thomas Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald founding the Dominican Friary here; and in 1464 Thomas, the eighth Earl of Desmond, founded the College of Youghal, and in 1468 he re-edified the church of St. Mary's, and rebuilt the chancel, four years after its being made a collegiate church. But the chief object which we wish to call attention to, is the very interesting dwelling, usually, but erroneously, denominated 'SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S HOUSE' (see 'Transactions,' January, 1856, p. 26), this building being a portion of, and coeval with the College, actually the WARDEN'S HOUSE, and even still surrounded by the College gardens. It seems strange why it should be alienated in name from its original use, and identified now as Sir Walter Raleigh's house, merely from the supposition that he resided in it for a year or so. Indeed, it would appear to us just as reasonable to rob the noble Geraldine of the credit of the College itself, as of this, the only portion of it, which has reached our times nearly in its original state.

"The last foundation on our list is St. John's Priory, the remains of which, still to be seen, date from the middle of the fourteenth century; it was founded when the Geraldines were the sole proprietors of the town, and, as supposed, for the purpose of receiving the Knights of St. John from Rhincrew, after the dissolution of that Preceptory. A list of Preceptories of the Knights of St. John, which we have seen, may be interesting, as follows:—Kilsaran, county of Louth; Kilbarry, county of Waterford; Crook, same county; Ballinamoney, county of Cork; Clonaul, Tipperary; Teagh, county of Sligo; Killergy, county of Carlow; Kilocloghan, county of Wexford; Ballyheuke and St. Bridget, also in Wexford; Kilbeg and Kilheel, Kildare;

Little Kilmainham, near Nobber, in the county of Meath; Kilmainham Wood, also in Meath; Ardes, in the county of Down; Any, county of Limerick; and Kilnallakin, county of Galway.

“These ancient relics are worth calling the attention of the Society to, as, no doubt, many of them were founded by the Templar Knights, whose early history in Ireland would well repay research.

“In the November Number of the ‘Transactions,’ p. 196, *supra*, a remarkable circumstance in the history of the scene of our last ‘Jottings’ is set forth by Mr. Windele—the siege of the Round Tower of Ardmore. Although not in the least wishing to cross the paths or opinions of any of our eminent archæologists, much less those of my esteemed friend, Mr. Windele, yet, when a Member differs in opinion from another, and, as he considers, on good grounds, it appears to me a duty incumbent on him to give his reasons for so doing, and if those reasons be properly controverted afterwards, the great object we are all aiming at—to get at the truth—will be effected.

“In Mr. Windele’s account of the siege of the Round Tower at Ardmore, the following passage occurs:—‘Ardmore also enjoys the distinction of having been the first tower whose examination disclosed the very important fact, at first strenuously questioned, but now sufficiently established by researches, with similar results, in other buildings, that these structures had been raised for a sepulchral purpose, apart from other uses.’ That this passage is not borne out satisfactorily by the excavations and discoveries made in our Round Towers, the writer is strongly impressed; as in no instance where the towers were excavated and examined, was there a perfect human skeleton discovered. In the remains found in the Ardmore Tower we have a skeleton without head or feet, and the position in which the head *should have been*, occupied by one of the foundation stones; also, in the same tower, a *second skeleton*, minus the *whole trunk*, at least so saith the published accounts of the matter given by Dr. Petrie, p. 80 of his work on the ‘Origin and Use of the Round Towers of Ireland.’ The fact of the foundation stones occupying the position where the head originally rested, I have been informed of by Edward Odell, Esq., who projected, and had the excavations made in the Tower of Ardmore, for the purpose of examination.

“In the other towers excavated by the South Munster Antiquarian Society, no better results followed, but rather the contrary, as the examination of some of them showed there were no human remains in them, though excavated to the rock; these were the Towers of Cashel and Kinnech. And now we have before us the more recent researches in the Round Towers of Ulster, published in the ‘Ulster Journal of Archæology,’ 1855 and 1856, and what are the results? Similar almost in every respect to those in Munster; but then we have a discovery in Armoy Tower, county of Antrim, of a few human bones and a skull at one side, and, a couple of feet lower down at the other side, a skull with a portion of the cervical vertebræ attached to it. There was a kind of a roughly cut niche in the wall where this skull was discovered, and the vertebræ of the neck turned towards the niche, yet both skull and vertebræ were within the inner circumference of the tower, neither being in the niche. The writer in the ‘Ulster Journal’ has taken considerable trouble, and has given several quotations from ancient authorities, to show that kings’ and heroes’ heads were often cut off, and



buried separately from the body, in order to explain the position of the discovered cranium; but if the delvers of Ulster would extend their researches to the exterior of the tower, and excavate in a direct line from the discovery within, I have no doubt another discovery would be made—no less than the extremities of the same skeleton extending beyond the walls.

“The conclusion we must come to from the evidence before us, is, that if the towers were erected for sepulchral purposes, over druids, heroes, saints, or kings, it is contrary to common sense to think, that the remains of *all* before interment should be so mutilated as now discovered, and that those towers where no human remains were found should have been erected as cenotaphs,—if we are to credit the sepulchral theory advocated by Mr. Windele. Further on in Mr. Windele’s paper, referring to the name by which the tower is called, he says:—‘Its vernacular name of Guilcach, or *Cuilcach* Dhiaglain, is equally inexpressive. It is true that Dr. Petrie says this term is obviously a local corruption of *Cloigtheach*; but this is very far from being so certain. *Guilcach*, or *Guilce*, is a very distinct native term, signifying a reed, and may be applied figuratively to these tall, slender, and taper columns.’ In referring to Dr. Petrie’s work I find he was certainly in error on this point, as he asserts at p. 113:—‘It is unquestionable that the towers are still known by no other names than *cloigtheach* and *clogas*—words signifying bell-house, or belfry—in every part of Ireland in which the Irish language still remains.’ Some time ago Mr. Windele wrote to me, expressing a wish that I should make inquiry into this particular subject, and, after considerable research among the peasantry and Irish-speaking portion of the people at Ardmore, and the surrounding district, I found that the name by which the Round Tower there was invariably designated was, as pronounced, *Kil-ceach*, and never in any instance *Cloigtheach*; this I found was also the case at Cloyne, county of Cork, where another fine Round Tower is still standing. In speaking to an ordinary Irish scholar, when making the above inquiries, as to the proper reading of the word, his opinion was, that *Kil-ceach* meant ‘the high church,’ or ‘church of the great saint,’ i. e. of Declan, in contradistinction to Kill-een, ‘a little church,’ or ‘oratory.’ Since then, I have been in correspondence with Mr. W. Williams, of Dungarvan (no mean Irish scholar); he objects to this reading, and says, the word is ‘*Cuille-heach*,’ and that ‘*heach*’ is *ceac*, ‘a house;’ but *cuille* remains, and we cannot identify that with *ceill*, or *ceall*, ‘a church.’ Now, with all due deference to the opinions of the Messrs. Windele and Williams, I beg to say, the first word or syllable, as pronounced by the peasantry, is invariably the same as in Kil-kenny, Kil-cloghan, Kil-cananagh, &c., which word is allowed by all Irishmen to mean simply ‘church;’ and I am really at a loss to imagine why a word so simple and plain to all should be mystified into any other. This being allowed, the other words speak for themselves, and we have the very simple and interesting reading of *Kil-ceach Deglane*, i. e. ‘the church-house of St. Declan,’ *Kil-ceach Coleman*, i. e. the ‘church-house of St. Coleman,’ as still used by the people of this district, and of Cloyne.”

The Rev. John O’Hanlon sent the following continuation of his researches amongst the materials for Irish county history laid up in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office. The present paper related to

the county of Kildare. The concluding remarks were well worthy of attention:—

“The MS. materials for the county of Kildare, in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, are as follows, according to the Index:—I. Names from Down Survey, and Book of Survey and Distribution (see Leinster, vol. i.). II. Extracts, two volumes, and Rough Index of Places to ditto. III. Letters, two volumes. IV. Name-books, eighty-two. V. Barony and Parish Names, one volume. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. County Index to Names on Maps, one volume. VIII. Repertorium Viride, in Common-place Book ‘S.’ I. The folio Leinster volume of the Down Survey, being first in order, contains matter referring to the county of Kildare, with an Index to its Barony and Parish Names prefixed, all comprised within pp. 149 to 229. So far as the county of Kildare is concerned, these pages contain only a dry list of names of places, loosely written, and only on alternate pages. II. The Extracts are contained in two volumes.—Vol. i. contains 520, for the most part, closely written pages, numbered; but amongst those pages must be included a few that are partially or wholly blank. The extracts in this volume are from the ‘Repertorium Viride,’ referring to the names of the churches within the deanery of Tristledermot (Castledermot), with descriptive particulars, and likewise the names and descriptions of the churches of the deanery De Saltu Salmonis (Leixlip), from the ‘Royal Visitation Book,’ referring to the deaneries of Saltus Salmonis (Leixlip); Omurthie, Naas, Kildare, Clane, and Kilkyle, from Tirechan, ‘Book of Armagh,’ ‘Maoin Choluimchille;’ from the ‘Monasticon Hibernicum;’ from the ‘Inquisitions;’ from an Irish Ecclesiastical vellum MS. of the Royal Irish Academy, containing an account of St. Evin and his Bell (prose and verse, in the Irish character, transcribed by Eugene Curry); from interesting pages of one of the O’Gorman MSS., on the ancient divisions of Kildare (transcribed by Eugene Curry, in the Roman and Irish character); from Dr. Petrie’s MS., compared with the original, and transcribed by Eugene Curry; the ‘Will of Cormac Mac Cullinan,’ a metrical piece in the Irish character; from Colgan’s ‘Trias Thaumaturga,’ the ‘Vita prima S. Brigide;’ from ‘Book of Lecan’ (various extracts transcribed, in the Irish character, by Eugene Curry); from a Latin list of tombs of the great men of Ireland, headed ‘Tumulides,’—a translation of an Irish ‘Poem on the Tombs,’ transcribed by O’Clery, in the O’Rielly MSS. of the Royal Irish Academy (the present extract transcribed, in the Irish character, by Eugene Curry); from MacFirbis; from the ‘Leabar Gabala’ (Book of Conquests); from O’Dugan; from O’Huidhreen; from Keating; from ‘Book of Ballymote’ (derivation of Naas); from ‘Poem on Mac Gorman’ (Hodges and Smith’s MSS.); from O’Gorman MSS., Library of Royal Irish Academy; the ‘Pedigree of Mac Gorman,’ ‘Will of Cathar More,’ and English translation; from ‘Irish Calendar;’—all the foregoing transcribed by Eugene Curry, and for the most part in the Irish character. Extracts from the ‘Journal of the Rebellion of 1641,’ and from the ‘Annals of the Four Masters;’ from Dr. Petrie’s ‘Essay on the Round Towers;’ from the ‘Acta Sanctorum’ of Colgan and of the Bollandists; from Lanigan’s ‘Ecclesiastical History of Ireland;’ from ‘Ogygia’ and Usher’s ‘Primordia.’ Vol. ii. contains

432 (a few blank pages excepted) closely written pages of extracts from the 'Annals of the Four Masters;' from the 'Irish Calendar;' from 'Ogygia;' from 'Gough's Camden;' from Colgan's 'Trias Thaumaturga;' from Lanigan's 'Ecclesiastical History of Ireland;' from Harris's 'Ware;' from 'Topographia Hiberniæ;' from Hoare's 'Tour in Ireland;' from Seward's 'Top. Hibn.;' from a letter and hand-sketch of P. O'Keefe, addressed to J. O'Donovan, Esq.; a plan on tracing-paper of county of Kildare, copied from Mercator's Map; from a MS. of the Royal Irish Academy; from 'Keating' (in Irish character); from 'Leland;' from 'Or. MSS. Topography of Co. Wicklow' (forfeitures in 1688); from 'Reliques of Irish Poetry;' from Archdall's 'Lodge;' from Rawson's 'Survey of Kildare;' from 'Or. MSS. Letters Patent of Elizabeth;' from Colgan's 'Acta Sanctorum;' from Mac Geoghegan's 'Annals of Clonmacnois;' from l'Abbé Mac Geoghegan's 'Histoire de l'Irlande Ancienne et Moderne;' a trace of the Rath on the Curragh of Kildare, from Gough's 'Camden's Britannia,' by W. Mooney, Civil Assistant; from O'Rielly MSS., Royal Irish Academy; from an old 'Descriptive Account of the County of Kildare,' by Thomas Monk, for Sir William Petty; inscriptions in pencil-mark (4 pages); from 'Garrett Byrne's MSS.' on the O'Kellys; from Archdall's 'Lodge;' from Hardiman's 'Irish Ministrelsy;' from Mason's 'Parochial Survey of Ireland;' and from Moore's 'History of Ireland.' Both volumes of Extracts are in quarto shape; and there is a Rough Index of Places to ditto in 202 thick, but loosely written folio pages. In the latter Index reference is made to the pages of the extracts; the names in the county of Kildare occurring in alphabetical order. The leaves of this Index are yet unbound. III. The Letters are comprised in two volumes, 4to; and each volume is preceded by an Index to the Contents, in Mr. O'Lalor's usual beautiful and accurate style. Vol. i. contains 247 closely written pages, and thirty-seven Letters. The first and last letters were written by T. O'Conor. The first letter is dated Maynooth, October 18, 1837, and the last, Athy, Nov. 24, 1837. Mr. O'Conor wrote six letters from Maynooth, three from Enfield, two from Clane, four from Naas, four from Athy, and one letter from Edenderry. Mr. O'Keefe's first letter is undated, but was apparently written at Edenderry or Enfield; and his last is dated Naas, November 11, 1837. He wrote one letter from Edenderry (perhaps Enfield), one from Enfield in addition; two letters from Clane, and three from Naas. Dr. O'Donovan's first letter is dated Dublin, November 12, 1837; and his last is dated Athy, November 24, 1837. He wrote one letter from Dublin, one from Naas, one from Newpass, and seven letters from Athy. There are several loose leaves of an Index to the separate letters in W. Mooney's handwriting, at the end of this volume. Vol. ii. contains 285 closely written pages, and twenty-seven letters. The first letter of Dr. O'Donovan's is dated Athy, November 26, 1837, and the last, Tullamore, January 6, 1838. He wrote two letters from Athy, fourteen from Kildare, four from Portarlinton, and one letter from Tullamore. The latter letter contains a long and most valuable dissertation on the ancient territories of the county of Kildare, with an accurate ancient map of these territories, elegantly executed with pen and ink, and signed, J. O'Donovan, January 7, 1838. The letters from Kildare contain three hand-sketches in ink, of the envi-

rons, and a ground plan of the antiquities of the town of Kildare, with a ground plan of Dun Aillinne. The first letter of Mr. O'Connor is dated Athy, November 27, 1837; and the last, Blessington, January 20, 1839. He wrote three letters, respectively dated, Athy, Portarlinton, and Blessington, with three from Kildare. At the end of this volume, on tracing-paper, is a map of the county of Kildare, copied, I believe, from the Down Survey; and a second map of the county, reduced and drawn by F. K. Cradock, in April, 1838. IV. There are eighty-two Name-books, which, as usual, contain descriptions of the several parishes and townlands of the county, in tabulated order. These small block books are bound in vellum, and are sometimes called 'field-books,' because carried about by members of the Ordnance Survey staff, for the purpose of ascertaining, on the spot, correct statistical and descriptive information. They are of great utility for the compilation of local memoirs of the several parishes in the county of Kildare. V. The Barony and Parish Names is a quarto volume of 140 leaves, numbered only on alternate pages. Several of the pages are blank. This volume gives the various spellings of the parish names in the county of Kildare, with the authorities for such spellings. On the top of each written page Dr. O'Donovan gives the true name of each parish, in the Irish character, with a rendering in English; and in many instances valuable historical notes and comments are found appended by the same learned writer. This also would prove a valuable hand-book for the future compiler of the parish memoirs of the county of Kildare. VI. The quarto volume entitled 'Memorandums' comprises 132 variously written pages, containing antiquarian and other notes from different persons, and at various dates, with maps on tracing-paper, pencil, and ink sketches, &c. Prefixed to this volume is an alphabetical Index to Memorandums, in one page of double columns, and an Index to Extracts, in two pages, double columns. VII. The County Kildare Index to Maps is a folio volume of 117 pages, as I find by reckoning them, for they are not numbered. The names of the baronies, parishes, and townlands run in three parallel lines, on separate slips of paper, which are pasted in alphabetical order, according to the names of the several townlands of the county. Thus, the townlands are named first, then the baronies in which they are situated, and lastly, their respective parishes. This arrangement enables the clerks and engravers of the Ordnance Survey Office to refer to the Index, and especially to the Townland Maps of the county, when wishing to ascertain the particular locality. VIII. The Common-place Book, marked on the back 'Y. 24, S.,' is a quarto volume, containing fifty-nine closely written pages; most of the pages in this book are blank. The whole of this MS. contains nothing more than a transcript from the 'Repertorium Viride Joannis Septimi Archiepiscopi Dublin. Agnomine Alanus.' It refers to the different churches of the counties of Kildare, Dublin, and Wicklow. There are no sketches by professional artists; nor are there special *Memoir* papers for the county of Kildare. The letters of the antiquaries for this county are of great value, and it must be observed, that little remains to be added to what they have already written. The same observations apply to nearly all the other counties of Ireland, excepting those of Ulster, which were for the most part undertaken at the earliest date, and before the staff of the Ordnance Survey

Office had been thoroughly organized. The defect, however, is in a great measure supplied by valuable Memoir Papers for the northern counties.

"It is much to be regretted that the Government should allow all these valuable materials to remain in MS., as, after the expense of compilation and collection has been already defrayed, it would only require the superintendence and direction of a few literary and scientific men and antiquaries to put them in a shape for publication, on the plan of the specimen volume, the 'Ordnance Survey Memoir of Londonderry.' The cost of letter-press and engravings, necessary to complete the published Memoirs of the different Parishes of Ireland, should not deter the Government of a great and civilized country, such as that of the British Empire. In France, Italy, and Germany, and even in the United States, objects of like national and scientific importance in a literary point of view would not have remained so long in a neglected state for want of the means requisite to give them publicity. It is a false economy, very discreditably to the rulers of this empire, that a greater impetus is not given towards the suitable completion of a magnificent national design, which would tend to develop the agricultural and mineral resources of our country, and make us known to ourselves and to the people of the whole civilized world. There is hardly a doubt but that the published volumes of the Ordnance Survey of the several parishes of Ireland would command an extensive sale, not only at home, but abroad, if sold separately or collectively, to suit public institutions and the popular demand. The great circulation which the only published volume of the Ordnance Survey has already attained would go far to establish the correctness of the foregoing opinion; and before many years are passed it will be highly priced on the catalogues of booksellers, for even purchasers will not be able to obtain it from the agents of the Irish Ordnance Survey. I have been informed by one of the most intelligent of these gentlemen, an extensive publisher and bookseller in Dublin, that, in his opinion, were the Government to proceed with the publication of the memoirs of the several parishes of Ireland, on the plan originally designed, there could be no doubt that in due course of time the outlay required for their publication would be more than returned, judging from his own experience of the demand for the Ordnance Survey Memoir of Londonderry, and for the various Index and Townlands Maps of Ireland, even in their present imperfect state. And as Ireland is now become an integral part of the British Empire, the consideration of this question concerns not only the people of Ireland, but even those of England and Scotland. It might even be said, that any undertaking which tends to enlarge the scope of reliable information on any subject would be hailed with delight and encouragement by all the learned men of Europe, and of the other quarters of the globe. I would even venture to assert, that were the Irish Ordnance Survey completed, on the plan originally designed by Lieut.-Col. Larcom, the various civilized countries of the world would be induced to emulate the example of the Government in this respect, and the result would be an universal diffusion of useful knowledge amongst all enlightened people and nations, on subjects of the highest interest and importance. History, antiquities, topography, statistics, science, commerce, agricultural, mechanical and mining interests, social and political economy, would receive illustration and investigation to an almost incre-

dible extent; and this desirable result would follow without at all encroaching on the domain of purely speculative, metaphysical, theological, or abstract inquiries."

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

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"OF THE TAKEING AWAY OF A GENTLEWOMAN, THE YOUNGEST DAUGHTER OF SIR NICHOLAS BAGENALL, LATE MARSHALL OF HER MAJESTY'S ARMY, BY THE EARL OF TIROWEN;" AS REVEALED BY THE DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY, ESQ.

At a recent Meeting of the Society there was read a paper comprising all such documents as exist in the State Paper Office relative to the signal defeat sustained by the English forces under Sir Henry Bagnal at the Blackwater. It was then mentioned that "O'Neill had married the Marshal's sister, and that out of that marriage had arisen a deadly hatred between them." It cannot fail to have occurred to the reader of those documents, that there must have been something remarkable and unusual in that marriage to account for such feelings. The reader may have known that between Sir Nicholas Bagnal, the father of Sir Henry, and O'Neill there had existed at least neighbourly and peaceful intercourse, and some curiosity may have been excited to learn what there could have been in this marriage to cause so unforgiving a resentment in the mind of the lady's brother. The feud between these two men led to an issue so tragical, and placed the Government of Ireland in a position so critical, that it acquires far more than a mere personal interest, and is rendered a subject worthy of historical inquiry. Relative to this episode to the story of the great combat with which it is connected, there fortunately exist all the documents necessary for its elucidation,—letters written at the time by the parties immediately concerned in it, and by the authorities of Ireland, who thought it their duty to report all the details of it to the English Government. These papers are now presented to the reader as an Appendix not inappropriate to the documents already printed concerning the "Journey of the Blackwater." We are familiar with Tyrone as the "wicked rebel," the "arch traitor," and under many similar names; there will be novelty, at least, in becoming acquainted with him as the ardent lover, and the hero of an elopement.

"21 Aug<sup>r</sup> 1591. L. DEP. AND COUNSAILE to the LLs of the P. C.

"It maie please yo' good LLs amongst other occurrents in this kingdome wee have thought good to send unto yo' LLs a true report of a late accident w<sup>h</sup> hathe happened in these parts, Of the takeing awaies of a *gentlewoman, the youngest daughter of S<sup>r</sup> Nich<sup>as</sup> Bagenall Late m<sup>r</sup>shall of her Ma<sup>ty</sup>: armie*, and sister to the nowe m<sup>r</sup>shall, of the age of twentie yeres or thereabouts by the Erle of Tirowen, the manner whereof was this w<sup>h</sup> followeth. Since the deathe of the *Erles late wife w<sup>h</sup> was ODonells daughter he hathe borne a wondrefull affection to the gentlewoman whome he nowe enioyeth, and moste earnestlie hathe sollicited by his self and his freends S<sup>r</sup> Henry Bagenall to yeld his consent to a mariage betwene them, w<sup>h</sup> from time to time, being earnestly intreated and delt w<sup>h</sup>all by all psuasions that mighte be used the gen<sup>l</sup> denied to graunt, carryinge alwaies in dutie a doubtfull opinion howe her Ma<sup>ty</sup> and yo' LLs wolde conceave of the matchinge of his sister to so great an estate of the Irishrie, for w<sup>h</sup> and other respects, as the incivilitie of therls countrey not agreeing w<sup>h</sup> his sisters educacōn, and the uncertantie of a Jointer to be allotted for her maintenance after the Erles deathe, the marshall differred to consent to that mariage, unles bothe her Ma<sup>ty</sup> and yo' LLs were first made acquainted w<sup>h</sup> the matter, and had expresslie signified yo' good likinge thereof. And w<sup>h</sup> like wise consideraōn foreseeing the attempts that might be made, if his sister shold continue w<sup>h</sup> him self at the Newrie so nere to the Erles countrey, he removed her of purpose into the paale to avoid all inconveniences, to remaine w<sup>h</sup> her sister the Ladie Barnewell w<sup>h</sup>in seven miles of Dublin. The Erle in the meane season being much discontented w<sup>h</sup> the marshalls answers, and vehem<sup>l</sup>ie affecting the gentlewoman in love, spared not to practise all manner of devises to winn her favo<sup>r</sup> and consent to the matche, w<sup>h</sup> by the mediacōn of some of his frendes whome he trusted best, and by his owne intercession getting opportunitie and accesse to speak w<sup>h</sup> her himself he obtained, in suche manner, that firste they privatelie plighted their trouthes on eche side in Julii last, the gentlewoman then received from therle a token of good worthe, and aboute 20 daies after, the Erle taking occaōn to goe to dinner to S<sup>r</sup> Patrick Barnewells howse, accompanied onlie w<sup>h</sup> a fewe English gent: where he was well entertained, soon after diñer, without suspition of anie suche part, conveyed the gentlewoman w<sup>h</sup> her owne free consent (the matter on bothe sides being form<sup>l</sup>ie agreed upon betwene them) to a frends howse of his name w<sup>h</sup>in a mile of Dublin, where p<sup>es</sup>entlie he married her according her Mat<sup>r</sup> Lawes, and verie hon<sup>s</sup>ablie solemnized the mariage for fower or five daies: So sone as the Marshall had intelligence hereof he made his repaire p<sup>es</sup>entlie to me the deputie, being wonderfully disquieted w<sup>h</sup> greif & passion of minde at this sodaine accident, whereof had ensued bothe great broiles and bloodshedd if by auctoritie wee had not restrained bothe parties.*

"Thus have wee made bolde to acquaint y<sup>r</sup> good LLs w<sup>h</sup> the wise and dutifull behavio<sup>r</sup> of the marshall in this cause, and w<sup>h</sup> the vehem<sup>l</sup> affectōn of Love in the Erle, w<sup>h</sup> made him impatient to abide delaie, and carried him hedlong unto this attempt, who is nowe depted towards his countrey w<sup>h</sup> his young Ladie, whome he useth verie kindly, and hathe faithfully

promised to have an honorable regard of to the contentment<sup>l</sup> of her frendes & allies hereafter. And so w<sup>h</sup> the remembrance of o<sup>r</sup> humble duties we comend yo<sup>r</sup> LLs w<sup>h</sup> o<sup>r</sup> prayers to the pteccōn of the Almightie.

“ From Kilmaineham the 21 of August 1591.

“ Yo<sup>r</sup> LLs moste humble

“ ever to commaund

“ W. FITZWILLIAM.

“ A<sup>d</sup> Dublin Canc

“ THO<sup>r</sup> MIDENSIS.”

“ 13 Aug<sup>r</sup> 1591. S<sup>r</sup> H. BAGNALL to my L. TREASURER.

“ My vearye good Lo. I muste craue pdon of yo<sup>r</sup> Lo yf my psente discontentment shall carye me further (in the declaracōn of a late accidente hapened here to my unspeakable greefe) then reason or tearmes of modestie doe require. My oulde father havinge left but one onely daughter to myne and other her carefull frendes disposing, my Lo. of Tyrone became a sutor unto her, and after some conference had w<sup>h</sup> my selfe and other her frendes in whome he pceaved no greate good towardlines to answer his expectacōn, began in moste dishonorable sorte, contrarie to his assured promes passed unto me, by secrete allurements and drift of some dishonest pson who mente to make michandize of her undooinge, to peure the good likinge of the girle, and havinge taken the aduantage of her yeares and ignorance of his barbarous estate and course of livinge, so entised the unfortunate girle, by nursinge in her through the reporte of some corrupted psons an opinion of his havior, and greatnes, that beinge at a sisters house of myne w<sup>h</sup>in seaven myles of Dublin she was contented to steale awaye w<sup>h</sup> one Will<sup>m</sup> Warren whome the saide Earle used as a pryncipall instrumente, to the compassinge of this his detestable purpose. I can but accurse my selfe and fortune that my bloude w<sup>h</sup> in my father and my selfe hath often bene spilled in repressinge this rebellious race, should nowe be mingled w<sup>h</sup> so traitorous a stocke and kindred: and w<sup>h</sup>all deteste some my cōtreymen, contented to pty<sup>p</sup>ate in this villanye, especyally the Bishopp of Meath, who beinge ready in the house of Warren six miles distante from the place she runne awaye at fower of the clocke in the afternone, maryed them contrarie to the consente of frendes and publike, pregnante, and most apafante by the lawe of God, not unknowen and to himselfe, impedimente to the contrarie. By this and such like examples in men of his sorte Godes worde is greatlye slaundered, and manye men in this kingdome, whoe I thincke would otherwise willinglie embrace the trouthe, brought into detestation of the gospel. But in this and all other my greefes I moste humble submitt myselfe to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo grave censure, and upon the knees of my harte, doe most submissively implore both in this and all accidents concerninge me, yo<sup>r</sup> honorable indifferente and accustomed consideraōn, ptestinge I had rather forsake my place, and patrimonie, w<sup>h</sup> my Father by his owne vertue and the princes liberalitie hath acquired: and w<sup>h</sup> both he and my selfe to oure greate toyle and payne have reduced from barbarisme, to that whiche nowe it is, & plunge my selfe into ruine, then upon this accident or anye other, slacke one iote in the zeale of her highnes service. Had not the Lo Deputie upon some especyall causes of service at this



p'sente staid me I woulde have wayted upon yo' Lp: there to have manyfested my inexplicable greefe by worde of mouth w'h nowe I am forced to doe in paper. Where in I sweare by the p'sence of Almightye God and the dutie I beare her Sacred Ma<sup>ty</sup> my Soulesaigne that I will houlde a more vigilante eye on that Earls acōns and pceedings then euer heretofore I did, and that I woulde rather abandon this kingdome then by anye entreatie growe to attonement w'h him, or ioyne w'h him in ought yf it be not at some instante tymes occasion shalbe geven for the furtherance of her Mat' service. And so cravage pdon of the p'sente cause if my greefe hath caryed me further then doth stand w'h yo' honors good liking I moste humblie leave you to God.

"From the Newrie this 13<sup>th</sup> of Auguste.

"Yo' Lo. most humble bounden

"H. BAGENALL."

"12 Aug<sup>r</sup> 1591. ERLE OF TYRONE to my LO. (BURGHLEY) TOUCHINGE HIS MARIAGE W<sup>th</sup> S<sup>r</sup> H. BAGNALL'S SISTER.

"My verie good Lo. I coniecture that some reportes hath ben at court touchinge a motion past betwext me and S<sup>r</sup> Henrie Bagnall knight for the mariage of his sister, wherin fyndinge that I was delayed, w'hall havinge obtayned the gentlewomans good will I have taken her to wife w'hout the privite of Sir Henrie, other then the first motion, proceeding then chieflie of himselfe, where upon he is not unlike to take occasion to agravat against me, as heretofore he hath ben apt to do, therefore I thought it good to acquaint yo' Lp. w'h this muche, lest sinister informaçon (through my sylence) might wynn credit, assuringe your Lp. that nothinge hath ben done in this ill besaminge me in duty or honor. I humblie besech yo' honor therfore as youe have ben alwaies a furtherer of my just causes that your honor will vouchsafte as well in this as in other the like, to give credit to non that shall propone against me untill such tyme as the same be by me answered. And so beinge alwaies bound unto your honor I humblie take my leave.

"From Dublin the 12 of August 1591

"Your honors humblie to comaund

"HUGH TYRONE."

"1591. Oct 28<sup>th</sup>. S<sup>r</sup> HENRY BAGNELL to my L. (BURGHLEY).

"My verie good Lo. amonge all other the fauo<sup>r</sup> w'h yo' L<sup>p</sup> manie waies haue vouchsafed towards me, I hould myself for noe one more beholdinge, then that it hath pleased yo' L<sup>p</sup> of yo' accustomed indifferency to adresse yo' fres to the Lo. Deputie to be aduertised of the truth of myne informaçon concerninge the late inconsiderate action of the Earle of Tyrone, and albeit I most humbly crave pardon yf in my former fres I have used any unnecessarye vehemency w'h my troubled spirite that tyme, and the nature of the wronge then receyved did urge me unto, yet I protest in the presence of God I would not in substance of matter abuse yo' L<sup>p</sup> and subiect myself in yo' grave censure to the ymputaçon of vanity by informinge an untruth, whereof w'hin the compasse of soe fewe daies yo<sup>r</sup> might be throughly assertheyned, for all I had in this worlde.

"Wherein I had ought to doe w<sup>th</sup> my Lo. of Tyrone was only upon causes of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> service, soe as no private dislike, as some his fauorers heare doe very iniuriously charge me, coulde drawe me to hunt out matter in this nature to his dishono<sup>r</sup>, wherein ioyntlie doth consist the dispergement of my sister, and consequently some touche and spott in reputa<sup>ti</sup>o<sup>n</sup> to my whole famyly, w<sup>h</sup> yf it were not in regarde of my dutie to God, and to free my owne conscience for beinge partaker by my sylence in soe irreligious a fact as I feare this will proue, no wordlie respect could ever cause me to discouer. That he was once married to S<sup>r</sup> Brian M<sup>o</sup>Phelym his daughter, whoe yet lyveth, is by the examina<sup>ti</sup>o<sup>n</sup> of so many witnesses present at the mariage substancially proued, as I suppose thearlie himself will not denye it. And for any dyvorse had for desoluinge that mariage, I never knewe of anie. In respect whereof upon some conference w<sup>h</sup> his Lp. had w<sup>h</sup> me, I wished him to free himself from the comon opynayon w<sup>h</sup> possessed the world of his former mariage, before he did intreate or enter any communica<sup>ti</sup>o<sup>n</sup> of an other.

"But nowe I heare the Earle doth alledge a diuorse, the validitie or invalidity whereof I will not presume to discusse, sythence my Lo. Deputie hath or will shortlie imparte the particler poynts & circumstances of the cause to yo<sup>r</sup> Lp, to whose graue considera<sup>ti</sup>o<sup>n</sup> in what shall concerne me therein I most humblely submytt my self, purposinge verie shortlie to attend yo<sup>r</sup> Lp there, yf I can procure my Lo. Deputie's good leave. In the meane I have appoynted this Bearer my servant to attend yo<sup>r</sup> Lp in this, wherew<sup>h</sup> he is well acquaynted, and for other sutes of myne he is to dispatch, wherein I humbly crave yo<sup>r</sup> Lps. accustomed fauor. My Lo. Deputie hath of late accomplished a service both verie honorable to her Ma<sup>ty</sup> & pfitable to the whole estate of this kingdome in reducinge of the most barbarous countreys of this province to a cyvill & settled course of government. All the landes w<sup>h</sup> belonged to the late M<sup>o</sup>Mawhon he nowe, to the singler contentm<sup>t</sup> of the people inhabitinge there, and comfort of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> subiects of the English pale next borderinge upon them w<sup>h</sup> some aduantage to her Highnes, equally devided among the Gent. & freeholders. The good contynuance whereof is much to be hoped yf the bad example of libty in some their adiacent neighbo<sup>r</sup>s doe not impayre the course of this well begonne reforma<sup>ti</sup>o<sup>n</sup>. Soe cravinge p<sup>r</sup>don in p<sup>r</sup>suminge to be thus troublesom to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. with my humble duty I leve yo<sup>r</sup> Lp. to God.

"At the Nury this xxvij<sup>th</sup> of October 1591

"Yo<sup>r</sup> Lps most humblely to comaund

"H. BAGENALL."

"*Ulr* Oct. 1591. THE ERLE OF TIRONE to the LLs.

"My honourable good Lo. the discontentm<sup>t</sup> w<sup>h</sup> I feele and the wrongs w<sup>h</sup> I endure at M<sup>o</sup> M<sup>o</sup>shals hands, do enforce me to complaine to your Ho. LLs., not doubtinge to receive from you that indifferent measure of Justice, in my good and honest causes w<sup>h</sup> usually you do afford to all her Mat<sup>ty</sup> loyall subiects w<sup>h</sup>out regard of anie man's pson. So it is my LLs. that, accordinge to my dutie, I attending upon the right Honorable the Lo. Deputie at his late beinge at Moneghan, seeinge his Lp. busied in the causes of that countie, I obtayned his Lps. license for 4 or 5 daies to goe into my countrie about my private affaires, nevertheles not knowing but

that his Lp. might have occasion to use my service, I lodged nightlie during myne absence from the Lo. Deputie w<sup>h</sup>in 6 myles of Monaghan, and so it hapened that on Tuesday, the 6<sup>th</sup> of this instant, by the procurement of Mr. Marshall, there were sent by night into my cuntrie vj footemen, and about three score horsmen under the leading of one Zaumell Bagenall Lifenant to Mr. Marshall, beinge a yong man base borne, of small discession, and one of myne enemyes, a matter which hath and cannot but brede me great discredit amongst my people, and so endaunger my state, whereof so sone as I receaved intelligence, w<sup>h</sup> was brought unto me the same night, sone after midnight, I sent direc<sup>o</sup>n into the cuntrie, that no resistance should be used by any of myne, but that the soldiors should be suffered to doe ther pleasures, otherwise ther might against my will have risen a greater broile, then upon the sodaine could have bene appeased: and so sone as the daie appeared I myselfe w<sup>h</sup> a fewe horsmen posted w<sup>h</sup> all speed unto the Lo. Deputie and besought him that I might understand the cause of that sodaine incursion. His Lp. answered me that he had newlie receyved a Ire from you the Lo. Threr wherein youe had signified that the M<sup>'</sup>shall had complayned against me, for a foule abuse done to him, in takinge awaie his sister, and in maryinge of her notwithstandinge I had a former wife livinge as the marshall had likewise informed, and therefore your Lp. had willed him to examyne the trouth of the M<sup>'</sup>shalls allegation, and accordinge to informe your Lp. thereof, that youe might informe hir Ma<sup>ty</sup> the trouth of these matters, this was all the excuse that was made to me of that sodaine goinge into my contrie by night w<sup>h</sup> I have now learned was wholly procured by Mr. M<sup>'</sup>shall, to worke my discredit in my contrie. About one of the cloke in the after non, on Wednesdaie the vij<sup>th</sup> of this instant, the said army returned to Monaghan, and brought w<sup>h</sup> them from Armaghe, the chiefest towne in my contrie, a seelie pore old man of foure score and seventeen yeares of age, being the offitiall of Armaghe, well learned in the civill and cannon Lawes, and him they delivered to the Lo. Deputie, who comitted him at the first to the M<sup>'</sup>shall, who threatned him verie sore (if his report to me be true), but afterwards he was kept by one of the Lo. Deputie's servants, wherew<sup>h</sup> I was verie well pleased, the next daie after, twoe other auncient men of my contrie, namelie tharchdecon, and register of Armaghe were sent for, and I hearinge thereof caused them to appeare before my Lo. Deputie unto whom I sweare by the dutie I owe to my Prince, I would have sent those three psons by the meaneest messenger that his Lp. would have sent unto me. These three, as I understand by them selves have bene examined, before my Lo. Deputie touchinge a divorce long since made by them, and given openlie between me and S<sup>r</sup> Brian M<sup>'</sup>Phelims daughter, from whom I was divorced by the orders of the church, manie yeares agoe, before that I married w<sup>h</sup> O'Donnill's daughter, as it is well knowen to all the cuntrie, though nowe Mr. M<sup>'</sup>shall seeketh to call the same in question againe for malice of me, and hath therein used all maner of bad practises and devises to discredit me w<sup>h</sup>out a cause. I hope these men did testifie the truth of that matter, for it was before them, that the cause was heard, and determynd as I doe nowe signifie to your Lps. After these examynations it pleased the Lo. Deputie to call for my selfe, and to aske me what was become of the sentence of divorce, and whether the same were confirmed under a seale or no.

I told his Lp. that I had the same sentence in my keeping in my contrie, and that it was confirmed both w<sup>h</sup> the hands of the said Judges, and under a seale; his Lp. willed me to send for it that he might see it, w<sup>h</sup> I did accordingly, and on the xxvj<sup>th</sup> of this instant I brought the same originall sentence to his Lp., and delivered him a true copie thereof w<sup>h</sup> he promised me to send to youe the Lo. Thref, wherebie I doubt not both your self and all others wilbe throughlie satisfied in that matter, and will consider howe great a wronge the M<sup>r</sup> shall hath don to me, to make these slaunderous reports against me to the dishonouring of my self, and to the undoing of his owne sister, though it could not be a thing hid from him w<sup>h</sup> all the contrie knewe, that I was lawfully devorsed, from the gentlewoman whom now he would thrust upon me, who also long since married an other husband by whom she hath children, from whom, unles I had ben thoroughlie cleared, I would not for anie wordlie goodes have stayned my credit and conscience by takinge of a second wife. And where I am informed that M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> shall hath written to some of your Lps. that I have greately abused him and committed an outrageous parte in taking awaie his sister in violent maner, and in maryinge hir as I have done, I praie your Lp. not to give creditt to his reporte therin, but to consider of that w<sup>h</sup> I nowe make of the maner of my dealinge in this acc<sup>o</sup>n w<sup>h</sup> I do deliver unto your Lps. upon myne honor, w<sup>h</sup> this protestation, that if any thing w<sup>h</sup> I do write at this tyme, by anie comissioner or comysioners by you appointed shalbe found an untruthe, then let me be discredyted, let me be dishonoured and accounted a traytor to hir Ma<sup>ty</sup>.

“ Bearing an earnest affec<sup>o</sup>n to the gentlewoman that is now my wife I resorted to the Marshall, and first made my desire known to him, whereof he seemed to have good likinge, but wished first to understand your Lps. pleasures in that matter, I dealt w<sup>h</sup> him at least six severall tymes for his consent, I offred him to putt in suertie for the assurance of a yointor to his sister, this I did before good wetnesses, I likewise procured some of the best counsellers in this kingdome to deale w<sup>h</sup> him in this behalfe. I dealt w<sup>h</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Patrick Barnewell and the ladie his wife verie earnestlie for their consents, and w<sup>h</sup> others of the best allyes she had. All this while there was no obiection once made to me of any former mariage, saving that once I confes the Marshall tolde me pvtalie that he had heard of such a matter, and by waie of advise (not anie waie objecting the matter to me) wished me to loke to it, to whom I then answered that that matter was longe since cleared, wherw<sup>h</sup> he then seemed to be satisfied; pceavinge that I found nothinge but delaies and faire words in the Marshall, and havinge used all the means I could to get his consent, I attempted an other course, to deale w<sup>h</sup> the gentlewoman hir self, and about xx daies before my marriage I gate good opportunitie to speak w<sup>h</sup> hir my selfe; I lodged one night at S<sup>r</sup> Patrick Barnewell's house where the gentlewoman was kept, where I dealt so effectually w<sup>h</sup> the gentlewoman, that we were trouthed together, and she received from me a chaine of gold. After this there passed between her and me some messengers w<sup>h</sup> confirmed our love on both sides, and upon a matter concluded between hir and me, upon the third of August last, I tooke in my company at least half a dussen english gentlemen that were my frends, and went to dynner to Sir Patrick Barnewell's, where I found good intertaynem<sup>t</sup>; after dinner some of the gentlemen in my com-

pany goinge to plaie and other exercises, the gentlewoman that is now my wife espiege hir time mounted her selfe behind one of the gentlemen in my company, and went awaie w<sup>h</sup> him, he havinge non in his company, but one or twoe servinge men, I taried still in the house talkinge w<sup>h</sup> the ladie for hir consent, and when I understood that my praie was well forward in hir waie towards the place where we had agreed upon, I tooke my leave of S<sup>r</sup> Patrick Barnewell and his ladie, and followed after, and sone after I was gone the gentlemen, w<sup>h</sup> were in company w<sup>h</sup> me, tooke there horses and came away quietlie.

"This is upon myne honor the truthe of my doing in this action wherein if I have offended, I submitt my selfe to hir Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and your Lps. correcçon; whatsoeu<sup>r</sup> is said or written to your Lps. of this matter, contrarie to this w<sup>h</sup> I have now written, it is upon myne honor an untruth. The gentlewoman was caried not into my contrie there to be abused, but to an honest englishe gentleman's house w<sup>h</sup>in a myle of Dublin (w<sup>h</sup> is the place that I meane alwaies to flie unto upon all occasions yf the Lo. Deputie and state be there), where I did not once touche hir, untill I had sent to Dublin, and had intreated the bishoppe of Meithe to marie us together in honest sorte, w<sup>h</sup> he did, and thus I came by the gentlewoman, and pzentlie after solemnized the mariage in the best maner I could, since w<sup>h</sup> tyme I have bene verie desirous to gett the good will of his frends, w<sup>h</sup>out the w<sup>h</sup> I thank God and hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> I am able to live; but what stirrs the Marshall hath made of this matter, in everie place seeking to dishonour me, and if it laie in him to undoe his owne sister, if your Lps. did knowe them youe would wonder that a man of his place should so farr myscrie him selfe.

"HUGHE TIRONE."

"1591. Oct<sup>r</sup> 22. THE BP OF MEATHE to my Lo. (LORD BURGHLEY).

"*The manner of his proceedinge in y<sup>r</sup> mareage of y<sup>r</sup> Erle of Tyrone w<sup>h</sup> S<sup>r</sup> H. Bagnals Sister.*

"It may please yo<sup>r</sup> good Lo. I have receyved advertisement, that by the informaçon of M<sup>r</sup> Marshall, the late mariage of the Erle of Tyrone, with his youngest Sister, is broughte into question, before yo<sup>r</sup> ho. LLs., & that emogest others my self is charged w<sup>h</sup> severall pointes in that action, that I was a worker & procurer of the match, & the celebrator of that mariage. And because I understand that the matter it self is diverslie censured, being verie desireous that my doinges in this, and all other actions, maie be allowed of in yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. grave iudgment, I have psumed to present unto yo. Lo. a shorte reporte, both of my knowledge, & dealinges in this cause.

"And first my good Lo. where I am charged to have bene a sollicitor & compasser of this match, I protest unto yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. in the psence of God, & upon my credit, I never dealte directlie, or indirectlie by anie meanes therein, I was never conferred with, myne advise was never demanded, neither was I acquainted with this purpose, either by the Erle, or anie of his dependantes. Onely this (my good Lords) I heard by roffers reportes from others w<sup>h</sup> knewe, how things pceeded from tyme to tyme; that as the Erle was wholly possessed with the love of the gentlewoman, so he had lefte no honest, or ordinarie good meanes untried to procure the good

lykinge, & consent of the Marshall, & other hir nearest frends. Upon what cause of dyslyke, they still reiected his most earnest suite & sollicitation, I never heard, neither as yet doe lerne. If the barr of a former mariage, w<sup>h</sup> is now so mightelie urged, had bene then in due season alledged, it wold thoroughlie have discouraged the Erle in his attempte & easelie have diverted the gentlewomans humour to some other love. But my good Lo. as then this allegacōn was mute, and not once spoken of for oughte that I did ever heare or knowe; so doe I, upon my poore creditt avouch unto yo' Lo. and doe hearein call God to wytnes that never before, during the life of the Erles late wife w<sup>h</sup> was ODonels daughter, nor since untill of late, synce this last mariage of the Erles, I did heare or knowe, either by secrett speech, or open reporte, that he was formerlie married to anie other. And therefore hath M<sup>r</sup> Marshall done me verie great wronge, to charge me w<sup>h</sup> the knowledge hereof, had I had but an inklinge of anie such matter I wolde not for M<sup>r</sup> Marshall his yearelie renews have done that I did, w<sup>h</sup>, what it was, and in what sorte I have done it, I most humbly crave yo' Lo. pardon to license me to make knowne unto you.

“ Being at Dublin on the third of August past, attending upon the Lo. Deputy for some occasions of hir Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, one of the Erles servants came unto me, and tolde methat his Lo. & M<sup>r</sup> did most earnestly desyre me to come psentlie unto him, to D<sup>r</sup>riconran within a myle of Dublin. I, l<sup>y</sup>tle knowinge (God is my witnes) either what was done, or to be done, granted to goe, & deeminge the matter to be waightie by reason of the earnest message, went psently to the place, where att my comyng, I found his Lo. & the gentlewoman in a chamber acc<sup>o</sup>panied with ten english gent<sup>l</sup> of good sorte. The Erle after some curteous salutations interteyned me on this maner. My Lo. I have made bolde to send for you hither att this tyme, to entreate you to take the paynes, to marie together myself & this gentlewoman, to whom, sayd the Erle, I was betrothed about xx<sup>th</sup> daies since & now by hir owne consent I have broughte her hyther, & both hir desyre and myne is, that for both our creditts you will now marie us, and for my parte said the Erle I am desyreous, that rather you then anie other shoulde pforme this office betweene us, that the worlde may knowe, that wee are married together according hir Mat<sup>ies</sup> Lawes. I answered the Erle, that the matter w<sup>h</sup> he requyred me to do, was off great importance, & therefore I desyred him to pardon me, untill I had first conferred with the gentlewoman herself, and taking hir asyde from the companie, I privately dealte w<sup>h</sup> hir, and by way of examination demaunded of hir, whether she had before that tyme plyghted hir trowth & given hir promise to the Erle to marie him, she answered me, that she had made pmissie to the Erle & had betrothed herself to him, about three weekes before that tyme, and further she tolde me, that upon that promise she received from the Erle a token worth an hundreth pounds, w<sup>h</sup> since I have lerned was a chayne of golde. Secondly I demaunded of hir whether the maner of hir comyng awaie from S<sup>r</sup> Patryk Barnewells house was a thing done & agreed upon with hir owne consent. She tolde me that she had gyven hir free consent thereunto, & accordinglie was come awaie with the Erle, adding this, that unles she had agreed to that devyse and maner of her escape (as she termed it) it had bene never attempted. I demaunded of hir one question more viz whether she were now resolved to take the Erle to hir husbände and

to be married unto him. The gentlewoman answered me on this maner. My Lo. you see in what case I am, how I am come hither with myne owne consent & have alredie promysed my Lo. the Erle to be his wife, I beseech yo' Lo. therefore for my creditts sake to perfecte the mariage betweene us, the sooner the better for my creditts sake.

Whereupon seeing the younge gentlewoman in that place, where she was neyther M<sup>r</sup> of herself, nor of her affections, and knowing that all ordinarie meanes had bene used & wroughte, to procure hir friends consentes, I resolved chieflie in regarde of the daunger wherein the gentlewomans credit and chastitie stooode, to perfecte that knott w<sup>h</sup> themselves before had knytte, and did accordinglye att the same place, being att an honest English gentlemans house, celebrate that mariage, whether well or evill, whether iustly, or unadvisedly, I leave it to yo' Lo. most grave & discrete censure.

"Thus have I playnlie and trulie made knowen to yo' Lo. the matter and maner of my dealinges in this action, wherein as I doe whollye submytte my self to yo' Los. wise consideraçon, so doo I most humbly beseech the same, not further then this, to gyve credytt to anie suggestions against me, once agayne protestinge to yo' good Lo. that whatsoever I have written doth conteyn a trouthe. And so with remembrance of my bounden dutie and service I comend yo' good Lo. with my prayers to Godds best blessings.

"From Dublin this xxij<sup>th</sup> of October 1591

"Yo' good Lo. humbly att comãundement

"THO. MIDENSIS."

Considering the hasty manner in which Sir Henry Bagnal had put forward the marriage of O'Neill with the daughter of Sir Brian M<sup>r</sup>Phelim, without examining into the matter of the alleged divorce, as an obstacle to the marriage with his sister, it is surprising that he should not have revived a rumour which, as will be seen by the following documents, had been countenanced by Sir William Drury, when Lord Deputy, of the repudiation by O'Neill of his late wife, O'Donnell's sister, and his marriage with a daughter of Tirlogh Lynogh. Like many of the loose charges written home by official personages in those days, this rumour must have died away almost as soon as Sir William Drury had compromised his discretion by making it the subject of a despatch.

"1579. Febr<sup>y</sup> 11. THE LO. JUSTICE to BURGHELY.

"Before my coming downe, the Baron [O'Neill Baron of Dungannon] by what practise I knowe not had been at a parlee with him [Tirlogh Lynogh] and betweene them they knitt up such a league of freindship, as the Baron shold have putt away his wyfe that he hath, being O'Donell's daughter, and have taken Turlagh's daughter. But I have broken of that practise, and delt so w<sup>h</sup> the Baron as upon any occasion he will be as willing as ever he was to doe service upon him."

" 1579. *Febr<sup>y</sup> 11.* THE LO. JUSTICE (DRURY) to BURGHEY.

" What letters he [Tirlogh Lynogh] sent to me, or received from me yo' Lo. shall see ether the originalls or copies of them, w'h I send by M' Carewe, to thend yo' may the better looke into his nature and inclinacōn, and see how little hold is to be taken of one that is so rude, and so wyld or savage as he is. Before my coming downe, the Baron of Dungannon and he had mett and parleed together and were entred into a great league of freindship, in so muche as the Baron shold have putt away his wyfe that now he hath, and have taken Turloghes daughter to wyfe, but I have so coniured the Baron, as that matche is broken."

" 1579. *Febr<sup>y</sup> 22.* FYTTON to BURGHEY.

" To troble your L. a lytle w'h some ptyculers of these people; The Baron of Dungannon, of whom I dyd wryte to yo' L. afore, that he had utterly w'hdrawn himselfe from ioyninge w'h O'Neales [Tirlogh's] daughter, and for proffe, I sawe him take againe his olde wyfe (or woman) O'Donnell's daughter, he hath nowe wrytten to my Lo. Justice that all his frendes doe advise him to go forwarde w'h O'Neales daughter, and priaeth my Lo. Justices furtheraunce & advyse therin, althoughe moste men thinke the matter is done alredy."

" 1579. *March 30.* THE LO. JUSTICE to BURGHEY.

" From Ulster I have lately received l<sup>rs</sup>, whereby I fynde that Turloghe Lenoghe since my cominge thence, bath so tempered with the Baron of Dungannon, as notw'withstanding his assured promesse unto me, that he wold not deale any further in that matche, yet he hath taken his daughter to wyfe, and sent home O'Donnell's daughter."

The marriage of Tyrone with "the gentlewoman to whom he bore so earnest an affection" was not interfered with. The rancour of Sir Henry Bagnal increased in bitterness with time, and, however ardent may have been the matrimonial affections of O'Neill for the Marshal's sister, we have a declaration recorded, two years subsequently to the marriage, that, so intense had become his animosity against her brother, he was unable to control the expression of it even in her presence.

" *The declaracōn of THADIE NOLAN one of her Mat' pursevans at Dundalke.*

" 13 Junii 1593.

" Moreover he (the Earl of Tyrone) said openly in the audience of the Countesse his wife, Harry M'Shane O'Neile (one of the late traitor Shane O'Neiles Sonnes) O'Chaines Sonne, and diu'se others in the howse at Castle Rowe aforesaid, that there was no man in the worlde that he hated so muche as the Knight M'shall; and further said (onlie to my self) yf he were disposed he wolde be w'hin a mile of the said M'shall in spighte of his teethe, do what he coulede."



The name of this lady occurs once again in the correspondence of the time. The following document, though containing but so brief a passage relative to her, is laid before the reader, not only because that incidental allusion points to a trait in her character which proves indeed that the words of her brother were true, that "the incivilitie of the Earle's country did not agree with his sister's education," but because it is in itself the relation of a foul crime circumstantially and sternly told, committed, it is to be feared, with the knowledge of O'Neill, and which casts a dark shadow round the character of a man who has otherwise many claims on our admiration. The characters of men of the sixteenth century are not, indeed, to be judged by the more humane code of morality of the nineteenth, but there are deeds abhorrent to the least civilized, the least enlightened of all social periods. Murder by treachery, and in cold blood, is surely one of them, and our estimation of the character of O'Neill must be partial and incomplete as long as deeds like this remain concealed. Had the victim of this cruel murder been either Fenton, Mountjoy, or Cecil—the employers of Combis and Walker—the fame of Tyrone would have been so deeply imbued with the execration of three centuries, that no effort of our days would have availed to cleanse it. And yet, could O'Neill have hanged them upon that "great oke" which served as a pleasant metaphor for Fenton, he would have quickened the civility of the cabinet of Elizabeth, and the publication of documents in their own handwriting, still extant, would have been valid warrant for all time to come for the justice of the act.

"1593. June 21. *A copie of a complaint exhibited by EVAR M<sup>e</sup> ROWRY ONEALE and CONLO M<sup>e</sup> FERDORGH—Versus THEARLE of TYRONE xx<sup>o</sup> Junii 1593. Let the EARLE of TYRONE answer this bill p<sup>r</sup>ntely.*

*To the right hono<sup>r</sup>able the Lo. DEPUTY and COUNCELL.*

Therle gave his woorde to me and the Councell, yea and his oathe for the well usinge and safetie of this man, otherwise notwithstanding he had his p<sup>r</sup>don, he wold not have gon to him.

Humble sheweth unto yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> Euer M<sup>e</sup>Rory O'Neale, and Conlo M<sup>e</sup>Ferdorogh O'Neale of Kileghteraght: That where there deare Kinseman in blood *Phelym M<sup>e</sup>Tyrlogh O'Neale*, being upon her Ma<sup>ty</sup> safe & free proteccion and pardon, and also the worde of M<sup>e</sup>M<sup>e</sup>shall, returned to therle of Tyrone beinge to

be well used, as other his Lps tenants were, about the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of May last did repayre to his Lp., where he encamped, nere and about the Cranock, w<sup>ch</sup> Phelym held before, and therle himself lay w<sup>ch</sup>in the same: So yt happened that on friday night being about the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of May, he w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Supl<sup>ty</sup> and one Donell Oge, repaired to the said Earles campe, but had no accesse to him that night till Saturday morning, having had good enter-teignm<sup>t</sup> from the Erle all that day and Sunday, all w<sup>ch</sup> tyme Maguyre was in his company till after masse and diner a Sunday, and then Therle roade

w<sup>h</sup> Maguyre along the strand, by the Bannes syde towre myles, where Phelym and yo<sup>r</sup> Supl<sup>m</sup> had the viewe of them going and coming: In whose retourne Owen Oge O'Hagañ and Hugh Oge O'Hagan were in secrete talke w<sup>h</sup> Therle, all the way, and a good while after he came to the Cran-  
 nocke: w<sup>h</sup> ended and they departed from Therle; Phelym stepped to therle and desyrrous to be dispatched for his cause, w<sup>h</sup> was but to take his Sonne Hugh to foster: Therle said he wold doe nothing that night, but the next morning though he went earlie, wold despatch him before any other, and thereupon stayed him to suppe. The next morning, viz Monday, Phelym repayred to Therle, and had secreat conference w<sup>h</sup> him as towching his mocōn, w<sup>ch</sup> he had well thought to haue obtained at his hands: But so yt is that upon Therles deptime into the cott taking the Riuer of the Banne, howbeit that Phelym did salute him w<sup>h</sup> the words of, God be w<sup>h</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> my Lo., Therle turning his backe towards him said, God be at defiance w<sup>h</sup> you till night, and so he depte downe the Ryver: Therle no soner depte, but the said Hagans came and flattered the said Phelym, putting hands about his necke, walking into Therles campe till the Erle was out of sight; and then pntelic in the verie campe and in the viewe of Therles people the said Owen whose clasped him about the necke drewe his sword and strocke of one of his Armes. Then thother towre, Henry and Hugh, strocke at him at the verie gate of the Cran-  
 nocke, wherew<sup>h</sup> he was mortally wounded, and after heauen in peces, and not therw<sup>h</sup> contented, they after pursued the said Donell Oge who tooke the Riuer, whome they killed and drowned in the same, and theis towre supl<sup>m</sup> taking the woods hardly escaped, and moreou<sup>r</sup> they sodenly went to the creats of the said Phelym, and having taken the pray killed a yonger brother of the said Phelyms, one other gent, and towre men: Of all w<sup>h</sup> theis yo<sup>r</sup> supl<sup>m</sup> are eye witnesses: And further by hearesay doe alleadge that therle arryving at Portecleonone being but v. myles from the Cran-  
 nocke, and being there ouertaken by Hugh O Galcho<sup>r</sup>, who followed him in a boate w<sup>h</sup> victles: Therle for his long stay blamed him & asked him the question of his said long stay: who answered he was seing the doing of an ill dedde: what is that? said Therle. The killing of Phelym M<sup>r</sup>Tyrlough! And he is killed? I! And is Donell Oge killed, to? I! both killed and drowned! What became of my shott that went ov<sup>r</sup> the riv<sup>r</sup>? saith therle. Whereunto the said Hugh said nothing, but the Countesse clapping her hands together was sorie, as shold seeme, of that w<sup>h</sup> happened, to whome Therle in English spake w<sup>h</sup> vehemency, w<sup>h</sup> most of the company did not understand, and so could not come to yo<sup>r</sup> supl<sup>m</sup> knowledge.

"Lickewise by heresay they do enforme that w<sup>h</sup>in a fortnight after Therle being at Castlerown where O Cahan and Nele M<sup>r</sup>Hugh were pnte the said Nele asked the question of Therle, whether after the said murder by the Hagans, he wold do them any good, whose aunswer was, yf I do them no good I will do them no harme, whereunto O Cahan said, seing yo<sup>r</sup> had that w<sup>h</sup>in yo<sup>r</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> might have kept it well inough w<sup>h</sup>in yo<sup>r</sup>."

"They also complayne that w<sup>h</sup>in three dayes after the murder committed, Therle, as not satisfied, did again send of his people not onelic to take the pray of Phelyms creats, for the yeares rente w<sup>h</sup> he shold haue had free according yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> order, but also made open proclamaçōn for banishing of yo<sup>r</sup> supl<sup>m</sup> and there kinsemen out of the said lands, and for cutting of

there heds yf they shold come upon the same. No better profe they haue thereof but that the Hagans aforesaid are dwelling in the said Crannocke and upon their lands where upon Wednesday last in the evening yo' sup<sup>re</sup> repaying by stealth did viewe and see them, and they haue the towne Earie of hawcks w<sup>th</sup> the said Phelyme had in purpose to bestow upon yo' Lp. & councell.

"This being the true reporte and declaracōn of this cause they leaue to yo' hono<sup>r</sup> consideraōn that w<sup>th</sup> concerneth the murder. But for themselves doe requyre order for there lands, goods, and creats w<sup>th</sup> saftie of there lives.

"This is a true copie of the original

"Exper

"MATH. DILLON Ult<sup>o</sup> die Junii 1593."

The Countess of Tyrone did not live to witness the mortal struggle of her husband and brother. Her death took place in January, 1596, two years and a half before the "Jorney of the Blackwater," the Dyrachium of those days, "ubi pulsus [Cæsar] non instante Pompejo, negavit eum vincere scire."—*Suetonius*.

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A LETTER FROM SIR CHARLES O'CARROLL TO LORD MOUNTJOY, LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, ESQ., LL.D.

SIR CHARLES O'CARROLL, the writer of the following letter, was the third son, considered illegitimate, of Sir William O'Carroll, chief of Ely O'Carroll, in the present King's County (see "Annals of the Four Masters," edited by O'Donovan, p. 1690). In 1582 he succeeded his brother John, who was murdered by his kinsman, Mulrony O'Carroll, in that year. In 1585 he attended Perrott's Parliament, held in Dublin in 1585, but not as an elected member of it, as the Four Masters thought. In 1588 he was knighted by Sir John Perrott.

In 1598 he and his followers committed a foul act of treachery towards some Ulstermen who were employed in his service as hired soldiers—thus told by the Four Masters, A. D. 1599:—

"Some gentlemen of the Mac Mahons, with one hundred soldiers, were hired by O'Carroll (Calvach, son of William Ower, son of Ferganaim) in the spring of this year; and at the time that their wages should be given them, O'Carroll with his people went to them by night and slew them on their beds, and in their lodging-houses. He hanged some of them from the nearest trees, but the party of one village made their escape, in despite of O'Carroll."

In the next year O'Carroll and his people received just retribution for this foul massacre, as we are told by the same annalists, A. D. 1600. In the month of January this year, O'Neill (Hugh, son of Ferdoragh, son of Con Bacach) mustered his forces, and proceeded to the south of Ireland. Among various other territories he visited Ely O'Carroll—

“To revenge the base and intolerable massacre which O'Carroll had committed upon the gentlemen of the Mac Mahons of Oriel, whom he had under his protection, and in his service, in the preceding year. The evil destiny deserved by that wicked deed befell the territory of Ely on this occasion, for all its movable possessions, wealth, and riches were carried away, and nothing left in it but ashes instead of its corn, and embers in place of its mansions. Great numbers of their men, women, sons, and daughters were left in a dying and expiring state, and some gentlemen of his own tribe and kindred were left in opposition to O'Carroll in the territory.”

From these extracts Sir Charles O'Carroll's unfriendly notice of O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, will be fully understood. He had written the latter, however, some years before this vengeance had overtaken him.

O'Carroll originally possessed the territories of Ely O'Carroll, Eliogarty, Ikerrin, Ileagh, in the present counties of Tipperary and King's County, and he thought that his family had been wrongfully deprived of some of these districts by the Ormonde family.

There are several respectable gentlemen of the O'Carrolls still in Ireland, but the present chief of the family is unknown. The senior branch removed to America in Cromwell's time, where the grandfather of the late Marchioness of Wellesley was the last of the senior line of the chiefs of Ely.

(Vol. 615, *Lambeth, Carew Collection.*)

“A breve note of certain territories subtracted and concealed by the Right honourable the Erle of ORMOND, from her most excellent m<sup>ty</sup>, imagining the said territories to be within his countie Pallentine<sup>1</sup> of Typpe-  
rarie, though ther be no coullor for it.

“First, Dow-Arra,<sup>2</sup> called the contre of Mac BrienArra.

“Item, O'Mulrian is contrè, called Wonymulrian<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Countie Pallentine.*—For a curious notice of Ormonde's Palatinate see Spenser's “View of the State of Ireland:” Dub., Ed. of 1809 p. 46. Spenser wished to have it abolished, but it continued till the reign of Queen Anne.

<sup>2</sup> *Dow-Arra.*—Now the barony of Ara, or Duharra, in the north-west of the county of

Tipperary. Mac I Brien Ara a branch of the O'Briens of Thomond, was the chief of this territory since about the year 1318. See “Leabhar na gCeart,” p. 78, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Wonymulrian.*—Uaithne Uí Mhaoláirían, now the barony of Owney, O'Mulrian's territory, in the west of the county of Tipperary, adjoining the county of Limerick.

"Item, Keillanalongforta,<sup>1</sup> called Shane Glasse is contre.

"Item, Dow o-Loyagh,<sup>2</sup> called M<sup>c</sup>Walter is contre.

"Item, Muskryhyry,<sup>3</sup> now improperly and usurpedly called the Heither Ormond. All which contrees, for the more parte extending to the Ryver of the Shenan, are of Thomond and not of Ormond, and were ever heretofore so reputed, known, and taken, untill of late subtracted as aforesaid, by the greatnesse, countenance, and extort power of the said Erle.

"And for the better manifestation that the said contrees have bene and ought to be of Thomond, so it is that the 2 provinces of Mounster have been divided into five territories, called the 5 Mounsters,<sup>4</sup> of which Towoyne, nowe called Thomond or the North Mounster is one, for Towoyne in Irish signifieth the North-Mounster in English.

"Item, Urwoyne beinge also an Irish word (wherof the said Erle at this day hath his name) is another Mounster which signifieth in English the front of the 2 provinces or Mounsters aforesaid, and is one of the 5 Mounsters or territories devided (as aforesaid), and bordureth uppon Leynster: for Urwoyne in Irish signifieth the front Mounster in English; which Urwoyne containeth in itself the counties of Typpary and cross of Typpary, which two counties do lye by south the said Muskryhyry and the rest of the subtracted contrees before recyted, being devided from the sayd Urwoyne by an auncient meare beginning at a mountaine called Barnan-Elye,<sup>5</sup> which extendeth on the south-east unto Iland Ivryck<sup>6</sup> otherwise called Carrick na Sury, which is one of the said Erles Mannor houses scytuated uppon the Ryver of the Suyr, so as all these territories thus subtracted are North-west of the said meare, and are of Right parte of Thomond, and so within the countie of Clare.

"And as to the other 3 Mounsters<sup>7</sup> the one whereof called Iharwoyne,

<sup>1</sup> *Keillanalongforta*, i. e. Coill na long-phorta.—The barony of Kilnalongurty, situated to the east of the barony of Oweyne, and to the south of the baronies of Ileagh and Upper Ormond, in the county of Tipperary. This barony is shown on Sir William Petty's engraved Map of the county of Tipperary. Who was Shane Glasse?

<sup>2</sup> *Dow-o-Loyagh*.—Duthaigh-Ua-Luigh-each, now the barony of Ileagh, containing the village of Borris-Ileagh, in the county of Tipperary. This barony, now a part of Eliogarty, is also shown on Sir William Petty's engraved Map.

<sup>3</sup> *Muskryhyry* comprised the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond.—See "Leabhar na gCeart," p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Five Mounsters*.—See Keating's "History of Ireland," Haliday's edition, p. 138, where it is stated that *cuadomuniam*, Thomond or North Munster, extended from Leim Conchlainn, now Loophead, to Slighe Dala, now Ballaglimore in Osory, and from Sliabh Echtighe to Sliabh Eibhlinne, now Slieve Phelim.

<sup>5</sup> *Barnan Elye*, i. e. the Gap of Ely.—Now the Devil's Bit Mountain.

<sup>6</sup> *Iland Ivryck*.—Sir Charles O'Carroll is here very wrong in making Island I-Vryck identical with Carrick-on-Suir. Keating describes *Urrinuthan*, or Ormond, as extending from *ḡabran* (Gowran) to *Crañ Choill*, near the town of Tipperary, and from *Bearnan Eile* to *Oilean Uí bhric*, i. e. O'Brick's Island, which is an island near Bonmahon, in the county of Waterford (*laith ne rainge ceap*, near the sea, in the South Decies). In the fragment of the Psalter of Cashel which belonged to Mac Richard Butler (p. 42, b), now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Laud, 610, Ormond is described as extending from *Saíuap* to *ḡabran*, and from the *Oilean* [but it should be *beapán*] of *Eile*, to *Oileán Uí bhric*.

<sup>7</sup> *The other three Mounsters*—Keating describes these far better, as follows:—"The third part is called the Middle Munster. Its breadth is from Sliabh Eibhlinne (Slieve Phelim) to Sliabh Caoin (now Slieve Reagh,

signifieinge in English the farthermost Mounster; the other called Deswoyne is as much to say in English as Desmond or the South Mounster; and the thyrde called Meanwoyn signifieinge the Middle-Mounster in English. Iharwoyne y<sup>e</sup> counties of Waterford and Yoyghill doth contayne . . . . . ; Deswoyne the countie of Cork and other territories; and Meanwoyne the counties of Kyery and Lymrick.

"I have thought it good Right honorable, and I hoappe it shall not be taken a misse, syth I meane nothinge uppon spleane or malice, but to give, upon honor, a taste of those thinges that may happen to put your honor in minde of matters past, and to leve them to your honorable consideration.

"As the loyaltie of the Erle of Ormond to her Majestie is not unknoven to your honor, so in what case thinges may stand after his death, it is not a little to be doupted, consideringe that his Lp. hath no heyre male of his body to enherit, and howe those, indeede, that are next heysr unto him, and gape for the Erldome after his death, have heretofore demeaned themselves towards her Majestie, I dare not say that they will showe themselves as they have bene. But how they will proove yf they were ones settled is to be feared, for my owne parte, as I wish I may lyve no longer then I remaine both a loyall and dutifull subiect to her Majestie, so I hoapp that it cannot be objected, sythence oure contre of Irlande grew to humilité, that any of my auncestors have bene touched withe treason.

"If the Erle of Tyrone (as his fact well deserveth) were cutt off, who were then so mightie in Ireland as the Erle's [Ormond's] kindred, who degeneratinge from his Lp., yf they were once invested with that honor, I will not say they would, but may well feare least they would follow their old Byas, and become as undutyfull as they have bene. And perhaps it boath is and wilbe needfull for her Majestie to have a dutifull subject nere them that may be a meanes to crosse their actions. I know not to what end the plott is laid and followed with such heat by his Lp. to cutt me off uppon so slight an occasion, yet consideringe with myself my owne loialtie (in which I hoappe by God's grace boathe I and myne shall contynue), and the occasion of suspition heretofore gyven by those who are lick to inherit after his Lpp. it gyves me occasion to suspect that which I feare may followe. Beseechinge your honor not to thincke in any disgrace to his Lpp., butt puttinge your honor in mynde of thinges past, and seinge the danger of the present estate, your honor may carry so indifferent a compt betwene us as the justnes of our deserts shall merit. And thus with my herty prayer according to my bounden dutye I humbly end ffrom my chamber at London this present Monday, 1595.

"Your honour's &c.,

CH. O'CARROULE."<sup>1</sup>

Co. Limerick). The fourth, called Deas-Mhumhain (Desmond), extends from Sliabh Caoin southwards to the sea. The fifth division, called Iapthuiricium, West Munster, extends from Luachair Deaghaidh, westwards to the sea, and from Gleann O'Ruachta [Glenarought] to the Shannon."

<sup>1</sup> *O'Carroule*.—The writer, as already ob-

served, was chief of Ely O'Carroll, a territory originally belonging to the province of Munster, and comprising the baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybritt in the King's county. It originally comprised the present baronies of Ikerrin and Eliogarty in the county of Tipperary.—See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1582, 1585, 1599, 1600.



Pillar-stone at Kilnaseaghart, front view.

## THE PILLAR-STONE OF KILNASAGGART.

BY THE REV. GEORGE H. READE.

IN compliance with a wish expressed by the Hon. Secretary of the Society, that I should visit the ancient monolith at Kilnasaggart, justly considered one of the most interesting remains of the ancient Christianity of Ireland, I availed myself of the kind hospitality of our noble associate, Lord Clermont, of Ravensdale Park, in whose neighbourhood it stands, to make the close examination which was asked for. Its position has already been sufficiently described by others (see "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. i., p. 221),<sup>1</sup> and the nature of the inscription in front investigated; but no notice has been taken of the more ancient inscription upon the back and one of the sides, or of the very remarkable circles of graves, now nearly obliterated, which lie at its base; the crosses also upon it are not, as stated, in relief, or raised, but *incised*, and the stone at its foot is perfectly circular. I accept the interpretation given by Dr. O'Donovan, viz. that, "Ternoc Mac Ciaran consecrated this place, under the patronage of Peter the Apostle,"—although the second line looks exceedingly like the word  $\text{I} \text{O} \text{C} \text{D} \text{N} \text{I}$ , and we know the monkish sculptors often mixed Latin and Irish words together, as indeed is evident here, in the use of the word  $\text{I} \text{O} \text{C}$  for place. However, I venture my opinion of the story told by this lone stone with much diffidence. I believe it to have been primarily a Pagan pillar-stone, marking the place of idolatrous rites and sacrifices; as also a druidical burial-ground. It bore originally a long inscription in Ogham upon one face, and also upon one of its sides, either a dedication to the druidical deity, or the record of the deeds of some hero, or perhaps the charter of some Pagan privileges annexed to the spot. Upon the conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity by St. Ternoc Mac Ciaran, the Pagan Ogham character was obliterated, at least so far as to destroy the power of ever deciphering its nature; enough of the original inscription being left to show that there had been a long Ogham upon it, while part of it was hammered off in such a manner as to prove a design in the mode of obliteration. The stone was then covered with crosses, as the symbols of the triumph of Christianity, and by the inscription on the other face, re-dedicated to that faith, so that it appears to be a witness of somewhat similar nature to the

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. William Reeves, D. D., the author of the article above referred to, gives the following reading of the inscription:— $\text{I} \text{N} \text{I} \text{O} \text{C} \text{S} \text{O} \text{D} \text{O} \text{T} \text{H} \text{I} \text{M} \text{M} \text{A} \text{E} \text{R} \text{N} \text{I} \text{T} \text{E} \text{R} \text{N} \text{O} \text{C} \text{M} \text{A} \text{C} \text{C} \text{I} \text{A} \text{R} \text{A} \text{N} \text{B} \text{I} \text{C} \text{E} \text{R} \text{C} \text{U} \text{L} \text{P} \text{E} \text{T} \text{E} \text{R} \text{A} \text{P} \text{O} \text{S} \text{T} \text{O} \text{L} \text{U} \text{S}$ , which Dr. O'Dono-

van thus translates: *roy locum hunc consecrarit Ternocus filius Cerani sit sub patrocinio Petri Apostoli*. St. Ternoc, according to the Annals of Tighernach, died in the year 716; and the pillar-stone is plainly contemporary with the saint.—Eus.



Ogham stone found in St. Declan's oratory,—yet attesting much more, for that merely proves the triumph of Christianity by a silent inference, being taken from its upright position as a pillar-stone, and used simply as a building-stone in the Christian edifice, the Ogham inscription remaining perfect, and no symbol or mark inscribed, whereby it might be supposed that those who took it from its former position as a pillar-stone viewed it in any other light than as a good building-stone for the new oratory:—whereas this not only exhibits the Ogham battered away; but the numerous crosses, the re-dedication, as well as its altered position, prove that it was selected as a witness for the eternal memory of the triumph of Christianity over Pagan Druidism.

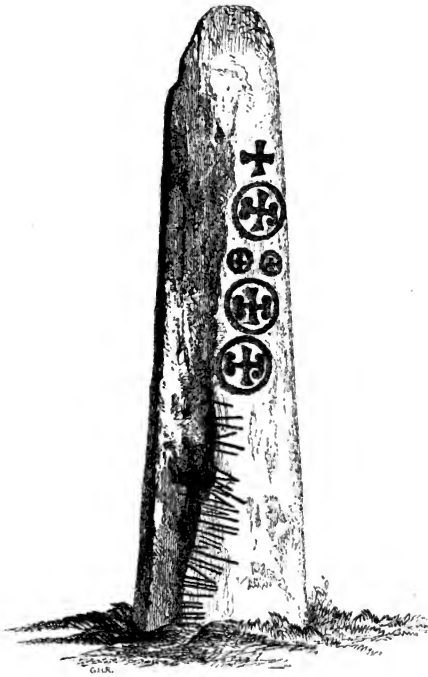
A reference to the drawings here engraved,<sup>1</sup> and for the exact accuracy of which I pledge myself, will tell much more at a glance than I have yet been able to convey. In the plate which faces this page, the Ogham inscription is seen running down the centre of the stone, which appears to have been slightly bevelled from the centre to each side, so that the centre line of the bevil formed the *fleasg* line of the Ogham; one side of this has been rudely hammered away; and also, as I conceive, several cuts, or lines, some long, and some short, inclining at various angles, drawn through the original Ogham, so as to confuse the writing, and render it impossible even to guess the meaning of the Pagan inscription.<sup>2</sup> Above the Ogham several crosses contained in circles were then engraved, surmounted by a plain cross without a circle. And that these are posterior to the Ogham, and its destruction by violence, appears evident, not merely because the introduction of the Christian religion into Ireland was subsequent to the druidical superstition, but from the fact that a cross is engraved on the broken portion of the stone at top, roughly inscribed on the natural fracture of the stone, without any attempt at smoothing a surface for the purpose, where, perhaps, a too violent zeal had done greater damage than was intended.

This stone still stands at the head of a very peculiar cemetery (a ground plan of which will be found engraved at page 317), resembling those that are usually considered to be Pagan burial-grounds. The pillar is placed at the northern edge of a circle of 55 feet in diameter, the circumference of which is formed by a number of low flat graves, radiating thence towards the centre. An inner circle of much smaller graves then occurs, concentric with the outer; the very centre of these two circles of graves is indicated

<sup>1</sup> The Society is much indebted to the liberality of one of its Members, Lord Clermont, who has defrayed the expense of the three engravings which serve to illustrate this Paper.

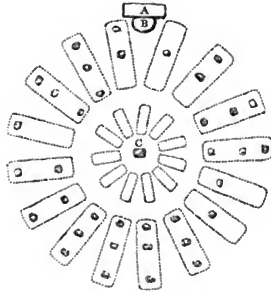
<sup>2</sup> It will be interesting to many to be informed that the late, and lamented, Richard

Hitchcock—no mean authority on Ogham questions—did not consider the scores on the side and back of this stone to have been Ogham writing; in his opinion they were formed in the process of sharpening the tools with which the inscription and crosses were sculptured.—Eds.



Pillar-stone at Kilnasaggart, back view.

by the remnant of a stone shaft, or small pillar. At the foot of the large pillar-stone lies a round, slightly disked stone, not unlike those found in New Grange, but much smaller; *it also*, as having been



once used for Pagan purposes, is inscribed with the symbol of the triumphant faith.

That those Pagan pillar-stones were thus treated by the primitive Christians, in their zeal for the new faith, is not only a thing likely in itself to happen, but we have positive proof of the very fact, quoted by O'Flaherty from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (*"Ogygia,"* part iii., p. 293):—"St. Patrick erected, in the plains of Moy-slola, Domnachmor Cathedral, and had the sacred name of Christ inscribed, in three languages, on three pillars which had been raised there in the ages of idolatry, in commemoration of some transaction of Pagan rites."

The whole stone is covered with a close-growing thin lichen, seeming almost part of the substance of the stone, so that at a first view it appears altogether impossible to read any portion of the inscription. Perhaps I may be permitted to detail the mode by which I obtained the letters; and which are shown in their true form in the drawing which faces page 315. The day upon which I visited the pillar was very showery, and the moment the paper was applied to the inscription, the stone, which was quite wet, softened it; and a brisk gale, blowing right upon that face of the pillar, drove the moistened paper well into the marks of the inscription, so that it appeared tolerably plain without any rubbing whatever. I then applied some very soft and succulent grass, which I brought for the purpose, and obtained an excellent rubbing. On removing the paper, I traced each letter on the stone with a large broad-pointed red-lead pencil. Wherever the point

of the pencil would not run freely, I stopped, even although some fractures, arising from age, or accident, would seem to indicate the position of a letter. I then, without looking at the rubbing, copied the letters, as shown by the red pencil-marks, into my sketch-book, and upon afterwards comparing them with the rubbing, found but two letters differing, and fortunately, in those two the rubbing spoke so plainly, that there could be no mistake.

And now, with all befitting fear of Edie Ochiltree's "I mind the bigging o' it," I can imagine I see this ancient burial place—its circular graves, surrounded by the mystic Druids, while the archpriest, before the lofty monolith, sheds the victim's blood into the shallow basin at its foot in honour of the false god, whose law is recorded in rude Oghams on its face! Next, the solitary missionary of the Gospel of Christ stands before me, in this wild, mountain pass, proclaiming the glorious truth, that "the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin;" that "by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." And then the ensanguined stone basin no longer used for the shedding of "blood which can never take away sin" is inscribed with the symbol of the Christian faith—the Pagan law is obliterated—the witness stone "Ed" (Josh. xxii. 34, and xxiv. 27) becomes the witness "for eternal memory" of a "better covenant founded upon better promises."

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on  
Wednesday, May 6th, 1857,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGHLIN in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Very Rev. the Dean of Cashel: proposed by William Owen, Esq., J. P.

The Rev. Thomas Henry, A. B., Kenagh, county of Longford; and the Rev. William Tomlinson, A. M., Granard: proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin.

Richard Donovan, Esq., J. P., Ballymore, Camolin, Ferns; Edward J. Cotton, Esq., Newpark Cottage, Kilkenny; and the Rev. William Horgan, R. C. C., Killarney: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

William Forster, Esq., D. L., Ballymore, Analore, Clones; the Rev. John Baillie, Clonaleenan, Dundalk; the Rev. Cuthbert T. Hackett, Essexford, Corcreaghy, Dundalk; William Walpole, Esq., Richmond Terrace, Wexford; and Mark Bloxham, Esq., Sub-Inspector of Constabulary, Castleblaney: proposed by the Rev. George H. Reade.

Robert Wilson, Esq., Abbey Works, Paisley: proposed by Mrs. Hitchcock.

The Chairman, in proposing the Members obtained by him, remarked that he conceived the best way to serve the Society would be by each Member exerting himself to increase the number of Subscribers.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors :—

By the Author, John Maclean, Esq., F. S. A., &c. : "The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew."

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for April and May, 1857.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," Third Series, No. 10.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, Statistics, and Natural History: their "Proceedings," Vol. II. No. 6.

By the Author (anonymous): "The Abbey of Saint Alban, &c., intended chiefly for the use of Visitors," Second Edition.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 736 to 742, inclusive.  
By the Author, the Rev. Robert W. Eyton, M. A.: "The Houses of Fitz Alan and Stuart: their Origin and Early History."

By the Clonmel Mechanics' Institute: their "Report," and "Supplement to the Catalogue of Books," 1857.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory exhibited a silver penny of Henry III., found in a chink of the wall near the north side-aisle door of the cathedral of St. Canice. It is not at all improbable that this coin may have been lost by some of the artificers engaged in the construction of the Cathedral.

The Secretary, when laying before the Chairman "The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew," recently published by John Maclean, Esq., F. S. A., and a Member of this Society, observed that this work, interesting to all from the light it throws on the period to which it belongs—the stirring time of Elizabeth's reign—especially recommends itself to Kilkenny folk, as Sir Peter's ancestral claim to the barony of Idrone, county of Carlow, successfully prosecuted both in the field and at the council-board, brought him into deadly feud with the junior branches of the Ormonde family, headed by Sir Edmond Butler, brother to the then Earl; and Kilkenny was in consequence made the theatre of the civil commotion popularly known as "the Butlers' wars."

Captain Edward Hoare, North Cork Rifles, sent the following communication, and has also kindly presented to the Society the woodcut by which it is illustrated:—

"A lithograph of a very interesting armlet of gold, discovered in the county of Waterford, and now in the collection of Sir Thomas Tobin of Ballincollig, having been inserted in a late Number of this Journal (vol. i., new series, p. 254), I send, in consequence thereof, an engraving, the size of the original, of a penannular ring of gold, of the very finest and purest quality, which belongs to my collection, and a woodcut of which I have much pleasure in presenting for illustration in the Society's new Journal.



"It will be seen, on reference to the engravings, that the ornamentation on both relics is of the very same pattern and form, and it may thereby safely be concluded that both these rings are productions of the same period and age; I am not aware in what particular locality my ring was

discovered. I purchased it during the month of July, 1844, from a watch-maker in the city of Cork, who, a few days previously, had bought it from a country labourer, but regarding which he had obtained no information; I think, however, we cannot be far astray, under these circumstances, in supposing it to have been discovered somewhere within the limits of the extensive county of Cork. It weighs 5 dwts. 3 grains. The knobs or globules round the ring are eleven in number; the intermediate ornaments of triplets, in rows between the globules, ten in number. This ring has been evidently cast in a length of gold, and afterwards bent round in the form of a ring, and joined together, as may be perceived in the engraving, at the penannular ends, with a kind of solder or hard cement. I have always considered and termed this ring a kind of connecting and intermediate point between the penannular ring and the perfect ring; and the discovery of the armlet of gold already alluded to, which is certainly of a late period, as proved by its hooked ends for connexion, and which also partakes certainly of a great similarity to Roman armlets, strengthens me much in my suppositions regarding the use and the age of my ring. That both may have been used as money, or as a representative and media of exchange, is possible, nay probable, but, if so, it must have been at a very late period indeed, when the circulating medium was assuming a more than the double purpose, and partaking, as it certainly did latterly and afterwards, more of the character of ornament than use.<sup>37</sup>

The Rev. J. O'Hanlon, R.C.C., sent a further instalment of his valuable communications respecting the materials for country history existing in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office. The present letter was devoted to the county of Carlow, and showed how much had been collected for the illustration of the history and antiquities of that district by the staff of antiquaries engaged on the Survey. Mr. O'Hanlon, as will be perceived, concluded his paper with some just and forcible observations on the desirableness of competent artists being employed by Government to delineate the existing monuments and antiquities of the country, even though they might not be at present published:—

The following are the documentary matters connected with the county of Carlow, as found on the Index thereto, in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office:—I. Names from Down Survey (see Leinster, vol. i.). II. Extracts, one volume; Rough Index of Places to Irish part, not arranged. III. Letters, one volume. IV. Name Books, 58. V. Parish and Barony Names, one volume. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. County Index to Maps, one volume. I. The matter referring to the county of Carlow, contained in vol. i. of the Down Survey of Leinster, is found within pages 1 to 63. Page 1 comprises an Index of double columns, referring to the succeeding pages. Alternate pages are blank, and those which are written upon contain, for the most part, triple columns of names of townlands and parishes, under the heading of the respective baronies in which they are situated, with reference to map of the 'countie of Catherlogh.' The Leinster vol. i., already referred to in previous Numbers, is a folio. II. The Extracts are contained in a thin quarto volume of 136 numbered pages, with 74 pages of a Supplement, part of which only is numbered.

These several pages are preceded by eight unnumbered pages of an Index to the county of Carlow Extracts. These excerpts are from the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' Irish and English; Extract of a letter from Mr. O'Donovan dated Clifden, June 14, 1839, and forwarded to Mr. O'Conor for his information, from the Ordnance Survey Office; from Harris' 'Ware,' regarding 'Bishops of Leighlin;' from 'Septima Vita S. Patricii,' pars 3, cap. xix., 'Tr. Th.,' p. 152, col. *a*.; from Archdall's 'Monasticon;' from Lanigan's 'Ecclesiastical History of Ireland;' from O'Flaherty's 'Ogygia;' from the 'Irish Calendar' (Irish character); from Gough's 'Camden's Britannia,' and additions to Gough; MS. account of Royal Oak; from Dr. O'Conor's Latin translation of 'Annals of Four Masters;' from MS. T. C. D., H. 2, 16, p. 754 (Irish characters); from MS. T. C. D., H. 4, 4 (Genealogy in Irish character); from 'Life of St. Maadhoge,' R. I. A., p. 279, col. *a*., and p. 180, col. *a*. (Irish character); from O'Huidhrin's 'Topographical Poem' (Irish character); from 'Book of Ballymote,' fol. 77, p. *b*. col. *b*. (Irish character, and all the foregoing extracts in the like writing, transcribed by Eugene Curry, whose signature is postfixed); from 'Liber Regalis Visitationis' on 'Ecclesia Cathedralis Dicta Sancto Lazarino Diocesis Leighlinensis;' and a few pages of disconnected notes. The Supplement contains twenty closely written pages of the 'Vita Sci Molyng Epi & Confessoris,' taken from the MS. in Marsh's Library, classed V. 3, 1, 4, folio 70. This Life is in contracted Latin, but in the modern Roman character. In the latter respect, it differs from the original, which I have frequently examined in Marsh's Library, and to most readers its meaning can be more easily discovered than when traced through the vellum pages of the ancient MS. However, the remaining unnumbered pages of the Supplement remove all difficulties from the mere English reader, as we there find an English translation of the foregoing life. Yet I must remark, that this English translation is partially defective, both at its commencement and towards its conclusion. There are no blank pages amongst those numbered in the Extracts, and all the written pages are for the most part closely transcribed. I shall be more particular in giving a detail of the matters contained in the Extracts on subsequent occasions; as they are indispensable to the future compilers of county histories, either for the purpose of being substantially embodied in such a class of works, or at least, as serving the objects of historical and antiquarian illustration. And, even although Carlow has already found a local historian, in common with a few of the other Irish counties, yet, it must be observed with deep regret by all enlightened and patriotic Irishmen, that nothing in the line of a county history has yet come to light that could at all compare with what might be expected from the disentanglement and well-digested arrangement of the Irish Ordnance Survey Office Records, with a view to their publication. There is a rough Index of Places to the Irish part of the Extracts contained in eight loose foolscap folio leaves, only written on one side, which is that pagged. We have the localities written in the English and Irish characters, with pagged references. III. The county of Carlow Letters are comprised in one thick quarto volume of 485 pages. They are not yet indexed. The first of these letters was written by Thomas O'Conor, and is dated Carlow, June 7, 1839, and the last of them by the same writer is dated Carlow, July 7, 1839.



He wrote eighteen letters from Carlow, six from Leighlin Bridge, one letter from Bagnalstown, and one from Borris Idrone. Patrick O'Keefe wrote all his letters from Tullow, whence they are dated—the first July 5; the last, August 10, 1839. Eugene Curry wrote three letters, the first of which is dated Tulach O'Feidhlim, August 8, 1839; the second is dated Tullow, August 9, 1839; and the last, Tulach O'Felme, August 10, 1839. Thus there were twenty-six letters written by Mr. O'Conor; seven by Mr. O'Keefe, and three by Mr. Curry. It must, however, be observed, that the letters of the latter writer extend to a great length to compensate for their scarcity of number, and these letters of Mr. Curry are particularly valuable. All these gentlemen have interspersed their letters with various and exceedingly curious rough tracings of old crosses, windows, doorways, &c., of old buildings. There are also ground plans and sectional drawings. All these letters contain Extracts from Ryan's 'History of Carlow,' 'Anthologia Hibernia,' &c., which are bound into the volume, to illustrate the local researches of the antiquaries. It may be observed, that such practice is only a part and parcel of the principle on which all the Letter volumes are compiled; whatever MSS. the local investigators did not avail themselves of at the time of writing, were preserved, and afterwards bound up into the volumes of Extracts. There is a well-executed map of 'Vdrone Irlandiæ in Caterlag Baronia,' drawn on tracing-paper, with a more modern map of the county of Carlow, under its divisions of Baronies and Parishes, towards the end of the volume of Letters. An Index to the dates and writers of the Letters is found in the commencement of the volume, on two pages. IV. The Name Books are 58 in number, and have been described in former pages of this Journal. V. The Parish and Barony Names are contained in a thin quarto volume of 107 written pages. The first page contains a list of authorities for the spelling of the names, taken from maps and works published at various dates, up to the year 1839. There are thirty different authorities to which numerical reference is made in the succeeding pages. A Parish Index follows on one page of double columns. Under the headings of Received Name, Orthography, Authorities, Situation, and Remarks, will be found corresponding insertions. Dr. O'Donovan usually inserts the old Irish name and English meaning, in the Irish and English character, on the head of the column, 'Orthography;' thus, for the first-named parish, Agha, we find as explanation, *ácaob arglair*, 'field of green tillage.' VI. The volume entitled 'Memorandums' is a thin quarto, containing 93 variously written pages of matter, which are preceded by an Index to Memorandums on two pages, double columns, and an Index to Extracts on one page, double columns. To give an idea of the contents of this volume, I will transcribe a few extracts, taken at random:—'To Henry James, Esq., Lieutenant, Royal Engineers.—Burton Hall, March 23, 1840.—Sir,—This other half of the townland of Ballynakill is in the county of Kildare, as far as I can learn, but where the bounds are, no one knows. Before this house was built, there was an old castle on its site, and it was called the Castle of Ballynakill, and the grounds around it were under the general name of Ballynakill. Perhaps it would be as well now to engrave it as "Burton Hall Demesne." I am your obedient Servant, W. F. Burton.'—p. 50. 'Fishogue River, between Queen's County and Carlow. How ought this name be

engraved?' To Mr. O'Donovan. 'Fushoge River.'—J. O'D.—p. 93. There are many traces and engraved fragments pasted into this volume. VII. The pages of the County Index to Maps are 68 in number, as I find by counting them, for they are not marked. Like the Name Books, which were drawn up for the use of the antiquaries, this book and similar books are compiled on a uniform plan, for the use of the clerks and engravers in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office: whilst the former, in size and shape, are like small block receipt-books, the latter are in folio form. There are no memoir papers nor sketches of antiquities for the county of Carlow. It is much to be regretted that, even at the present time, some effort would not be made by the Government to employ artists, for the purpose of obtaining correct drawings of all the existing remains of antiquities in the several counties of Ireland. In the instances where artists were employed in connexion with the Ordnance Survey for certain counties, it must also be observed, that the collections of portfolio sketches that have been made are exceedingly meagre, except in a few particular cases. This is a matter that should be attended to as soon as possible; because, as time lapses, the number of our national monuments may be expected gradually to diminish, or at least to suffer more or less from injury or neglect. The subjects required for the illustration of the Parish Memoirs and County Histories, by the adoption of this plan, would be secured for valuable and ulterior purposes, even although the publication of the works in question should necessarily admit of some delay."

The following Papers were submitted to the Society.

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OCHAM READINGS ; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF AN OCHAM  
MONUMENT RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE RUINS OF  
THE CHURCH OF KILRUSH, NEAR DUNGARVAN, IN THE  
COUNTY OF WATERFORD.<sup>1</sup>

BY W. WILLIAMS, DUNGARVAN.

IN the month of October last my attention was first called to the subject of Ocham literature on reading Mr. Edward Fitzgerald's valuable paper on the discovery of the Ardmore monuments. The following week I sent him interpretations of the inscriptions; but that of the "Oratory" stone was necessarily imperfect—a few scores more having been subsequently added to the two lines on the face, and a third line discovered on the back of the stone.

Having, as I considered at the time, given a fair reading of the legends, I paid a visit to the ruins of the very ancient little church

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the March Meeting of the Society. The orthography of the term "Ocham" is printed as given by the writer.—Eus.

of Kilrush, in the immediate vicinity of this town, in search of new discoveries: it stands in a cemetery, and, like all of our old churches, was built east and west. The material used in its erection was a brown conglomerate, which must have been brought from a good distance, although limestone in abundance could have been procured at Shandon, within a quarter of a mile of the place.

The thickness of the walls is 24 inches: the side walls are 23 feet 9 inches long, and 10 feet high; the end walls 17 feet 6 inches broad, and 15 feet high to the apex of the gable. The doorway in the west gable had a square head, and upright jambs; the northern jamb has been removed, as well as the single lintel-stone; but the southern jamb remains entire, and has a round hole drilled into it for the reception of an iron bolt. The eastern gable contains a tall, narrow window, 4 feet 6 inches high, with an inward splay of 2 feet 10 inches. Traces of a similar one exist in the middle of the south wall, which is a good deal dilapidated; but the northern wall and both gables have suffered little injury.

I endeavoured to obtain from the old men living on the lands some information respecting the founder of the church, or the date of its erection; but they assured me they never heard a single tradition of either, and that no person in the neighbourhood could give me any information on the subject. Finding, therefore, that my efforts in that direction were not likely to be attended with much success, I commenced a vigorous examination of the walls and the stones scattered among the graves; and was just turning away disappointed, when a *leac bláit* (such as I thought an ancient Druid would have loved to trace his hieroglyphics on) attracted my notice, in the outside of the north wall, about a yard from the western angle, and half a yard from the ground. Having removed some of the moss, I thought I observed traces of two or three scores, but could not be certain for the moment that it bore any inscription; and, after having spent a full hour over it, came to the conclusion that it was quite useless trying to decipher it where it lay; and that it was better to have it removed to my house, where I could examine it at leisure—with the determination, however, of having it carefully restored to its place again; for I look on the practice of removing those venerable monuments from the places—their proper places—where they have lain for centuries, as decidedly wrong. We ought not to forget that others, too, may have a desire to see them. The Kilrush stone is now in Kilrush, where I trust it will be allowed to remain.

This monument is a block of compact siliceous sandstone (the only one, I think, of the sort in the building), 30 inches long, 15 inches broad, and varying in thickness from 11 to 15 inches; the back being of a broken, irregular figure. One of the upper corners is naturally rounded off, and a few "spalls" were broken off along

the same side by the builders: the other side and both ends remain in their original state. The inscription here was not on the angles of the stone, but formed in two lines on the face, or flat surface, in connexion with two incised "fleasgs," or medial lines. One of the "fleasgs" is worn out by the action of the weather, but portions of the other are visible in three places: the first line of the inscription was continued over the rounded corner, and a little down the back of the stone. This, I believe, is the third instance hitherto discovered where the medial lines were *incised*.

After having carefully removed the moss and washed the stone, I proceeded to take "rubbings;" but as the better part of the scores were nearly obliterated, and the stone very much scratched in every direction, I obtained no satisfactory result from that process after a sixth repetition, and had some idea of giving it up in despair, when I hit on a very simple expedient that completely succeeded—namely, after having well moistened the stone with a brush and water, and brought the flame of a lighted candle (at night) on a level with it, I was enabled, by placing my eye at the opposite side, to trace the lines distinctly throughout—marking each line with chalk as I traced it. The entire inscription thus lay before me, as represented in the engraving given at p. 333, *infra*, where its interpretation will be found.

It may be important to state here, that on coming to examine the scores on the top and back of the stone which were covered in the wall, I found them very much *weather-worn*, showing plainly that the inscription was made a considerable time before the stone was built into the wall, and leaving no doubt on my mind that it belonged to Pagan times; as the little edifice from which I obtained it has every appearance of being one of the most ancient in the country.

I would be glad to know what those learned gentlemen who will have our Ocham inscriptions "tricks of the middle ages, and founded on the Roman alphabet," would say to this *fact*. Perhaps they would say, as some have said of the Ardmore stones, it is a "forgery." No! it is not a forgery: the Ardmore stones are not forgeries. This is a ready way to shelve a troublesome question, but is not satisfactory in any point of view. They are all, and a good many beside them, *facts*, and must be dealt with as such. How could a man—supposing him unprincipled enough—take up a stone, trace scores on it, and give them a weather-worn appearance; and how, moreover, could he grow a crop of moss on the face of it? If the Ocham scale and writings are the work of the "middle ages," the language of the inscription must be that of the *middle ages*, and ought to be quite simple and intelligible at the present day. Wherefore have those inscriptions remained for years, without even a *tolerable attempt* at interpretation or translation?

PLATE I.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

a . ia . m . am . ma . i . 8a . b . (a).



FIG. 3.

b . l . p . r . n . h . b . c . m . g . p . a . o . u . e . i



FIG. 4.

3 . (ae) 2 . 2 . 3 . 5 . 3 . 2 . am . oğ . ip . nm . çn . c h

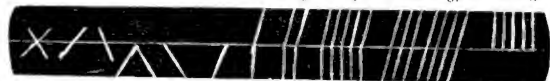


FIG. 5.

p a c a h oğ [ c i g e p n ]



FIG. 6.

n u a b h a c h a p o m o r e c a c a oğ i



FIG. 7.

a m a b u



FIG. 8.





In this, my first communication to the "Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society," I did not intend to do more than give some account of my new discovery; but Mr. Fitzgerald, the zealous and active local secretary of the Society for this district, suggested to me that it would be well if I took up the other inscriptions that have appeared in the Transactions of the Society, and gave translations of them. It would be interesting, I said, to have them interpreted; but I had some reluctance to undertake a task for which our best Irish scholars did not seem to have much relish. However, I thought it was better that some person should make an effort, than that we should be longer reproached with not being able to read *our own language, on our own monuments, in our own country!*

It is much to be regretted, that writers on Irish antiquities have left us in almost total darkness respecting the origin and name of this species of writing. Vallancey, indeed, says the word *Ogham* is derived from *Ogmion*, one of the names of Hercules, who, he states, introduced this species of writing into Gaul, whence the Irish had it; but has not considered it necessary to give a single particle of proof in support of his statements; yet, strange to say, many writers since his time, and some of the present day, adopt all his statements and his interpretation without the least scruple, apparently forgetting that the learned General, all this time, was riding on his Phœnician hobby. Cenfaela the Learned, who wrote in the seventh century, derives the term *Ogham* differently; but his interpretation is far-fetched and unsatisfactory. He states that "distinct characters (*distinct* from the common letter) were invented in the reign of Breas, son of Eletan, by Ogma, a Tuatha de Danaan Prince, for *secret purposes*, and for the exclusive use of the *literati* and antiquaries, who were sworn not to reveal them to the common people." But if we receive this statement, the ancient Irish invented a strange method of keeping the *secret*—by writing it on thousands of monuments throughout the country! M'Main and M'Inoch have handed down to us, Tree, Mountain, Lake, River, Cow, Bull, Goat, Man, Woman, King, and Saint Oghams. These *learned trifles* may have formed very nice "nursery tales" for the young ollamhs of "other days," but are of no practical use to us at the present time. Nay, I am convinced that they have tended far more to retard the study of those highly interesting records than any real difficulty in the writings themselves, which are simple enough of interpretation when full and correct copies can be procured. To the lozenge-shaped character (see Plate I., Fig. 1) those old writers have assigned the value *O I*; but, seeing that in the Ardmore fragment groups containing four and five such characters occur, it is quite evident that those old writers were ignorant of its value. How is this to be accounted for? Very simply: Ocham

writing was of very ancient standing in the country, and at the time these men wrote had fallen into disuse.

In looking at an Ocham inscription, one cannot fail being struck with the great resemblance it bears to *written music*, in two ways: firstly in its *appearance*; and secondly in its *nature*; for the scores here represent certain *sounds*, just as the ciphers in music do. Might not this word *Ocham*, then, have been derived from *O*, music, and *cum* or *cam*, shape, form, or appearance; and thus signify "music form"?—an expressive name for this species of writing.

The learned but ill-translated Dr. Keating dates the invention of the common alphabet, from the neighbourhood of Babylon, about sixty years after the building of the Tower; and states also, significantly enough, that the Gadelians or Milesians, in their first expedition into Ireland, were accompanied by a harper skilled in music; and the learned Dr. Charles O'Connor ("Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres," &c., vol. i. pt. 34) dates the invention of Ocham characters from the same time and place. Now, if the statements of those learned writers and my interpretation of the word Ocham be correct, it will follow, that the Gadelian or Irish race have had the use of the common Irish alphabet, the Ocham scale, and music scale, for the immense space of time from that date to this. Extraordinary as this may appear, it is singularly confirmed by the Bressay inscription, given in this paper, which contains three music scores, viz.:— the common Ocham lines , and two letters, C, of the common Irish alphabet; the inverted C is used as a contraction for con, and the regular one, C, for ceab, as they are in common Irish writing; and these music scores bear the same value as the common Ocham score. From all this it is evident that the use of those three species of writing went hand in hand; and that the inscriber looked on the Ocham and music scores as one and the same thing: furthermore, I find all the characters represented in Plate I., Fig. 3,<sup>1</sup> in the Ocham scale and inscriptions; and as they are the identical characters, with scarcely any others, that are or have been used in modern music-writing, which is said to have been invented by Guido, of Arezzo, an Italian monk, about six centuries ago, it may be fairly asked, did Guido invent those characters? It is to my mind far more probable that he had them from this country, where they were used many centuries before his time, and where they still exist, in a species of writing called *Ocham*, the simple interpretation of which is *music-form*. It is not to be forgotten, that there was a constant intercourse kept up between the Irish and Italians at that period. Nay, the idea of the four and five lines, employed at different periods in modern music-writing, may have been bor-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Williams has kindly presented to the Society the wood engravings, executed by himself, from which the Plates illustrative of this Paper are printed.—Eds.



rowed from us; for, though not expressed—even the medial line is sometimes not expressed—they are always to be understood, as in Plate I., Figs. 1 and 2.

Some writers on the subject of Ocham inscriptions are of opinion that the last five characters in our printed Ocham scale are a modern addition. They have been led to form that opinion by finding the Roman letter Z, which ought to be ꝛv, placed over one of them. My opinion is, that they were used by the Druids in their books; but as they were not easy of formation, the simple score only was used on stone. They have nothing to do with the Roman alphabet, and do not appear to me to be a modern addition.

In studying the following inscriptions, I made three important discoveries—firstly, that the Roman letters placed over some groups in the scale do not, in any one instance, represent the value of them; secondly, that oblique lines were used as contractions; and thirdly, that Ocham writers had a system of representing double letters. The want of understanding those little preliminaries has thrown great difficulties in the way of Ocham investigations; but I trust the scales given in Plate I., Figs. 4 and 5, will help to remove them, and to facilitate the study of those highly interesting records.

The first scale (Plate I., Fig. 4) contains groups representing the sixteen letters of the original Irish *Beithluisnoin* and the aspirate h. Neither in this nor in any Ocham inscription is to be found a group representing the letter P; which, of course, would not be the case if the scale were “founded on the Roman alphabet.” Dr. O’Brien, in his remarks on that letter in his “Irish Dictionary,” states that P was not known in Ireland till after the introduction of the Roman alphabet by St. Patrick. Here is, therefore, a positive proof of the pre-Christian existence of both the Ocham scale and inscriptions. Had those making Ocham literature their study attended to this fact, it would have saved them much trouble, and have shown very clearly that the Pagan Irish had the use of letters.

The first figure in the scale of contractions and double letters (see Plate I., Fig. 5) has been mistaken for the Roman letter X, but has nothing whatever to do with it. The numerical figures over this and the following five figures show the number of common scores they represent; which is to be known by their cutting, or resting on the medial line *obliquely*. Examples of the use of all the groups in this scale will be found in the following inscriptions. The next three groups represent double letters; they are the halves of two groups, each being made to answer as the complement of the other. The last three groups are to be found in printed Ocham scales, but incorrectly marked with Roman letters: they are here correctly marked.

Having premised these observations, I now proceed to the interpretation of the following Ocham inscriptions:—

## TULLAHERIN, COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

(Trans., vol. iii. p. 86.)



Fata h-6g[é]g[er]n].

Plain or field of A[hern].

In this fragment of an inscription we have the word *fata*, a plain or field, and part of the genitive case-form of a personal name (see Plate I., Fig. 6); and as it is thus the name *eéctg[er]n* (Ahern) would commence, and that the lost part appears to be preserved in *Tulla[herin]* (*cula—6g[er]n*), I considered I was warranted in completing the name as it stands above. The word *fata* leaves no room to doubt this stone was a landmark of some kind; but whether merely a landmark, or had some connexion with ancient chivalry, like that mentioned in the "Transactions of the Ossianic Society" (vol. xi., p. 79), I cannot determine. Tulas having been places of *Pagan* sepulture (Keating's "Ireland," A. M. 3952), I fear we must class the owner of this stone with the *Gentiles*.

## CASTLETIMON, COUNTY OF WICKLOW.

(Trans., vol. iii., p. 192.)



Nuadhath ar omóire taca 6g[er]n

Nuadhath for honouring the prop of his youth.

PLATE II

i p l a m a i r a b e a

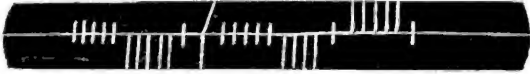


FIG. 9.

l u ŝ u b e e c c a r m a p



FIG. 10.

b o l a e i b i o ŝ i a r ŝ o m



FIG. 10a.

e o i l p u b h a r u a ŝ a m o n a p

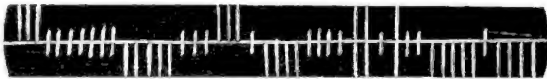


FIG. 10b.

p o e u m u b o ŝ a m r a



FIG. 11.

p o p ŝ u a p e



FIG. 11a.

r a n l i c h e o ŝ i b c h u b



FIG. 12.

This short inscription (see Plate I., Fig. 7), placed by a dutiful son over the ashes of his parent, the "prop of his youth," throws such a flood of light on the character of the ancient Irish, that I dare not do more than attempt a poor translation of it.

ARDMORE, COUNTY OF WATERFORD.

(*Trans.*, vol. iii., p. 227.)

[San lic] Amadó.

[Sacred stone] of Amada.

(*See* Plate I., Fig. 8.)

FRAGMENT.—ARDMORE, COUNTY OF WATERFORD.

(*Id.*, *ib.*)

— ı Flámar ab tá.

— in Heaven is.

This is a fragment of a grave-stone, and has lost of the inscription nothing but the name (see Plate II. Fig. 9). Had the Pagan Irish some idea of *heaven*, then? Dr. O'Brien, in his preface to his Irish "Dictionary," has clearly shown they had, and a very refined system of Pagan religion.

"ORATORY" MONUMENT, ARDMORE.

(*Id.*, *ib.*)

INTERPRETATION AND TRANSLATION, ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT IDIOM.

Lúgub 'Ecc ar mar  
 Lughudh [who] died in [the] sea,  
 Do láti bí ag iarđomh  
 Of [a] day [he] was at fishing,  
 Coilpeubh ar uađ-añonar.  
 Encaved in grave-sacredness.

(*See* Plate II., Figs. 10, 10a, and 10b.)

MODERN ORTHOGRAPHY AND IDIOM.

Lúgub do écc añ ra mar,  
 Do láti bí ag iarđarpeáct,  
 Co ta coilpeab añ ro  
 An añonar na h-uađ.

TRANSLATION.

Lewy, who died in the sea  
 On a day he was fishing,  
 Is deposited here  
 In the sanctuary of the grave.

As this *now celebrated* inscription has become a subject of much controversy, I feel myself called on to speak in terms which, under other circumstances, it would be unpardonable in a man to employ in speaking of his own work. For the satisfaction, then, of any members of the Society who may not understand Irish, I will take

leave to state, that the interpretation and translation here set out are correct in every particular; that I have neither doubt nor difficulty in the matter; and that it will not, *cannot*, be otherwise read. Irish scholars will, of course, examine and judge for themselves, and I have no fears for the result.

In all the inscriptions I have seen, the same plan has been followed; namely, when two lines occur on the face or eastern side, the first line was formed on the northern angle, and the other on the southern one: the lines commencing in every instance at the lower extremity or base of the stone, and proceeding upwards. The same plan was followed with regard to the two lines on the face of the oratory stone; but the line on the back or west side was traced from the upper extremity *downwards*, or, in other words, the inscriber followed exactly the course of the sun.

Here is a fact that deserves serious consideration, for it is not to be supposed for a moment that the usual plan had been departed from, without some cause or motive. My opinion on the subject is this:—The Round Tower was a temple of the sun; the Pagans were buried near it, as the Christians are near *their* sanctuary at the present day, and the Ocham monuments are some of the Pagan gravestones.

Just as I write, Mr. J. F. Maguire, M. P., has presented me with a copy of his important work on the “Industrial Movement in Ireland;” and directed my attention to the chapter on Irish Antiquities, written, I believe, by Windele. At page 357, speaking of the ancient Irish *stoc*, or bronze trumpet, I find the following passage:—“Stewart, in his ‘History of Armagh,’ describes a perfect trumpet of this class, which, on being sounded by a modern dragoon trumpeter, gave out a deep hoarse tone, which was heard for an immense distance around. Walker, in his paper on ‘Irish Musical Instruments,’ says, that the *stoc* was used at the summit of the Round Towers to summon the sun-worshippers to the sacrifices.”

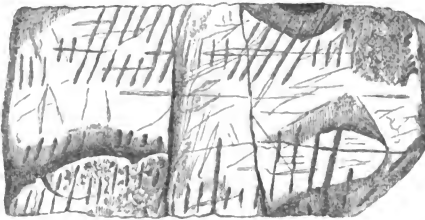
This agrees with the opinion I have ventured to express on this critical subject: the inscription was traced exactly as a sun-worshipper may be supposed to have done it, or rather, as he certainly would have done. It may be objected, that Irish scholars have taken the name of those Towers to signify “bell-house” or “belfry.” To this I answer, that it does not, and never did, mean either one or the other: for in that case it would have been named *clog-theach*, and not *cuilceach*, as it has been invariably pronounced by the peasantry. Church bells did not come into use for many centuries after St. Declan’s time, and certainly he did not build a tower for bells which he had not; if those towers were built for “belfries,” it must have been after the introduction of bells. How does it happen, then, that no record of the building of any of them has come down to us?

We read in Irish history that St. Patrick burned the books that contained the mysteries of the Druidic religion: hence, that form of worship very soon became forgotten; and hence it is that we know so little about it at the present day. The ancient worship having been forgotten, and the Tower remaining, and of course requiring a name, what, I would ask, was to guide men in after times in bestowing that name? Surely, nothing but the shape, form, or appearance of the building. The ancients, in seeking a name for any object, laid hold of some prominent feature, quality, or characteristic in it; and having once done this, their copious and expressive language readily furnished them with an appropriate name.

Now the structure in question looks exceedingly like a vast reed—the string-courses representing the joints; the Irish word *cuilc* means a reed, and *teach*, a house; the phrase *cuilc-teach* (pronounced critically, as the peasantry do the name of the Tower), therefore, means, a *reed-shaped house*. No words could describe it more accurately; as far, therefore, as the name goes, it affords no clue to the original use or purpose for which the Tower was built.

KILRUSH, DUNGARVAN, COUNTY OF WATERFORD.

(See Plate II., Fig. 11.)

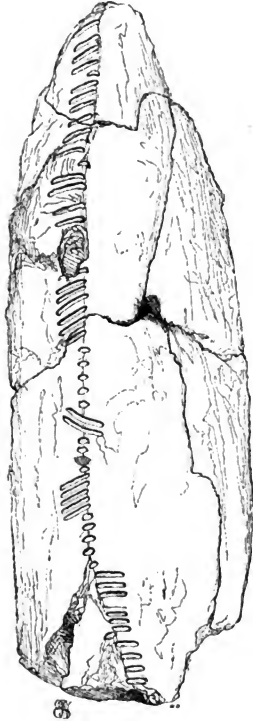


Ro cumúó ógam ra  
This Ogham was formed,

Fon Guare.  
Over Guare.

Who Guare was; whether it was after him Dromguare, in this neighbourhood, has been named, I cannot determine.

## DUNBEL, COUNTY OF KILKENNY, NO. I.

*(Transactions, vol. iii., p. 404.)*

San Iic h-Eóidhúó cácaó.

Sacred stone of Eochaidhe of the excavations.

*(See Plate II., Fig. 12, and Plate III., Fig. 12a.)*





PLATE III.



FIG. 12a.



FIG. 13.

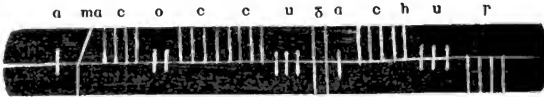


FIG. 14.



FIG. 15.



FIG. 16.



FIG. 16a.



FIG. 17.

The word  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\acute{\alpha}\tau$ , in the inscription and illustration to be found on page 334, comes from  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta$ , an excavation or turning up of the earth, and signifies of the excavations, or, accustomed to make excavations; it has the same signification as the word  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\alpha\mu\acute{\eta}$ , a name, according to Dr. Keating, bestowed on Eochaidhe, monarch of Ireland A. M. 3952, for having been the first that introduced the custom of burying the dead *in graves*. Keating states he was slain by Siodhmall at Freamhain of Teabhtha or Tefia; but as topographical errors are of frequent occurrence in old writers, it is quite possible Dr. Keating may have mistaken Freamhain Teabhtha for Freamhain in Middlethird, Tipperary, quite near enough to Dunbel for the monarch to have been buried there: the Four Masters afford no additional information. It would be most important, should this indeed turn out to be the monument of that monarch.

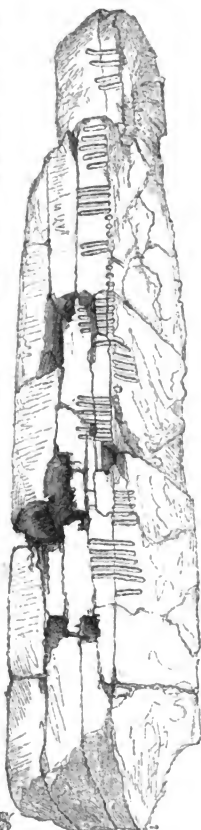
DUNBEL, COUNTY OF KILKENNY, NO. II.

(*Trans.*, vol. iii., p. 404.)

[San Iac] b $\pi$ imic do f $\acute{\alpha}$ nichic o  
 [Sacred stone] of a wife who rested  
 a cap  $\delta\zeta$ .  
 from her love young.

(See Plate III., Fig. 13.)

It is quite unnecessary to offer any remarks regarding the inscription cut on the monument here represented, the bare translation being sufficient. I do not envy the *Irishman* who would attempt to write away the character of the man whose mind conceived, whose heart dictated, and whose hand traced, that exquisite epitaph!



## GLEANNAGLOCH, COUNTY OF CORK, NO. I.

(Mr. Windele.)

Amac oc cúgachur.

Amac in narrowness or confinement.

(See Plate III., Fig. 14.)

## GLEANNAGLOCH, COUNTY OF CORK, NO. II.

(Mr. Windele.)

Tulo-ól Coñ machu agril.

Tulo-stone of Conn, of the plain of Agril.

(See Plate III., Fig. 15.)

## FORTWILLIAM, COUNTY OF KERRY.

(Mr. Windele.)

Allb am peð Soigríof machú uf Coimrí.

Hill of the people of the wood of Sugrue, of the plain of O'Conree.

(See Plate III., Figs. 16 and 16a.)

The name Sugrue may still be traced in Aha-hograh ('Aite-foigríof), and Conree in Caherconree and Ballyconnery, both in the neighbourhood of Fortwilliam; the allb, or hill, also stands near the place. Had the inscriber been acquainted with the letter P, he had written alp or aip instead of allb.

## DERRENDARAGH, COUNTY OF KERRY.

(Ulst. Jour. of Arch., No. I., p. 43.)

Amad-h-inub n-amaç a b-tuir íamça.

Burial-place of a person in good rest.

(See Plate III., Fig. 17.)

## BALLYCROVANE, COUNTY OF CORK.

(Mr. Windele.)

[San-lic] Amaci, h-na Cathara, pa éóip ar ia.  
[Sacred stone] of Amac, son of Casey, [who] was Lord in (of) his country.

(See Plate IV., Fig. 18.)

PLATE IV.

amaohihua cacha rapac o rapa



FIG. 18.

ma p i a n i



FIG. 19.

pancullo tuota ilbeall pura

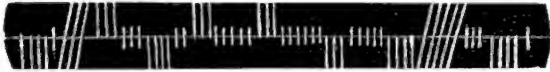


FIG. 20.

pa gi eta pi



FIG. 21.

S e b a n [ p a i ]



FIG. 22.

a n o c a m p a



FIG. 22a.

dhogitabha e c machu



FIG. 23.

## KINNARD, COUNTY OF KERRY, NO. I.

(Ulst. Jour. Arch., p. 43.)

[San lic] Mapíani.

[Sacred stone] of Marian.

(See Plate IV., Fig. 19.)

This short inscription is the *genitive case-form* of the name Mapíani (Anglicè Ryan), which, at the present day we would write Mapían, infixing instead of affixing the slender vowel; the words ran lic (sacred stone) must be supplied to complete the sense, as must the word véan (why has it not been done?) before opoit, on the Christian monuments. It is almost unnecessary to remark, it is from this name we get the patronymic Ua Mapían (O'Ryan); or that it was the personal name of the celebrated philosopher, Marianus Scotus, Mapían Scut, Marian the Scot or Irishman.

This monument bears an incised figure, that looks like a modern sash-window; but as crosses have been found on some of our Ocham monuments, it may be as well to assume the figure in question was intended to represent a *number of crosses*. Was the inscription the work of a *Christian* then? No; not a line of it, any more than the forming the stone itself was his work.

"Our own Windele" has very sensibly written:—"Those monuments being *heathen*, had fallen into contempt, as Christianity progressed, and were deemed, by the zealous founders of churches, as only fit for use as building stones, or any other ignoble purpose, their original object being no longer appreciated." Just so; some zealous Christian found this monument, and not heeding, or probably not understanding, the inscription, traced the crosses on it. We see a poor person to-day forming a cross of perishable wood, when he cannot afford to have it in a more permanent form. The same motive actuated *both*, the desire to have the sacred emblem of salvation over the ashes of their departed friends. The same learned and polished writer has, with his usual good sense, remarked:—"We miss from *all* those monuments the pious '[véan] opoit,' never absent from the early Christian monuments." Why should not the early Christians have continued to use Ocham writing? We read in Irish history that this was the sacred character in which the Druids wrote the mysteries of their religion; that St. Patrick burned their books on the Hill of Tara; and certainly, the zealous early Christians would not use on their monuments a species of writing thus publicly condemned by their great apostle.

## KINNARD, COUNTY OF CORK.—NO. II.

*(Mr. Windele.)*

Saṅ tullo tuotail Óeallrúra.  
Sacred tullo of Tuohill of Beallrusa.

*(See Plate IV., Fig. 20.)*

## BURNFORT, COUNTY OF CORK.

*(Mr. Windele.)*

[San líc] raḡitearí.  
[Sacred stone] of an archer or soldier.

*(See Plate IV., Fig. 21.)*

The word *raḡeab*, an arrow, was, anciently, variously written *raḡib*, *raḡis*, *raḡic*, and *raḡite*, indifferently; and its derivative, *raḡibare*, an archer or soldier, *raḡibare*, *raḡicare*, and *raḡiteare*, indifferently. The foregoing inscription is the genitive case of the latter form of this thoroughly Irish word, and signifies "of an archer or soldier," as above. The word *raḡiteare* means a soldier, as well as an archer; for the bow and arrow were the standing weapons of ancient Ireland: and that they knew how to handle those formidable instruments the following couplet would seem to indicate:—

"To Albion Scots we ne'er would yield;  
The Irish bowmen won the field."

Here is not a word of "Latin," or about the "name" of a French bishop or any one else; and hence the argument that "because a French bishop in the sixth century had a name somewhat like the above, the stone was a Christian monument," falls to the ground. Yet it is on such erroneous grounds, and on the strength of classic fables, we find an attempt made to write away the ancient fame of the oldest literary nation in Europe. Would it not be well if learned gentlemen would reflect and pause a little before entering on this suicidal course?

## FRAGMENT AT HOOK POINT, COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

*(Museum of Society.)*

Se[á]ḡan [raf]  
[an] ócam[ra].

John [under this] Ocham.

*(See Plate IV., Figs. 22 and 22a.)*

In this fragment is to be found the word *Ocham*, which I contend for as the correct orthography of the *name* of this species of writing. I have completed the inscription as I judge it stood in its entirety.



PLATE V.

a r a ḡa p u a b h c o r



FIG. 23a.

a p ma ca ip ch na i n u b ip p a i



FIG. 24.

n n p a e u h u p c h o p i

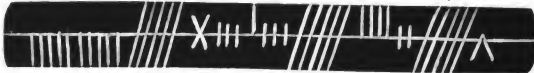


FIG. 24i.

a c a l a b h m n a

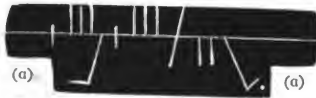


FIG. 25.

e p p a ḡa n i c c i n m i l l u a



FIG. 26.

ma con ceab o r i o m u u p p i



FIG. 26a.

c a c a b a p m o o o b l i ḡ p i c h a a n a



FIG. 27.



## SMERWICK, COUNTY OF KERRY.

(Mr. Windele.)

[San lic]            dhógi            éabhad  
 [Sacred stone] of the hope of the company, or multitude,  
 macú ar            aga [a]            puabhtor.  
 of the plain, in (during) the time of his lordship, or chieftaincy.

(See Plate IV., Fig. 23, and Plate V., Fig. 23a.)

## NEWTOWN, ABERDEENSHIRE, SCOTLAND.

(Mr. Windele.)

Ar mátair chná muo    ipraimn raéú    h-úr thóri  
 Our mother good, place [of] after-time of life [is] the clay pile.  
 Our good mother, our final resting-place, is the clay pile.

(See Plate V., Figs. 24 and 24a.)

## AMBER BEAD.

(Trans., Sept., 1856.)



A táladh mná

At a woman's delivery.

(See Plate V., Fig. 25.)

The foregoing is the *sense* of this curious inscription, and the nearest approach to a literal translation I would venture to make.

## BRESSAY, SHETLAND ISLES.

(Mr. Windele.)

Erpaðán ic    ein    mi-lluað    maðon,  
 Horgan, in the love of the warlike host of the plain,  
 céabog    1    omu    úppi.  
 couches in the solitariness of the earth.

(See Plate V., Figs. 26 and 26a.)

In this inscription are to be found the two letters C, and the three music ciphers to which I alluded in a former part of this Paper. The phrase *mil-lluao* comes from *mile*, a soldier, champion, &c., and *lua*, Welch for *plua*, an army, host, multitude, &c.; *ceabop*, couches, or rests on a couch, from *ceabu*, a couch or bed. Some learned Ochanists have professed to find this inscription a mixture of Norse and Celtic; but I affirm, without fear of contradiction, there is not a word of Norse in it. Indeed it would be exceedingly strange to find Norse in the garb of an Irish character, on the monument of one whose name, Horgan, leaves no room to doubt he was one of the Gadelean or Irish race! If any one who is not a correct Irish speaker, as well as sound Irish scholar, will attempt to interpret those inscriptions, he will fail, and inflict an injury on Irish and Celtic literature in general, which it will take centuries to repair.

BALLYQUIN, CARRICK-ON-SUIR.

(*Mr. Windele.*)

Caða            báp    mocoð    lŕ            pŕcha ũna.  
 Worship [the] highest of swine [is] law (right) divine of Anna.  
 Sacrifice of swine is the divine right of Anna.

(*See Plate V., Fig. 27.*)

The word *pŕcha* here means divine, and is closely connected with the word *pŕchtó*, which O'Reilly defines, "The supreme God, the King of all." Anna, he states, was the mother of the Irish gods. Drom-Anna, the splendid residence of Lord Stuart de Decies, is called after her to this day.

Here is a record *written on stone*, which proves in the most clear and satisfactory manner the Pagan Irish had the use of letters. Dr. O'Brien, in the preface to his "Irish Dictionary," proves they had, *before the introduction of Christianity*, words in their language for all moral duties and virtues, and their opposite vices or sins; for the theological virtues, *faith, hope, and charity*; for the seven deadly sins; words in which are expressed the ten Commandments, the four cardinal virtues, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the seven corporal works of mercy or piety, and the twelve fruits of the Holy Spirit!! This is exceedingly clear, but not more so than the foregoing inscription; for the correctness of the orthography, the purity and poetic beauty of the language, and the nature and style of the inscriptions themselves, must convince any unprejudiced mind that none but a learned and highly civilized people, and a people who, too, understood and practised the moral and social virtues, could have placed such epitaphs on the monuments of their dead.

ELEGY OF ERARD MAC COISE, CHIEF CHRONICLER OF THE  
GAELS, PRONOUNCED OVER THE TOMB OF FERGAL  
O'RUAIK, CHIEF OF BREFNY, AT CLONMACNOISE.

BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.—The following Elegy, now translated for the first time, has been copied from an Irish MS., on paper, of a small quarto size, in the handwriting of Maurice Newby, 1715, formerly the property of Mr. Edward O'Reilly, of Harold's-cross, author of the "Irish-English Dictionary," and compiler of the descriptive "Catalogue of Irish Writers," which was published by the Hiberno-Celtic Society. The MS. alluded to, now in the possession of George Smith, Esq., contains several other poems, with some articles in prose. Amongst the former is to be found the Ode addressed by John O'Mulconry, of Ardchoill, in the county of Clare, to Brian na Murtha O'Ruairc, chief of West Brefny, or the county of Leitrim, accompanied by an interlined gloss by Teige O'Rody, Esq., of Crossfield, in the county of Leitrim. The greater portion of the MS. is taken up with poems addressed to or composed by O'Rody; and the scribe, Maurice Newby, whose name, and the date, 1715, appear in the MS., has throughout given proof of his abilities as a Latin and Irish scholar. This MS. was, with others, purchased by Myles John O'Reilly, Esq., of the Heath House, in the Queen's County, who has since sold it to Mr. Smith.

The translation is strictly literal, and no deviation from the original has been ventured upon, except where intelligibility required it.

Of the merit of the original poem the reader can form his own unbiassed judgment. The pathetic force with which the bard, prostrate on the tomb of his chieftain and patron, pours forth his griefs for the loss he and his country had sustained, is remarkably original and striking.

The context of the Elegy generally, besides the allusion to facts and names of historic records which it contains, would appear to give a satisfactory internal evidence of the time at which it was composed, and it would be, in this respect, highly curious as a specimen of the language and composition of an Irish poet of the eleventh century. But two very great difficulties present themselves in connexion with this Elegy. It would appear that there were two poets named Erard or Urard Mac Coise, one who, according to the Annals of Tighernach, died (*mortuus est*) in the year 990; the other, who, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, died in the year 1023.

But the only Fergal O'Ruairc that we find about this period was a king of Connaught, who was, according to the Annals of Ulster, slain by Domhnall, son of Conghalach, Lord of Bregia and Cnodhbha, in the year 965. The first Urard Mac Coise, who died at Clonmacnoise in 990, might have been the author of an elegy for this Ferghal; but then he is made to say—

“Suáic ífol g-Cuinn d'éir ériam,  
Do éuitim a ngliaó Cluana capb.”

“Joyful is the race of Conn, after  
Brian's fall in the conflict at Clontarf.”

Brian Boromhe fell in this battle in the year 1014 (no date is more certain), so that the author of this Elegy either wrote or pretended to have written immediately after the fall of Brian in the Battle of Clontarf. Now it looks strange enough that the Four Masters take no notice of the Urard Mac Coise who died, according to Tighernach, in 990, they evidently having believed that there was only one poet of the name, viz., he who was secretary to King Malachy II., and died in the year 1023.

If the Four Masters be correct, it is not improbable that the passage in the Annals of Tighernach, at the year 990, should stand thus:—

“A. D. 990. Urard Mac Coisse, ppsmécep gaeóil in penitencia moratus est a g-Cluain mic Noip.”

“A. D. 990. Urard Mac Coisse, chief poet of Erin, lived in penitence at Clonmacnoise.”

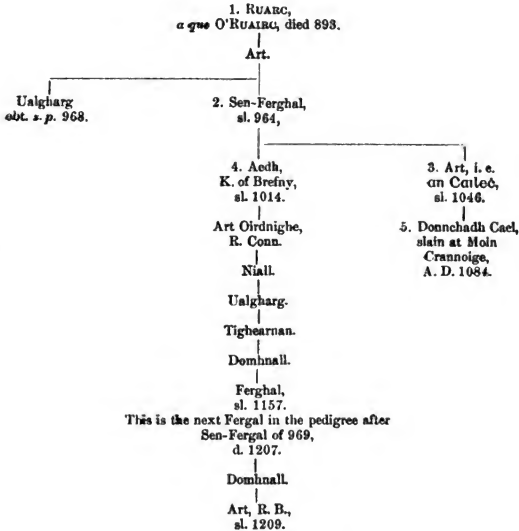
Then the passage in the Four Masters will square with it very well:—

“A. D. 1023. Erard Mac Coisse, áróépoimicé na n-gaeóal d'écc hi Cluain mic Noip iar n-déigbéaib.”

“A. D. 1023. Erard Mac Coisse, chief chronicler of the Gaels, died at Clonmacnoise, after a good life.”

Now, assuming that there was but one poet of this name, we have still a further difficulty to contend with, and which is much more formidable, namely, that no Fergal O'Ruairc is to be found in the Irish annals or pedigrees at the period to which this Elegy makes so pointed an allusion. In the pedigree of O'Ruairc, as given in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, and by Duaid Mac Firbis, p. 208 of his large genealogical work, it is stated that Art, who was the only son of Ruairc, had two sons, Ualgharg, who died without issue, and Sen-Fergal, King of Connaught, the greatest

champion that appeared in the world since the time of Hector and Achilles. That Sen-Fergal had two sons, Aedh, slain by Tadhg an eicéil, King of Connaught, 1014, and Art, King of Connaught, commonly called the *Cailech*, i. e. the Cock, who was slain in 1046. The pedigree stands thus:—



It is very clear from these MSS., which are rather copious in their details of the pedigree of O'Ruairc, that there was no Fergal in the family who lived immediately after the fall of Brian Borumha in the battle of Clontarf, and that Sen-Fergal was so called either from his great age, or by posterity.<sup>1</sup> It should, however, be remarked that the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, as translated by Connell Mac Geoghegan, in 1627, contain the following passage:—

<sup>1</sup> Why was this Fergal called SEN-Fergal, as it does not appear that he had a son, Fergal Og? This looks strange enough, for no Fergal is mentioned in the pedigree of the

O'Ruaircs till the year 1157. The first Fergal was probably called *Sen* by posterity, as he was the oldest of the name to be found in the pedigree.

“The O’Neals forsooke King Bryan in this battle [of Clontarf], and so did all Connought, except Ferrall O’Royrck and Teige O’Kelly, Prince of Imaine.”

This passage, however, is not to be found in any other Irish annals. But it might be argued that the Annals of Tighernach are defective at this period, and that the other Annals are later compilations, more or less defective.

The only theory, therefore, which could be resorted to to reconcile this poem to history, is to assume that there was but one Urard Mac Coise, namely, he who was secretary to Malachy II.; that, as the Fergal O’Ruairc who was slain A. D. 964 was called Sean-Ferghal, i. e. the old Ferghal, there would appear to have been another called Fergal 65, or Fergal the younger, who fought at Clontarf, and died before the year 1023.

If this was not the fact (and it is almost certain that it was not), this Elegy must have been interpolated by some Irish bard, who believed, or thought to make others believe, that Fergal O’Rourke, for whom it was composed, flourished after the fall of Brian in the battle of Clontarf, and was buried at Clonmacnoise immediately after the battle of Clontarf, or at least before the year 1023, when Erard Mac Coisse died.

The reader will find a curious legendary notice of Urard Mac Coise in Dr. Todd’s Notes to the Irish “Nennius,” p. 209. The following curious passage relating to him is found in Mac Geoghegan’s translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, under the year 983 (*recte* 990, according to Tighernach):—

“Erard Mac Coysie, chief poet of King Moyleseaghlyn, and all Ireland, died in Clonvicknose very penitently.

“This man, for his devotion to God and St. Quæran, had his residence in Clonvicknose, to the end he might be neer the Church dayly to hear mass; and upon a night there appeared an Angel unto him, that reprehended him for dwelling so neer the place, and told him that the paces of his Journey coming and going to hear Mass dayly would be measured by God, and according yeald him recompence for his pains, and from thence fourth Mac Coysie remouved his house a good distance from Clonvicknose to a place among Boggs to this day called y<sup>r</sup> place of Mac Coyssie’s house, from whence he did dayly use to repair to Clonvicknose to hear Masse, as he was warned before by the Angle.

“Before Mac Coysie fell to these devotions King Moyleseaghlyn of his great bounty of Learning and Learned-men bestowed the revenewes of the Crown of Ireland for one year upon Mac Coysie, who enjoyed it accordingly, and at the years end when the King would have the said revenewes to himself Mac Coysie said that he would never suffer the King from thence fourth to have any part of the Royalties or profits, but would keep all to himself, whether the King would or no, or loose his life in defence thereof: Whereupon the King challenged Mac Coysie to fight a

Horsback which Mac Coyssie willingly consented to do though he knew himself unable to resist the Valourous hand of King Moyleseaghlyn, who was generally Coumpted the best horseman in these parts of Europe, for king Moyleseaghlyn's delight was to ride a horse that was never broken, handled or ridden untill the age of seven years, which he would so exactly ride as any other man wou'd ride and tame an old and Gentle Horse. Notwithstanding all Mac Coyssie was of such hope that the king of his favour of Poetry and Learning wou'd never draw his blood, which did embolden and encourage him to Combatt with the king, and being a' horseback Mac Coyssie well provided with horse and armour and the King only w<sup>th</sup> a good horse a staff without a head, fell eagerly to encounter Mac Coyssie [who was] desirous to kill the king, to the end he might enjoy the Revenewes without Contradiction; the King cunningly defended himself with nimble avoidings and turnings of his horse, fearing to hurt Mac Coyssie, untill at last w<sup>th</sup> his skillfulness and good horsemanship he vanquished Mac Coyssie and enjoyed his kingdom and revenews ever after, untill Bryan Borrowe and his Munstermen tooke the same from him."

With respect to the orthography, it is evident that it was modernized by the scribe Maurice Newby, or some previous transcriber of the seventeenth century; but I have thought it right to give the spelling exactly as I found it, as no vellum or ancient copy of the Elegy has yet turned up. I also suspect that scribes have substituted some modern words and phrases for the more ancient language of the original poet; but I would not undertake to point out to what extent this has been done.

To conclude these few remarks, it is right that I should state that it has been my opinion for some years that this poem and the entry above alluded to about Fferrall O'Roirck, in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, were forged for the O'Rourke family since the erection of their tomb at Clonmacnoise, near the greater Cloitheach or Round Tower, and that they caused the Annals and Registry of Clonmacnoise to be interpolated, and this poem to be forged about the same period, to add to the antiquity of their connexion with Clonmacnoise. It has been also my opinion that this poem, or rather a poem of which it is an imitation, was originally composed for Malachy II., monarch of all Ireland, by his secretary, Erard Mac Coisè, and that the name of Maelsechlainn was everywhere left out by the forger. Forgeries of this kind are to be found in every nation in Europe; and we have seen specimens of such in Ireland in our own times.

That the Registry of Clonmacnoise, as translated for Sir James Ware by Duaid Mac Firbis, was interpolated for the family of O'Ruairc, has been already suggested by Dr. Petric in his admirable work on the Round Towers of Ireland, where, p. 386, the following extract is quoted from that Registry from the autograph of Mac Firbis, now preserved in the Library of the British Museum, Cod. Clarend., No. 51, 4796:—

“And the same O’Ruairc [Fergal] of his devotion towards the Church, undertooke to repair those churches and keep them in reparation during his life upon his own chardges, and to make a causey or Togher from the place called Cruan na Feadh to Iubhar Chonaire, and from Iubhar [Chonaire] to the Loch; and the said Fergal did perform it together with all other promises that he made to Cluain, and the repaying of that number of chappells or cells, and the making of that causey or Togher, and hath for a monument built a small steep castle or steeple, commonly called in Irish *Claicthough* [Cloicthech, *Clocarium*, *Clochere*, or belfry], in Cluain, as a memorial of his own part of that Cemetary: and the said Fergal hath made all those cells before specified in mortmain for him and his heirs to Cluain; and thus was the sepulture of the O’Ruairks bought.”

See also p. 263 of the same work, where this Registry is again quoted, and also “Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many,” Pedigree of O’Kelly.

But whoever wrote this poem originally, or whenever it was interpolated, it is a specimen of an ancient Irish elegy, valuable, if not for correct chronology, at least for exhibiting a fair representation of Irish thought, feeling, and sympathy at an early period.

Mac Pherson made elegies of this description, orally preserved in Ireland and Scotland, the groundwork of his “Songs of Selma,” but he has borrowed too many conceptions and images from Homer and the Old Testament:—

“Sweet are thy murmurs, O stream, but more sweet is the voice I hear. It is the voice of Alpin, the son of song, mourning for the dead! Bent is his head of age, and red his tearful eye. Alpin, thou son of song, why alone on the silent hill? Why complainest thou, as a blast in the wood, as a wave on the lonely shore? My tears, O Ryno! are for the dead; my voice for those who have passed away.”

The metre of this Elegy is remarkably regular, which shows that it is a studied piece of composition, and not the extemporaneous effusion of any poet. The generality of Irish elegies are not so regular in their metre, but correspond with Horace’s notice of such compositions:—

“Versibus impariter junctis querimonia primùm,  
Post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos.  
Quis tamen exiguos elegos emisit auctor,  
Grammatici certant, et adhuc sub judice lis est.”

*De Art. Poet.*, 75.

I shall, I trust, soon again return to this subject, which is at present much neglected by our literary antiquaries. It forms the most striking feature of our ancient Irish literature. I now append the Elegy, accompanied by a close literal translation.—J. O’D.



brónac ollam d'éir a ríḡ,  
 Fapfop naé b'puilim fo'n b'peapc!  
 Mípe ap maréain d'éir Uí Ruairc!  
 Mairḡ, a Ćriopc, do rmuain an b'peac!

Créad naé beinn-pe brónac boét,  
 Ír 'Éipe anoét ap noul do ófé,  
 Tap éir ríḡ Teampa na v'peab,  
 Naé ap eicḡ neac um ní.

Cruaáa epodeapḡ cloinne Chuinn  
 beaḡ budeapca a puim aḡ ríḡ,  
 Tpe beic v' Fearnḡal fúm-ra aḡ Cluain,  
 'S na beirc bróim do éuaib rí.

Uirneac Míde, Cnóḡa ír Colc,  
 brónac 'ran porc a mbíob Niall,  
 Clactḡa ír Teamair na ríocḡ  
 Fapfop naé mairpeann a rḡiam.

brónac árb-foirc Inpe Fáil  
 D'éir Fheapḡail, do éráib mo éopp,  
 ḡéir b'é m'ionab uéc an ríḡ,  
 Á ḡCluain ír beaḡ mo b'riḡe anoét.

Aoiḡbinn buic, a Ćluain mic Nóir,  
 An eairḡe óir a cá pav éopp,  
 Círbé éiḡear Inpe Fáil,  
 Fearnḡal do éleaéc cáim do éup.

An t-óir beapḡ fo por a leaéc,  
 Do leaḡab féaécpor a pe  
 An ḡrian mar féac ap aniar  
 Do b' ionann maib do 'r do'n ḡréim.

Mo leabuib-rí ír ceapéuil éruaib,  
 Mairḡ, a Ćriopc do éuaib 'na feilb!  
 Leac na ríocḡruibe acá fúm,  
 Fa b'puil Fearnḡal, rún ḡan méimḡ.

Ceileabpad buic, h-uf Ruairc,  
 Ní v' iméaéc uair acé do feal.  
 buab pem fé ad éaoméab a ḡ-Cluain,  
 Ní paécab airce uaib néá éear.

Mípe pe fé epac ḡan buab,  
 Am' luibe ap do lia Uí Ruairc!  
 Mo époib-rí ír lom ḡup loirḡ,  
 Á Fheapḡail do éoirḡ a ḡ-Cluain.

Rac̄puid̄ mé do'n cig-ri r̄ior  
 Uí Maol̄lárap̄an na ḡ c̄ior go r̄óil,  
 Dá r̄ior an léiḡreac̄ mé ar̄ceac̄,  
 Mar̄ nac̄ léiḡceap̄ neac̄ um neoin.

Sopuid̄ buic̄, a P̄hear̄gail̄ r̄éil,  
 A r̄ip̄ ar̄ nac̄ beir̄éí béim̄ a uc̄roib̄,  
 Do coim̄-mair̄ ní fac̄ar r̄iam̄  
 D̄é do r̄ipeap̄ c̄riar̄ ip̄ c̄roip̄.

M̄ire mac̄ Coipe, ó Chluain,  
 Faba cluim̄ceap̄ m'uaill̄ ar̄ f̄earc̄,  
 b̄im̄ mar̄ feabac̄ déir̄ a éan  
 Aḡ ḡul go ḡéar ar̄ do leac̄c̄.

b̄im̄ mar̄ eilb̄ déir̄ a laoīḡ,  
 Ar̄ f̄earc̄ P̄hear̄gail̄ r̄a maic̄ m̄óir̄,  
 Dal̄ ḡCair̄, ḡíob̄ r̄ubac̄ an r̄luāḡ,  
 Ní r̄uil̄ aca ac̄c̄ tuar̄ b̄róin.

Subac̄ r̄íol̄ ḡCuinn̄ cap̄ éir̄ úr̄ian  
 Do éuitim̄ a n-ḡlac̄ Cluana cap̄b̄,  
 Dubac̄ anoc̄c̄ ac̄á mé,  
 Ní r̄uil̄ oim̄ ac̄c̄ ḡné an m̄air̄b̄ !

F̄ear̄gail̄ mac̄ Air̄c̄ an r̄uil̄c̄ r̄éib̄  
 N̄íor̄ éir̄ neac̄ r̄o'h̄ n̄ḡr̄éin̄ r̄iam̄,  
 Déir̄ a uc̄uz̄ ar̄ d̄an̄á, monuar̄ !  
 Oéan ! oéh ! ip̄ c̄ruac̄ an ḡn̄foin̄.

Conall, Eozan, caob̄ r̄e caob̄,  
 Eoc̄air̄ aḡur̄ Ac̄ob̄ O'Néill,  
 D̄íob̄ m̄óir̄ r̄uap̄ar̄ ip̄ Mac̄ Uiaz̄  
 'O na c̄riaic̄aib̄ do bí d̄ár̄ r̄éir̄.  
 Tūḡ F̄ear̄gail̄ d̄air̄ra n̄íora m̄ó,  
 Dá up̄buil̄ no d̄ó do r̄p̄r̄éib̄.

L̄uac̄ c̄riūd̄air̄ d̄air̄-ra a n-ac̄cl̄iac̄  
 Tūḡ Con̄ḡalac̄, n̄íor̄ c̄iall̄ ḡann.  
 L̄án̄ r̄eic̄eac̄ d' air̄ḡeac̄ ip̄ d'ór̄,  
 Ac̄b̄al̄ an r̄éor̄, cam̄ na n̄ḡall̄,  
 Tūḡ F̄ear̄gail̄ d̄air̄ra a n-éar̄ Ruair̄  
 Da up̄d̄air̄ a b̄r̄uair̄ mé an̄b̄.

Maol̄r̄eac̄luinn̄, Tac̄ḡ an eic̄ ḡil,  
 R̄ip̄ r̄in̄ ar̄ nac̄ beir̄éí béim̄,  
 L̄air̄m̄ḡ ip̄ Dal̄ ḡCair̄ na ḡ-cuac̄,  
 Ḡér̄ mar̄c̄ monuar̄ r̄é ḡac̄ cl̄éir̄.  
 Do b'f̄ear̄p̄ F̄ear̄gail̄ r̄e ḡac̄ d̄áin̄  
 Na r̄íol̄ 'Ac̄air̄in̄ r̄e a m̄n̄áin̄ r̄éin̄.

Uá maó ffon Sionann go ráil,  
 Uá Maó airgead maó rán Réin,  
 Uá maó ór Sliab an iarainn fuar  
 Uó b'éaraó O'Ruairc do éleir.

Ćearba an eimeac iar n-a dul,  
 Míeo dam-ra dul a ġ-cré,  
 Nír iméig Fearġal O'Ruairc,  
 ġo ruġ buaó an beaġa cé,

'O naó mairceann fearġa an plaité,  
 'S mé an tpuazán do éait a lonn,  
 A ġCluain Chiaráin níc an tpaoir,  
 buaó nipe ġac laoi ra ġrón.

Mournful is the Ollav<sup>1</sup> after his King.  
 Alas, that I am not in the grave!  
 That I should survive O'Ruairc,  
 O Christ, is a cruel destiny!<sup>2</sup>

Must I not be sad and miserable  
 When Erin to-night is falling to decay,  
 Deprived of the King of Temur<sup>3</sup> of tribes  
 Who never refused<sup>4</sup> aught to any.

Croghan,<sup>5</sup> warlike seat of Conn's sons,  
 Small henceforward will be her kingly sway.  
 For Fergal lies under me at Cluain:  
 She has sunk into gloomy sorrow.

<sup>1</sup> *Ollav*, Ollaván, a chief poet.

<sup>2</sup> *Cruel destiny*.—Literally, a cruel judgment. This shows the distracted state of the poet's mind:—

“Ferus omnia Jupiter Argos  
 Transtulit.”

Modern elegy writers have been still more extravagant in accusing death or fate, or *causa secunda*, of injustice. Dineley's notice of the Irish *keeners*, lately printed in our “Transactions,” has a parallel in the following lines of Horace:—

“Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt,  
 Et faciunt propè plura dolentibus ex  
 animo.”

<sup>3</sup> *King of Temur*.—This looks as if this Elegy was really intended for Malachy II., King of Temur or Tara, and monarch of Ireland, as Fergal O'Ruairc had no claim whatever to that designation. But it must be confessed that the Irish Ollavs were very irregular in the bestowal of titles upon their chieftains; for they would call a man King

of Tara when he was only fit to be monarch of Ireland, according to the opinion of the eulogist.

<sup>4</sup> *Who never refused*.—“Qui nunquam negavit aliquid alicui,” by which the poet means that O'Ruairc was a man of unbounded generosity. The poet Mangan, who turned this Elegy into blank verse in the year 1831, rendered this quatrain as follows:—

“Why should I not be overborne with anguish!

Erin to-night is drooping in decay,  
 For lost to her is Temur's King of tribes,  
 Whose bounty flowed for all in lavish  
 streams!”

<sup>5</sup> *Croghan*.—Cruachán, now Rathcroghan, the Royal Palace of Connaught. The poet here seems to assume that the province of Connaught took its name from the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles, who were the dominant family of that province in MacCoise's time. It was called Olnegmacht in the time of the Firbolgs, which is probably the *Nagnata* of Ptolemy. The Irish Shana.

Uisnech<sup>1</sup> of Meath, Cnothbha<sup>2</sup> and Colt,<sup>3</sup>  
 Are sorrowful with the fort of Niall,<sup>4</sup>  
 Tlachtgha,<sup>5</sup> and Temur<sup>6</sup> of Kings,—  
 Alas! the death of [Fergal] their ornament.<sup>7</sup>

Mournful are the chief forts of Inisfail<sup>8</sup>  
 After Fergal, which wastes my frame,  
 And though my station was the King's bosom,  
 In Cluain small is my strength to-night.

Happy for thee, O Cluain-mic-Nois,  
 This treasure of gold which is under thy sod,  
 The treasure of the poets of Inis-Fail,  
 Fergal, who was used to impose tribute.

This red gold<sup>9</sup> upon his tomb,  
 Which was some time since melted upon it,  
 Like the sun, as he looks from the west,  
 Had a brilliancy like to that sun.

My bed is a hard couch—  
 Miserable, O Christ, is the possessor!  
 The Flag of the Kings<sup>10</sup> is under me,  
 Under which lies Fergal my beloved without stain.

chies inform us that the people were so called from their great propensity to drinking! It were to be wished that they had added the name and quality of the liquor to which the primitive Trans-Shannonites, or Firbolgic Nagnate, were addicted. We must suppose that it was mead or metheglin, as they had no whiskey at this early period.

<sup>1</sup> *Uisneach*.—A celebrated hill in West-meath, considered the *meditullium* of Ireland. A stone on the top of this hill, called anciently *Catínchi*, now the Cat-stone of Uisneach, was the landmark, boundary-stone, or terminus, at which the different provinces met in ancient times, before the formation of Meath as mensal lands for the monarchy.

<sup>2</sup> *Cnothbha*.—Now Knowth, in the parish of Monkstown, in Meath, famous for its sepulchral tumulus, which was opened and ransacked by the Norsemen so early as the year 862—"Quod antea nunquam factum est."—*Ann. Ult.*

<sup>3</sup> *Colt*.—A famous place in East-Meath, but not yet satisfactorily identified. It is situated a considerable distance to the south of the river Boyne, and between it and the river Liffey.

<sup>4</sup> *Fort of Niall*.—Probably Cletty, on the Boyne.

<sup>5</sup> *Tlachtgha*.—Now a fort on the hill of Ward, near Athboy, in Meath.

<sup>6</sup> *Temur of Kings*.—The royal palace of Tara, in Meath. From the particular mention of these most remarkable places in the ancient Meath, to which Fergal O'Ruairc had no claim, one would feel inclined to suspect that this Elegy was really meant for Malachy II.

<sup>7</sup> *Their ornament*.—This would apply much better to Malachy II. than to Fergal O'Ruairc.

<sup>8</sup> *Inisfail*.—A name for Ireland, meaning the island of destiny.

<sup>9</sup> *Red gold*.—This expression is to be frequently met in Irish poems. Natural gold is yellow, gold mixed with copper is red, but when with silver it is *Ódn-Óp*, pale gold. From this allusion it would appear that the tomb-stones of the great chieftains at Clonmacnoise were ornamented with gold, that is, that their crosses and letters were inlaid with gold.

<sup>10</sup> *Flag of the Kings*.—This would apply better to the tomb of Malachy II., and, in my opinion, this line was transferred from his funeral eulogium to that of Fergal O'Ruairc by a forger who lived many centuries later than either. Of the kind of forgeries made in O'Ruairc's country, the "Book of Fenagh" affords very striking specimens, as I shall show in a future paper on the "Book of Fenagh."

Farewell to thee, O'Ruairc;  
I leave thee but for a time—  
I shall be, during my life, lamenting thee at Cluain;  
I will not depart from it north or south.

I am six *traths*<sup>1</sup> without food;  
Prostrate on thy tomb, O'Ruairc,  
My heart it severely burnt—  
O Fergal, thy visit to Cluain!

I will go to this house below  
Of O'Mulkieran<sup>2</sup> of Combs, soon  
To see if he will let me in  
Where none are admitted in the evening.

Farewell to thee, generous Fergal,  
O hero not wont to receive wounds in battle,  
Thy peer in goodness I have never seen,  
Although I have travelled east and west.

I am Mac Coise: from Cluain  
Far is my wailing heard on thy grave;  
I am like the hawk<sup>3</sup> after its young,  
Weeping bitterly on thy tomb.

I am like the doe<sup>4</sup> after her fawn,  
On the tomb of Fergal, dissolved in grief:  
The Dal Cais,<sup>5</sup> though exulting their host,  
Have but foreboding of sorrow.

Joyful are the Race of Conn, after Brian's  
Fall in the Battle of Cluain-tarbh;<sup>6</sup>  
But sorrowful to-night am I,  
I have but the aspect of a corpse.

<sup>1</sup> *Traths*.—The word *trath* generally means twenty-four hours in correct old Irish MSS., but in modern times it is applied to the hours, or vespers, and to *meal-tides*. "*Mealtime* is the time of eating, as *noone-meale* or *even-meale*, for which we use our borrowed French words of dinner and supper."—*Verstegan*.

<sup>2</sup> *O'Mulkieran*.—Some ecclesiastical family living at Clonmacnoise, whom the poet wished to satirize in this quatrain.

<sup>3</sup> *The hawk*.—The grief of the hawk robbed of its young was well known to falconers.

<sup>4</sup> *The doe*.—The intense grief of the doe after the loss of her fawn is proverbial; but these similes are not very happily applied by Mac Coise or his imitator. For these similes to hold good and chastely correct, the poet should have been the mother of O'Ruairc.

<sup>5</sup> *The Dal Cais*.—If this line be genuine, it would show that this elegy was not com-

posed for Fergal O'Ruairc, who was slain in 964. The allusion here is evidently to the triumph of the Dal Cais, or people of Thomond, after the battle of Clontarf. What sorrow it was the poet holds out as foreboded to them it is not easy to see, unless that he was far-seeing enough to foretell the destruction of the Irish monarchy in consequence of their usurpation.

<sup>6</sup> *Battle of Cluain-tarbh (Clontarf)*.—Every forgery recoils upon itself! This line proves to a demonstration that this Elegy could not have been composed for Fergal O'Ruairc, who was slain in 964, i. e. fifty years before this battle. The race of Conn were glad that the usurper Brian Borumha had fallen in the battle of Clontarf. But surely no bard ever delivered this sentiment in a lamentation over the grave of Fergal O'Ruairc, who was slain in 964! For if we

Fergal, son of Art<sup>1</sup> of the smooth hair,  
No one under the sun did he ever refuse,  
After all he gave for poetry, alas!  
Alas! alas! pitiful the deed.<sup>2</sup>

Conall, Eoghan,<sup>3</sup> both together,  
Eochaidh,<sup>4</sup> and Aedh O'Neill,<sup>5</sup>  
Though much I received with Mac Liag,<sup>6</sup>  
From those chiefs who obeyed us,  
Fergal gave me more,  
Twice the measure, and twice more of wealth.

The price of Trowse<sup>7</sup> to me in Dublin,  
Gave Congalach of generous mind.  
The full of a hide of silver and gold,  
Vast the store, the tribute of the Galls,  
Fergal gave me at Eas Ruaidh,<sup>8</sup>  
Twice the sum I received there.

Maelsechlainn<sup>9</sup> and Tadhg of the white steed,<sup>10</sup>  
Men who received no wounds in battle;

should even suppose that the Irish of his time were, like the Red Indians of North America, in the habit of digging up the bones of their ancestors every seventh year for an encyclical period, to lament over them, we can hardly allow that they repeated this lamentation over the grave of Fergal for the seventh time after the year 1014.

<sup>1</sup> *Fergal, the son of Art.*—Mac Firisib, in his large genealogical work, has preserved a very curious quatrain, written by an ancient poet, in eulogy of this Art, the father of Fergal.

<sup>2</sup> *Pitiful the deed.*—This line is perfectly meaningless in this quatrain, as it stands at present; but if the poet had thrown more of the real fire of poetry and of the nature of sincere grief into his Elegy, he could make it perfectly intelligible, and pregnant with meaning. For example, if he had alluded to the real fate of Fergal O'Ruairc, his fall by the hand of Domhnall, son of Conghalach, Lord of Bregia, he might have well said or sung:—

Than Fergal, son of Art, of lasting fame,  
No man had ever gained a higher name  
Among the bards for hospitality;  
That such a man should fall by Congalach,  
The brutal tyrant of the men of Bregh,  
Must be a cause of never-ceasing grief  
To all the sons of song who shared his gifts.

<sup>3</sup> *Conall and Eoghan.*—i. e. the chiefs of Thronnell and Tirone.

<sup>4</sup> *Eochaidh.*—He was Eochaidh, son of

Ardghal, King of Ulidia, or East Ulster, and is mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters" at the year 1001.

<sup>5</sup> *Aedh O'Neill.*—He was Aedh, son of Domhnaill, King of Aileach, mentioned in the same Annals, at the years 1001, 1003. He was slain in 1003, in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

<sup>6</sup> *Mac Liag.*—He was chief poet and secretary to Brian Borumha, and died in the year 1015.

<sup>7</sup> *Trowse.*—This is the Braccæ of the classical writers, worn by the Irish from the early period, till they were forced to use the English dress. It is not easy to conjecture which of the several Conghalachs, who were contemporary with MacCoise, is here intended. Probably Congalach, monarch of Ireland, who succeeded in 944, and was slain by the Danes in 956.

<sup>8</sup> *Eas Ruaidh.*—Now Assaroe, the Salmon-leap at Ballyshannon, on the Erne, in the county of Donegal.

<sup>9</sup> *Maelseachlainn.*—i. e., Malachy II., who became monarch of Ireland in the year 980, and reigned till 1002, when he was dethroned by Brian Borumha, King of Munster, who reigned sole monarch of Ireland till he was slain in the battle of Clontarf, A. D. 1014, after which Maelseachlainn reigned as sole monarch till the year 1022, when he died.

<sup>10</sup> *Tadhg an eich ghil.*—He was King of Connaught, and was slain in 1030. See "Annals of the Four Masters," at the years 1014, 1030.

The Leinster-men, and Dal Cais of goblets,  
Were indeed good to all the learned;  
But Fergal was better to each company of poets  
Than the race of Adam to their own wives.

Were the Shannon<sup>1</sup> wine down to the sea,  
And were the beauteous Magh Rein<sup>2</sup> of silver,  
Were the chilly Slieve an iarainn<sup>3</sup> of gold,  
O'Ruairc would give them to the poets.

Hospitality disappeared after his departure,—  
Time for me to return to clay:  
Fergal O'Ruairc departed not  
Until he excelled the earthly world.<sup>4</sup>

Since no longer lives the chief,  
I am the wretched man who spent his store,  
In the Cluain of Chiaran, son of the artifex,  
I shall be daily under sorrow.

The following metrical translation of the Elegy is from the pen of the late Clarence Mangan, and has never before been published:—

The bard is mournful, for his King hath perished !  
Woe's me ! I should be in the grave beside him.  
Oh, Christ ! it is a dreary destiny,  
That I should live to see O'Rorke laid low !

Why should I not be overborne with anguish ?  
Erin, to-night, is drooping in decay ;  
For lost to her is Temor's King of Tribes,  
Whose bounty flowed for all in lavish streams !

<sup>1</sup> *The Shannon*.—It rises in O'Ruairc's country. If it were wine as far as Leim Chonchulainn, wine would be cheaper than milk in the province of Olnegmacht, or province of the great drinking !

<sup>2</sup> *Magh Rein*.—This was the southern or level part of the county of Leitrim, Mac Rannell's country.

<sup>3</sup> *Sliabh an iarainn*.—i. e. the mountain of the iron, "ita dictus a ferri venis quibus abundat." If this mountain were gold, O'Ruairc could have well afforded to pay for poetical eulogia; but it is to be feared he did not possess the skill or the capital to work the iron mines with which it abounds, though, according to oral tradition, Goibhnen, the Tuatha De Danann smith, worked the mines of this mountain more than 2000 years before Fergal O'Ruairc was born. The mountain of Binbo, in the same neighbourhood, is believed traditionally by the Brefnians to con-

tain gold mines; and the following distich, which is constantly repeated, reminds them of its treasures:—*Ir riarðbne beanna bó m'á 'Cine pá óó, i. e., Totá Hibernia bis ditior Benbo.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Excelled the earthly world*.—*beata cé*. The Irish word *beata* is clearly cognate with the Latin *vita*, and *cé* with the Greek *γή, terra*. An old Irish quatrain, quoted by Duaid Mac Fírhis in his large Genealogical work, p. 208, speaks of the valour of Fergal O'Ruairc thus:—

O Ro zæð Ecceðr, zan ðnéiz,  
Ir Gicill pé ra ní ru aipe,  
Ní ro márbæð annpæð ann,  
Áimul ó ruzóð rán Ruairc.

Since Hector was slain, without falsehood,  
And Achilles, once a pleasant king,  
No hero has been killed  
Like the royal fair grandson of Ruarc.

Croghan ! thou warlike dwelling of the sons  
Of Con ! I see thee sunk in gloomy grief;  
Narrowed will henceforth be thy regal sway,  
Because thy King sleeps under me at Cluain !

Usna, renowned in Meath, and Colt and Cnova,  
And Niall's city, all are sorrowful.  
Alas ! for Tlactda and for princely Temor !  
Their splendour is no more ! Oh, Innisfail !

Thy towns are mourning for the noble Fergal ;  
And I, with sorrow-wasted frame—I, too,  
Though once the bosom friend of Temor's King,  
Droop feebly o'er his tomb to-night at Cluain !

Oh ! happy art thou, Clon-mac-noise ! that hast  
This golden treasure buried in thy soil—  
The treasure of the bards of Innisfail—  
Fergal, to whom the land around paid tribute.

The glowing gold on this, his monument,  
Melted upon it by the royal hand,  
And glittering in the last beams of the sun,  
As from the west he smiles, recalls to me  
The bright and tranquil countenance of Fergal.  
Hard is the couch I rest on ; and, O Christ !

Thrice wretched its possessor ! Underneath  
This monument of kings reposes Fergal—  
My loved, my noble Fergal. Fare-thee-well,  
O'Rorke ! I leave thee for a little while :  
Through life my tears shall flow for thee at Cluain !  
Nor shall I wander from it, north or south.  
Prostrate along thy tomb, O'Rorke, my King !  
Six meal-tides am I without food or drink.

Thy visit into Cluain, O my Fergal !  
Hath brought but desolation on my soul.  
Now will I go down to this house below,  
The house of O'Mulkeeran—if perchance  
He may admit me—though beneath his roof  
He suffers none to enter in the evening.

A long farewell to thee, O generous Fergal !  
O hero ! rarely wounded in the strife,  
Oft have I roamed by east and west, but never  
Thy peer for goodness have I found, O Fergal !

I am Mac Cosy. Far around from Cluain  
Are heard my wailings o'er thy grave, my King !



The mother hawk robbed of her little brood  
Grieves not more bitterly than I for thee !

I am the lonely doe whose fawn has fled !  
I melt in tears upon thy tomb, O Fergal !  
Let the Dalcassian hosts rejoice in vain ;  
Their joy is ominous of coming sorrow.

The sons of Con exult because the foe  
Slew Brian in the battle, at Clontarf ;  
But sad and desolate this night am I,  
I wear the haggard aspect of a corpse !

The chiefs who sway Tirconnell and Tirone,  
Eochy of Uladh, too, and Hugh O'Neill,  
Were richly bounteous to Mac Liag and me ;  
But Fergal's bounty far exceeded all.

And Congalach, he, too, was generous ! He  
In Dublin gave me garments, gold and silver,  
In heaped abundance from the stranger's tribute ;  
But Fergal lavished on me, at Assroe,  
Still greater wealth than Congalach, in Dublin.

Malachy, too, and Teige of the White Steed  
(Chieftains invulnerable in the field),  
The Lords of Leinster and of Thomond, famed  
For goblets, shed their bounty on the poets ;  
But Fergal's kindness to each sage excelled  
The kindness of the husband to his wife.

If to the sea the Shannon flowed with wine—  
Were all Moyrein a plain of richest silver—  
Were Slieve-in-ierinn one vast mass of gold,  
He on the poets would bestow them all.

But hospitality has vanished hence,  
For he is dead. Then why should I survive ?  
Yet did O'Rorke not perish till his name  
And glory had outshone the living world !

Now, as no longer lives the chief and hero,  
I mourn in gloomy mood, alone and destitute,  
And buried in the solitude of Kieran,  
Day after day shall witness to my sorrow !

The name Mac Coise is now unknown in Ireland, unless it lies  
concealed under some Anglicised form,—such as Foote or Legge ;

but it still remains in Scotland in its true Gaelic form of *Mac Coise*, which is properly Anglicised Mac Cosh. The present erudite and profound Professor of Logics and Metaphysics in the Queen's College, Belfast, is of this Scottish sept, and I trust it will be hereafter proved that he is of the same race as our royal Irish poet, whose sept would appear to have removed to Scotland shortly after the death of their patron, King Malachy II., who died in 1022.

A dissertation on the number of Irish families who settled in Scotland since the ninth century would form a very curious subject for an essay, which I trust some of our contributors will soon undertake to write.

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on  
Wednesday, July 1st, 1857,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,  
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

John Hyacinth Talbot, Esq., J. P., D. L., Ballytrent, Broadway, county of Wexford; and George C. Roberts, Esq., Ennis-corthy: proposed by John Greene, Esq., J. P., Wexford.

Stephen Browne, Esq., LL. D., Devonshire-square, Bandon: proposed by the Rev. Dr. Browne.

E. G. Brunner, Esq., M. D., Dundalk; John A. Tredennick, Esq., J. P., Camlin Castle, Ballyshannon; Rev. Edward M. Hamilton, Drumauralt Rectory, Ardee; Rev. J. H. Stubbs, Dromiskin Rectory, Castlebellingham; Gilbert Swanne, Esq., Fairfield, Wexford; and Mrs. Ruxton, 28, Lower Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

James W. Kavanagh, Esq., Head Inspector of National Schools, Rathgar, Dublin: proposed by William H. Newell, Esq., LL. D.

Rev. Samuel D. Sandes, M. A., Rector of Whitechurch, Cork: proposed by Richard Caulfield, Esq.

James Newlands, Esq., Engineer to the Corporation of Liverpool, 4, Clare-terrace, Edgehill, Liverpool; Surgeon L. E. Desmond, Edgehill, Liverpool; and Michael Murphy, Esq., 10, Mount-rath-street, Dublin: proposed by James Murphy, Esq.

Patrick Joseph Kelly, Esq., Solicitor, 4, Lower Berkeley-street, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

T. W. Belcher, Esq., M. A., M. D., Surgeon, Royal City of Cork Artillery, The Lodge, Bandon: proposed by J. Swanton, Esq.

The Rev. James Graves laid before the Meeting a Letter from the Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, pro-

posing to forward their annual volumes to the library of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, and asking for the Transactions of the latter in exchange.

The Very Rev. President remarked, that it was gratifying to find that the character of this Society was so much appreciated in the far West; and the Secretary was authorized to carry out the proposed arrangement.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Author, Col. North Ludlow Beamish, F.R.S., &c.: "The Discovery of America by the Northmen, in the tenth century, with Notices of the Early Settlements of the Irish in the Western Hemisphere."

By the Cambrian Institute: their "Journal," Part 14.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for June, 1857.

By the Archæological Institute: their "Journal," No. 53.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 18.

By the Author, the Rev. Ulick J. Bourke: "The College Irish Grammar."

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 743 to 750, inclusive.

By the Rev. Dr. Spratt, Dublin: one of those curious antique stone articles (commonly called "stone chalices," but by others supposed to be rude lamps) found near the old church of Carrigacurra, county of Wicklow; a small stone with a cavity at each side, apparently formed with the same object as that first described, found a spit deep in the townland of Ballinabola, Hollywood, county of Wicklow; a small ancient Irish bronze bell, of the square form, found in the ruins of the White-Abbey Church, Kildare, near the spot where the high altar stood; a stone celt; and an enrolment, temp. Car. II., of a deed of Patrick Darcy, of Ballyvay, affording a curious specimen of the ornamentation used in engrossing grants at that period;—the ornaments, comprising a portrait of Charles II., differed from those of former reigns in being printed on the vellum from a copper-plate.

By Mr. Piers Butler, Woodstock Cottage: portions of an ancient cast-iron powder-horn, having a loop at the neck for suspension, found by him amongst the ruins of Cloughoughter Castle, county of Cavan, the scene of Bishop Bedell's confinement by the Irish party in December, 1641.

By the Rev. James Graves: a small but very perfect stone celt, found in the school-house garden at Revanna, one of the highest points of the John's-well range of hills. This stone was com-

posed of fine-grained basalt, which does not occur in the geological formations of the county of Kilkenny.

By the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles, Rector of Clonmacnoise: a double-tressed groat of Edward IV., of the Dublin mint, and an Athlone penny-token—obv., WILL. ANTROBVS, device, a swan and crescent; rev., IN ATHLONE 1<sup>d</sup>. The silver coin was one of a find of 300 or 400 turned up by a peasant a short time since near the famous ruins of Clonmacnoise. When discovered they were arranged in cartridges, wrapped in some substance which fell to pieces on being exposed to the air. The Rev. Mr. Vignoles had been unable to procure any other specimens, in consequence of the injudicious law of treasure trove, which made the peasant-finders apprehensive of the bullion being claimed by the landlord.

By Mr. Michael Connery: some specimens of small ancient clay tobacco-pipes, from amongst a large number turned up by workmen digging on the Messrs. Reade's premises, James's-street, Kilkenny.

By Constable Thomas Ebbs, Callan: a St. Patrick's halfpenny, turned up near Callan.

The Secretary stated that this was the second presentation from Constable Ebbs; and observed, that if the constabulary, scattered as they were over the face of the country, kept a watchful eye for the preservation of such antiquities as might turn up, and should forward them to the Museum, they would materially promote the objects of the Society, and save many an interesting relic from destruction.

The Rev. James Mease wrote to inform the Society of the existence of a cromlech about three miles and a half from Strabane, near the road from that town to Dunamanagh. The covering-stone was of a four-sided irregular figure; diagonal length, 10 feet, breadth,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet, thickness, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet; material, granite, with an excess of quartz. Under it there were three stones, but it rested almost horizontally only on two, and could be rocked from two opposite points.

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited three unpublished Tradesmen's Tokens of the seventeenth century,—one being that of “. . . . . MERCHANTS, of DENNAUGHADDEE, 1669;” another, “THOMAS . . . . . LAN, KILCULLEN BRIDG.” Neither of these towns had been entered in Dr. Smith's “Catalogue of Irish Tradesmen's Tokens.” The third specimen—that of “JOHN BIGGER, of BELFAST, 1657”—was remarkable for its good preservation and neatness of execution. The Kilcullen Bridge Token was found in a garden in King-street, Kilkenny.

The Rev. James Graves said that Mr. Michael Kearney, a Clonmel member of the Society, had forwarded to him rubbings and copies of inscriptions on tombs, discovered during the removal

of the ancient church of St. Mary in that town, which he (Mr. Graves) was sorry to say was in course of demolition. He had himself also written, in his official capacity as Secretary, to the Rector of St. Mary's, urging on him the importance of preserving all records of the past which might be discovered, and had received from that gentleman the following satisfactory reply:—

“*Rectory, Clonmel, June 12, 1857.*”

“REV. SIR,—In reply to your letter, I beg to state that any curious inscription, coins, &c., that have been discovered are carefully preserved. I have also given strict directions that any other remarkable stone, &c., shall be preserved.

“Yours faithfully,

“C. S. LANGLEY.”

It was the unanimous sense of the members present, that as, unfortunately, the destruction of the ancient structure of St. Mary's was *un fait accompli*, nothing now remained but to look after such vestiges of antiquity as might turn up; and the Secretary was instructed to communicate to Mr. Langley their hope that his instructions would be fully carried out.

One of the monuments, of which drawings and rubbings had been forwarded by Mr. Kearney, bore a cross, the emblems of the passion, the sun and moon, and a skull and cross bones. Round the edge ran the following inscription in Roman capitals:—IOHANNES GELIDO IACET HOC SUB MARMORE VITUS CHARAQ' IOHANNÆ CONIVGIS OSSA PIÆ BIS MAIOR WENTWOORTH PRIMV PROREGE SECVNDV CATHOLICI SUBIENS FÆDERA MARTIS OBIIT 26 AVGVSTI 1643. The stone exhibited also the arms of White (of which “Vitus” is the Latinized form in the inscription), viz., a chevron between three roses, and beneath, the initials I. W. There was another shield on the slab which seemed to be charged with a lion passant guardant on a chief, indented, and another, similarly blazoned, in base, with the initials T. C.; but what this, if correctly given by Mr. Kearney, had to do with the inscription, did not appear. Mr. Kearney stated, that at the distance of a few feet beneath the surface the entire area of the church seemed to be paved with old monuments, and sent the following inscription from another of them:—HIC JACET JOANNES STRICHE BURGENSIS HUIUS OPPIDI QUI OBIIT 25 MAII 1622 ET MARGARETA DANIEL ALIAS SMITHE UXOR EIUS QUÆ HOC MONUMENTUM SUPERSTES IN MEMORIAM DICTI JOANIS FIERI FECIT A° DM' 1625 QUÆ OBIIT [ ] QUORV ANIMABUS PROPITIETUR DEUS.

From letters which he (Mr. Graves) had received from Dr. Hemphil and Mr. Kearney, it appeared that fragments of ancient



*Size of Original - Purest Gold.  
Weight 3dwts.*

---

ANCIENT CELTO-IRISH  
**UNIQUE COLLAR OF GOLD**

For the Hair or Neck.

*Found 21<sup>st</sup> of March 1855.  
Near Rathkeale, in the County of Limerick.*

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IN THE COLLECTION OF CAPTAIN EDWARD HOARE,  
North Cork Rifles, CORK.

Edwardian cross-slabs, some of them with portions of inscriptions, had been used in the foundations of the piers of the work lately demolished. This fact, combined with the discovery of many fragments of early English sculpture, showed that the Perpendicular church which came down to our day was rebuilt on the site, and with the materials of, an earlier church. What was more curious still was the discovery, beneath the foundation of one of the piers, of a skeleton buried with the head to the east, a wooden cross on the breast, and very perfect leathern buskins on the feet, ornamented with rosettes. Unfortunately, all was covered in again before any one competent to judge of the age of the interment was aware of its discovery; but of the facts given above there can be no doubt.

Mr. Graves also said that a set of photographs of the old church, taken before its demolition, by Dr. Hemphil, of Clonmel, had been purchased for the Library of the Society.

Captain Edward Hoare, A.B., North Cork Rifles, sent the following descriptive particulars respecting a collar of gold at present in his cabinet:—

“During the months of June and July, 1855, the North Cork Rifles were quartered in Limerick, and while stationed there I heard accidentally of this beautiful and unique relic, which now most truly enriches my Irish collections, and of which the accompanying faithful and well-drawn lithograph has been executed for me by Mr. P. Moore, of Cork.<sup>1</sup> It is a relic of the most extreme rarity, and of the earliest days of ancient Celtic Ireland—a collar of gold for the hair or neck; and it is, I believe, the smallest specimen in existence of the very few of these exquisite and choice relics known. It weighs only three pennyweights, and was found in the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Rathkeale, in the county of Limerick, on the 21st of March, 1855. The gold of which it is composed is of the very purest quality, of a deep-red colour, without even the slightest particle of hardening matter or alloy, and it is as pliable and as easily bent into any shape as if formed of a piece of lead or zinc. The ornamentation is very neat, and of rather a simple and archaic character, and it has been produced by means of a stamp from the inside. The back part is the broadest, and it gradually lessens in breadth towards the penannular ends. I consider this collar to have been an ornament for the neck of a female of high rank, though it is possible it may have been used also as a band or circlet for the hair; but it seems to be too small for the latter purpose, unless the head of a child or a very young person. I fancy the fastening was by means of a jewelled ornament or drop, through the holes at the penannular ends. If so, it would form a very beautiful ornament indeed for either the hair or neck, and which our modern ladies might do well to imitate. Perhaps it would be well worth the inquiry of some of our Irish archæologists where the ancient Irish obtained the very nume-

<sup>1</sup> Captain E. Hoare has kindly permitted the Society to make use of the accompanying lithograph, executed expressly for the “Jour-

nal” of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society at his expense, and he has also afforded the gold tint.—EWS.



rous gold ornaments and relics which have been so constantly discovered in Ireland in modern times and up to the present day; or from what sources, or mines, did they procure the gold of which they have been formed; whether, also, they are the works of native Irish artists, and not merely importations, as some, without a semblance or an attempt at proof, assert; and, as in the present instance, relics—not like ‘the collar of gold’ which ‘Malachi wore,’ that he won from ‘the proud invader.’”

Mr. E. Fitzgerald, of Youghal, sent the following observations:—

“In the account given in the March ‘Transactions,’ p. 287, *supra*, of the disgraceful destruction of the monumental effigy at Youghal, I find an error has crept into the printed date of the relic, as, instead of the sixteenth, it should have been stated to belong to the fourteenth century. So grave an error as this needs immediate correction, especially as armour and costume form an important item in archaeological research. As an index to the future dating of armour, it may not be amiss to place on record in the ‘Transactions’ a note on the subject from J. Hewitt’s ‘Chart of Ancient Armour from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century,’ as he says, ‘for general purposes, the body armour, during four centuries, may be thus simply classified:—Twelfth century,—scale, ring, and mail, *unmixed* with plate; thirteenth century,—mixed mail and plate, the mail predominating; fourteenth century,—mixed mail and plate, the plate prevailing; fifteenth century,—era of complete plate.

“‘For the sixteenth century, or Tudor period, the breast-plate will be found a good guide. Its form was at first globose; then a point appeared in front, near the centre; this point or peak gradually fell towards the waist, till at last it extended even beyond the band of the breast-plate, and assumed both the form and name of a “peascod.”

“‘Under the Stuarts, the peaked waists by degrees disappeared, till at length the breast-plate became nearly square at its termination, with an obtuse ridge down the centre.’

“I was aware that an opinion existed of our ancient *Irish* armour being a century later in date than that of other countries; but know of no cogent reason to receive this opinion.

“The Rev. P. W. Drew, an excellent authority on this subject, in writing to me on it, says:—‘It is a mistake that the armour of Irish noblemen and knights is a century in the background. The first Earl of Cork’s (in the south transept of St. Mary’s Church, Youghal), for instance, is precisely of the period in which he wore it. The broken effigy in the north abbey was of a noble or knight, probably.’

“Few who have given the subject anything like attention will be much mistaken in the date of a relic or inscription this side the twelfth century, as each tells its own tale of date pretty clearly, if genuine. Some years since, in poking amongst relics in Limerick, the mutilated fragments of a recumbent effigy was pointed out in St. Mary’s Church, and stated to be of unknown antiquity. However, on a trifling examination, the remnant of a ruffled frill round the throat pronounced it no earlier than Elizabeth or James I.

"A portion of an inscription in the pavement of the Cloyne Cathedral, no later than last year, was shown to the writer, by a most respectable and intelligent young man, as a great curiosity, and as of the sixth century; but the broad-tailed terminations to the letters and figures, so seldom mistaken, told clearly it was not earlier than the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The latter it proved to be, as the unit before the 6 was obliterated."

The Rev. James Graves said he was sorry to be obliged to differ from the opinion expressed by the Rev. Mr. Drew and by Mr. Fitzgerald as to the relative date of Irish and English armour. As to Mr. Hewitt's "Chart," it might be an excellent guide to the English student; but, if followed implicitly by the Irish explorer, would assuredly lead him into "graver" error than Mr. Fitzgerald seemed aware of. The truth was, that Anglo-Irish and English fashions in armour ran side by side at first for one century, viz. the thirteenth. In the next two centuries the Anglo-Irish knights and nobles began to lag behind,—so much so, that at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Earls of Ormonde and the gentry of Kilkenny and Tipperary, as evidenced by their dated monuments, still remaining in the Cathedral of St. Canice and other ancient churches, *were precisely the same armour as that in vogue in England in the time of Richard II.*; and he had no doubt that where dated effigial tombs remained in other countries, the same anachronism would be found to exist. As the sixteenth century wore on, however, the Anglo-Irish fashions began to regain lost ground, and by the time the Earl of Cork's monumental effigy was carved, armour was again identical in both countries. As Mr. Fitzgerald was not satisfied with the substitution of the sixteenth for the fourteenth century in relation to the fragment recently discovered at Youghal, he (Mr. Graves) was content to bear the blame of it, the more so as it enabled him to make the first claim to the discovery of the curious anomalies which the Anglo-Irish armour, as represented on monuments of the first half of the sixteenth century, presents. The subject was a most important and interesting one, and he hoped that this discussion would serve to elicit facts relative to *dated* effigial monuments all over Ireland. A list of the effigial monuments in each county, with the *date and proportion of mail to plate* in each case, would be most important; and he trusted that the widely-spread organization of this Society would be the means of placing on record much information relative to the subject. In the recently published work on the "Architecture, History, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny," this subject has received much attention, and Mr. Graves wished to refer the reader to what he had there placed before the public in connexion with the much-neglected subject of Irish dress and armour.

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

NOTES ON IRISH DRESS AND ARMOUR IN THE SIXTEENTH  
CENTURY. FROM HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER  
OFFICE.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY, ESQ.

AMONGST the various ingenious schemes devised in the days of Queen Elizabeth for civilizing the barbarous chieftains of Ireland, not the least noteworthy was that of inducing them, partly by grave admonition and partly by allurements, to adopt the English costume. Henry VIII., "of glorious memory," had already reprobated the unsightliness of the Irish fashion of shaving the back parts of the head, and the unsuppressed luxuriance of glybbs. Queen Elizabeth directed her attention to the details of costume, limiting herself, as was becoming, to the fashions of her own sex, and leaving to her Deputies to carry the traditional reforms into effect with the ruder portion of her subjects. How the English authorities in Ireland proceeded, viz., by proclamation, and the banishing under pain of fine the rude Irish dress, whatever it was, from the precincts of their viceregal residence, has been already shown in a paper read before this Society. How these proclamations were welcomed we shall presently make known. Her Highness conducted her portion of this experiment in a manner remarkably illustrative of her own gracious disposition, and felicitously in accord with that frugality for which she was a model. Her success was, as it deserved to be, more complete than that of her Deputies. The moment chosen for the experiment shows also the sagacity of Elizabeth. In the year 1578—as in every other year since 1172—the state of Ireland was unsatisfactory, indeed somewhat critical. The Earl of Desmond troubled the repose of Munster, and Tirlagh Linogh, the O'Neill who succeeded Shane, and preceded Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, was indulging in vagaries in Ulster, which greatly embarrassed the Queen's Deputies. This moment was selected for a simultaneous attempt upon the costume of the male and female rulers of the disaffected provinces. Could they be induced to adopt the English garb, civility would surely quickly follow! Some disinclination was known to exist amongst the Irish to part with the dress of their forefathers, and a strange fastidiousness as to the adoption of that of their conquerors. The device which presented itself to the mind of the Queen for overcoming these feelings was at once most gracious and most seductive. Amongst the various treasures of her Majesty's wardrobe were certain garments of great magnificence, costly silks and cloth of gold, which had in their day excited the admiration of the ladies of England, although their splendours had

been partially eclipsed by the beauty of their royal wearer. Wishing to bestow upon a subject an especial token of regard, it will be conceived that so great a Queen could select nothing more flattering than one of these costly objects, sanctified, to use the language of the day, by their contact with her sacred Majesty. Elizabeth had chosen two Irish ladies to be thus honoured,—one was the Countess of Desmond, the other the wife of Turlogh Lynogh. The latter is described to us as “a well-bred ladie and aunt to the Earle of Argyll.” Two of the royal dresses were, accordingly, transmitted to Ireland: they were committed to the care of the Lord Deputy himself, for it was desirable that they should be presented with such ceremonial of state as should impress upon the minds of the recipients a due estimation of the gifts.

The presentation of these royal tokens was no ordinary occurrence: little less was expected from them than the pacification of Ulster and Munster; and to no less a personage than the Lord Chancellor of Ireland was it entrusted to select the mode, and the occasion, of conveying the Queen's offering with tact and effect. The robes themselves were subjected to a respectful but minute scrutiny, for although the fact of their having been once, or occasionally, worn by her Highness should have amply compensated for any want of freshness or absolute novelty that might be incidental to them, the timidity of the Chancellor suggested that minds of a less lofty order of civility might fail to value such indications of royal use above the lustre of the unblemished material. The result of this inspection was the interesting discovery that the foreparts of these dresses bore certain marks of her Majesty's wearing. After mature counsel, it was judged expedient that “a Memorial from Ireland” should be despatched to the Privy Council of England on the matter. The record left us of this discussion is brief. The motives of the Irish authorities had doubtless been previously laid before her Majesty, and pending fresh instructions from England the dresses remained in the hands of the Chancellor.

“October 27<sup>th</sup> 1578. A MEMORIAL from IRELAND.

“It maie please yo' hon' that the forepartes of the Earle of Desmondes and O'Neils wyves gownes may be sente.”

It had been deemed expedient that certain breadths in the foreparts of the Queen's gowns should be cut out, for they were “slobbered,” and replaced by new or other material. Considerable hesitation appears to have ensued respecting this change; much delay and further correspondence followed; but at length the desired restoration was effected, and at an opportune moment, for the Earl of Desmond was becoming daily less manageable. The first experi-

ment made with these royal robes was upon the well-bred lady, the aunt of the Earl of Argyle, and, it is gratifying to perceive, with complete success.

Early in January, 1579, the Lord Chancellor Gerrarde writes to Walsingham:—

“I sente my man w<sup>h</sup> her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Gowne to Turlaghe his Wyfe, who is a contynuall good instrument to continewe him quyett, I made a foreparte w<sup>h</sup> wanted to yt, his tres to me acknowledginge the receipte I send yo<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>r</sup> to be made knowne to her Matie; her Highnes neuer bestowed a garm<sup>t</sup> better; the other I have not yet deliuered to the Countesse of Desmond.”

The gown for the Countess, which was of cloth of gold, was kept back until a little bargaining between her and the Lord Chancellor was satisfactorily finished. In due time this robe was also given, and with like happy result; for we read that “the Countess of Desmond greatly disapproved of her husband’s disloyal conduct.”

That the Queen’s own share in these diplomatic transactions had met with the success it deserved is gratifying, and we may the less care to learn that the intentions of the Lord Deputy were not so readily appreciated. Sir John Perrot was a man of choleric complexion, and occasionally exceeded in his discourse the limits of propriety, which, as a loyal subject and a discreet governor, he should have respected. Even relative to his royal mistress, certain of his speeches are on record which it would have been more seemly, and far wiser for himself, to have suppressed. He at once, and abruptly, assailed the barbarous Irish usages both of male and female: “the glybbes and the great rowles” were attacked, and with what consequences to himself, in the latter instance, he readily foresaw.

“SIR JOHN PERROT to BURGHLEY.

“Amonges the rest of my doings heare, I haue caused all the Irishry (in manner) w<sup>h</sup>in this pvince to forgoe theyr glybbes, and haue waded into a farder daynger, as in banishinge all the great rowles from the wearinge of ladies gentlewomen, Towneswomen, and others in all places, by which meanes I am assured to haue no wyfe in these ptes.”

Sir William Drury next presents us with a glimpse of Irish armour, as seen by some young German nobles travelling for their amusement:—

“1579. June 26. S<sup>r</sup> W. DRURY to WALSYNGHAM.

“Maie it please yo<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>r</sup>. After I had dispatched Lodovike Briskett with those things wherof he had to enforme you, I toke my waie to Kelles, a poore decayed towne borderinge upon Orelies countrie meaninge to have spent ther foure or five daies for the determyninge of hurts done betweene that side of the pale and the said Orelies countrie (which had longe

hanged unsatisfied) being assisted with S<sup>r</sup> Edward Fytton, and S<sup>r</sup> Lucas Dillon. But the second daie after my cominge thether worde came to me, that certaine straungers, noble men of good howses, were come to Dublin, havinge purpose to come psentlie to me with commendation from some of her Maties privie Councill to be courteously entertaigned here (as travelers), which when I hard, I both sent a young gent. called Patricke Barnewall, sonne in law to the said S<sup>r</sup> Lucas (who had hymselfe bine a travelor) to entertaigne them and convey them to me. And also hastid to fynishe my purpose at Kelles, because of the inconveniencie of that place both for diet and lodginge—neverthelesse in those three daies w<sup>ch</sup> we spent at Kelles I did that which was determyned, and for performance therof did not only take xij of the best pledgis in Orelies cuntrye for restitution of the pale, as well for orders heretofore past, as also for those which we presentlie ordered. But likewise on the other side I have taken assured order with the pale for satisfaction to the Oreighlies for all such hurts as I did sett downe against them. And not only so but also that their suspected children and followers should yearelie (duringe three yeares) personallie appere at any cessions holden within that countie, and not departe without license, and once evry yeare duringe the said three yeares to appere at Dublin in the Kings benche to answer whatsoever could be objected against them. This devise ys thought good, not onlie to kepe peace in that borders, but also to be a meane to make those wild headed people acquainted and more familer with their more civile neighbours, and so to envye them with seinge and heringe of civilitie, lawe and iustice. I did also comitt to warde, two knights, and two gentelmen, who havinge pledgis in formor tymes comitted to their custodies, confessed theye were escaped from them. Yf I should nomber the causes there determyned and hard, I should but troble yo<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>r</sup>, theye were so many and so old. All this beinge pfected, and proclamation made for certaine orders from henceforth to be observed upon those borders, the notts whercof I have sent to Lodovike Briskett to shewe to yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> I retired my selfe for the better entertaignment of the said straungers to S<sup>r</sup> Lucas Dillons howse seaven miles from Kelles, and there on Whitson sondaie in the morninge they presented them selves unto me, with tres of commendations from S<sup>r</sup> Henry Sydney, declaringe them to be two barons, and one a riche marchaunts sonne of Stronsborough, but them selves requiringe pasporte from me, entitled their names to be all three barons viz Christophor Terell baron of Gondorsdorff, George Androas of Hoffekerch, baron of Kolmenyche, and Adam Pesse baron of Kolyn, to whom I gave such honor, and entertaignment, as was fitt for such psonages cominge in a convenient shewe, with a traine of sixe folowers. And upon talke with them, they disclosed their purpose to be, after they had sene Galwaie, Lymérique and some other porte townes of this land, that they would passe into Scotland. Whereuppon I tolde them, yf in the beginninge of July they made their returne to Dublin, they might possiblie have companie of me, and some pte of the Quenes forces into the north of Irland, and see within the viewe of Scotland. But S<sup>r</sup> thoughte I see no great cause of Jelosie in respectes of their youthes, yet whether any of their companie have a further intention, or deper consideration yt cannot be anisse to doubt. And therfor do prairie yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> yf you have harde, or understand, any parte of there

coīnge, or the cause, that it may please you to advertise me the same, with all circumstaunces, and what course you thinke fitt for me to holde therin: and havinge thus pted from them on Whitson Sondaie after supper & lodged them at Tryme, a myle of, in Lawrance Hamonds howse, sendinge the said Patrike Barnewell with them, as a companion, they cam againe the next morninge, and beinge with me at Service in the church, Orelie with his brother, Phillip, and his unkele Edmond and 30 horsemen well furnished, cam (unloked for) to present unto me a submission, and supplication, in the behalfe as well of him selfe, as of his whole countrie. The copie wherof at lardge I have also sent unto the said Lodovike Briskett, to shewe unto yo' hono', wherin when I found such humilitie, and continuance of the fydelitie, wh'h he hath of longe tyme professed, and in his owne psones performed, together with his conformytie, appearing therin, at this tyme (wh' by reporte he hath bine moved to before and refused) to have his people, not only framed to Englishise manners, but also his contrie made shere ground, and subiecte to lawe under her Maties writt, weyinge also his gravitie in yeares, & good discession in government, I thought it good to honour hym with the title of knightthode, which he so humblie & thankefullie received, as he vowed hym selfe to continewe, and encrease by all meanes he could, his dutie and obedience unto her Ma<sup>tie</sup>. But how straunge the vewe of those savadge parsonadges (most of them wearinge glibbes, and armed in maille with pesantses & skulls,<sup>1</sup> and ridinge upō pillions) semed to o' straungers, I leave to yo' wisdom to thinke of. And so my selfe, and the traine, together with theis straungers, and Oreighlie with his companie, beinge entertaigned with the said S<sup>r</sup> Lucas, we parted. I thū toke my waie to Molingare, a towne borderinge on the Annalie, O Farall bois countrie, as well to kepe cessions, to ponishe malifactors, as to take order for all controversies, betwen those of the pale and the said O Farall, where I did execut certaine offenders, and toke sure order for the accompleshinge of such things as then were sett downe, which beinge finished I went into the Annalie, where besides the executinge of eight offenders, I caused one Rowry O Farall a nere kinsman of O Farall bois, and a notable rebell (accordinge as his deserts merited) to be executed like a traitor, notwithstandinge great sute made unto me for his pardon, the example of whose death, I hope will worke great good in that contrie. I caused his heed and quarters to be bestowed about such places, as in his life tyme, he did spoile, and burne, and then takinge good order for diūrs other good causes, as I did befor in the Kings Countie, I returned to Dublin, where I nowe remayne duringe the terme tyme, to ende the matt<sup>y</sup> of cesse, and to refreshe & pvid o' selves against the northeren iorneye. Thus wishinge yo' hono' longe and p̄sperous health wh' all increase of vertue I bid you hartilye ferdewell.

“Dubline the xxvj of June 1579.

“Yo' honors all assured to

“Vse and comāde

“W. DRURY.”

<sup>1</sup> This was the armour of the galloglass. The “skull” was the conical iron bascinet which continued in use in Ireland from Richard II.'s time up to this period; and

the “pesanta,” or “pisan,” as it is sometimes called, was, probably, the tippet of chain-mail which, depending from the bascinet, covered the neck and shoulders.—Eds.

But, to gratify the reader as much as in us lies, and present him with the true "counterfett" of an Irish chieftain as he lived, behold a fac-simile of the portrait of the much-dreaded Turlogh Lynogh O'Neill, sent for the special delectation of Burghley, as testified by the following extract from the State Papers:—

"1574. April 7<sup>th</sup>. From BARNABE GOCHÉ to my Lo: (BURGHLEY).

"I haue therin inclosed y<sup>e</sup> Counterfett off Terlough Lenogh rudely by mee drawn butt assuere yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. greatly resembling him.

"From Drogheda."



That the portrait given above was a perfect likeness will admit of no doubt, for the artist has declared it; but who shall explain in writing the details of the costume? The glybbes are surely there, notwithstanding the vaunt of the Lord Deputy. The upper garment—is it ermine or is it sheepskin? Is it a peer's robe or an Irish cloak? Is that peculiar circle upon the collar-bone a symbol of Irish chieftainship or of English knighthood? In short, is Turlogh Lynogh in the garment of his forefathers or in the courtly dress of my Lord Deputy Perrot? The Irish chief, like other great princes, entertained upon his establishment a professional jester. A pleasant saying is on record relative to the dress urged upon the chiefs by Perrot, which it is difficult to believe had been uttered by any but this functionary. Thus does Cox relate it:—"The Irish lords were obliged to wear robes, and, the better to induce them to it, the Deputie bestowed robes upon Turlogh Lynogh, and other principal men of the Irish, which they embraced like fetters; so that one of them desired the Deputy that his chaplain might walk the streets with him in trousers, For then, said he, the Boys will laugh at him as well as at me; whereto the Deputy gravely replied, that the want of order and decency would be their ruine, and demonstrated to them the benefits of this conformity." It may be mentioned that a graver thing than an admonition ensued to Turlogh from the pleasantry of this official humorist, for we read that, in an access of high animal spirits, he let off a gun at his master's supper-table, and shot him through the body.

"And now havinge passed this," writes the Lord Deputy, "and returninge by easie journeyes towards Dublin, at Sir Thomas Cusack's house I was advertised that Turlogh Lenough was by a Jester, one of the Doinloughes shott through the body w<sup>h</sup> ij pellets oute of a Caliuer, sitting at supper w<sup>h</sup> his new spouse, aunte to the Earle of Argile, that the Scotts lately



arrived weare now in a mase, that all Ulster stode upon election of a new Captaine, &c. In the meane while I was aduertised of his hope of recourie, and that he was caried into the fardest pts of his contrie."

Although we have an "exact counterfett" before our eyes of an Irish chief and his costume, we are but feebly enabled to judge what was his precise appearance; nor can we pronounce whether it was the dress represented in the sketch before us at which "the Boys laughed." The portrait, drawn for us by the pen of Sir William Drury, is more successful than that of Barnabe Goche. The O'Reilly of those days, to our amazement, stands before us in the panoply of Rinaldo; and if his brother chieftains were similarly arrayed, we need have little surprise at their reluctance to adopt the robes of the Lord Deputy.

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### THE BOOK OF MAC CARTHY REAGH.<sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN WINDELE, ESQ.

As in all ancient nations, the sacerdotal orders, whether Pagan or Christian, were the almost sole preservers and cultivators of whatever literature existed; so it was in Ireland, where the Druid and Bard in the Heathen period, and the Priest and Monk in the Christian, were the principal guardians of letters. In the latter era the monasteries contained the chief collections of books then extant, and here, in the *scriptorium* belonging to each, their multiplication by transcribing was sedulously carried on. But this labour was not entirely monopolized in Ireland by ecclesiastics: there was another class, a relic of the old bardic system, which combined the Ollav (or professor), the Brehon (or lawyer), the Filea (or poet), the Seanachuidhe (antiquary, historian, or herald), and the Scealuidhe (or romancer), who also cultivated the national literature in its various departments. These orders, necessarily laic, formed hereditary corporations, and enjoyed lands and estates, granted for the exclusive use of the literary profession by the munificence of kings and chieftains. So late as the commencement of the seventeenth century, Camden writes of the Irish nobility:—"They have their historians who record their exploits, physicians, poets called Bards, and harpers, each of whom have lands assigned them, and each of these professions, in every territory, form distinct families, as Breahans of

<sup>1</sup> No greater service can be rendered to the cause of Irish historical literature than the making known, as Mr. Windele here does, the contents of ancient MSS. not easily accessible to the public. The pages of this

"Journal" afford an excellent medium for the dissemination of such information; and the Committee trust that Mr. Windele shall find many followers in this, as in his other labours in the cause of Irish literature.—EDS.

one lineage and name, the historians of another, and so of the rest."—Gough's "Camden," vol. iv., p. 467.

The productions of these different classes, it is natural to conclude, must have been numerous and voluminous; nevertheless, the proportion of these which has reached our time is but comparatively small: nor will this surprise us when we remember the state of almost perpetual warfare, the distractions and dissensions of ancient times. Two centuries of invasion from the north, accompanied by pillage and conflagration, and twice that period of hostile encroachment by the Anglo-Norman adventurers, have produced their natural effects upon the literary treasures of Ireland. The denationalizing system which formed the scheme of policy of our English rulers, from the accession of Elizabeth down to very recent times, and exhibited itself in hostility to the language, laws, literature, habits, and customs of the native population, has resulted in the loss to this country of many of our most valued Irish writings, taken away to foreign lands, to be buried in Continental or English libraries, or destroyed at home amidst the havoc and ruin of civil wars. Carew, one of Queen Elizabeth's Presidents of Munster, has been stigmatized by some of our native writers as an active agent in the work of spoliation and destruction. The "Psalter of Mac Richard," hereafter to be again mentioned, is one of those MSS. taken away which can be traced into his hands. Nevertheless, several MSS. of high antiquity and rare value are still in existence, and accessible to scholars, such as Columbkille's "Gospels," the "Book of Armagh," the "Book of Glendalough or Leinster," &c. But the great mass of our remaining literature consists of transcripts made from originals now lost.

To the practice of the more modern scribes, of copying into encyclopedic volumes numerous scattered pieces of various kinds, without much reference to classification or the nature of their subjects, we are in part indebted for the preservation of a large amount of the writings which have remained to us. Such repositories, although few in number, are of exceeding value, as preserving fugitive minor compositions, which would otherwise have disappeared. But, far beyond this, the extraordinary love and attachment of the Irish nation at all times to their vernacular literature tended, despite of all adverse circumstances, to save for us what we now possess. Stanihurst notes this attachment in his time:—*"Lectitant tamen pervetustas et fumosas membranulas Hibernice scriptas, quas in mirifice amore habent."*—"Descr. Hib.," p. 39. Some of those volumes were held in such high repute that lands were allocated to families appointed for their special custody: thus, the Mac Moyres (Mac Maor) had their name, which signifies custos or warden, and held from the See several townlands near Armagh, as being the keepers of the "Book of Armagh" alone, a work said to be in the handwriting of St. Patrick.

Other instances are not wanting of the high estimation set upon their manuscripts by this people. The "Lilium Medicinæ," a medical work of much repute in Ireland and Scotland, originally translated into Irish, cost, in Scotland, for its transcription 60 milch cows. In Ireland, Gerald Earl of Desmond gave to a Lord Justice of his day 20 cows for another copy, which he purchased from him. It is a recorded fact that Aodh dubh O'Donnell, Prince of Tirconnell, gave, in 1522, 140 milch cows for the "Book of Ballymote;" and, in the century preceding, Thomas Earl of Desmond accepted the "Psalter of Mac Richard" and the "Book of Carrick," another manuscript, as a ransom for Sir Edmund Butler, taken prisoner by him in battle. The "Leabhar na h-Uidhre," now in the Royal Irish Academy, and the "Leabhar Gearr," or Short Book (supposed to be lost), were given to the O'Conors of Connaught in ransom for O'Dogherty and the son of O'Donnell's chief poet. These manuscripts were deemed of so much value that O'Donnell, in 1470, laid siege to the Castle of Sligo, which he captured, and thereby regained possession of them, together with the chairs of Donal Oge O'Donnell.—"Annals of the Four Masters."

The volume which is the subject of this paper is one of that small class of miscellaneous compilations already adverted to. Those works do not, on the whole, probably exceed a dozen in number. Of these the oldest and most celebrated is, or was,—for its present existence is questionable,—the "Psalter of Cashel." The next in antiquity is the "Book of Leinster," formerly known as the "Book of Glendalough." This is a vellum MS. of the twelfth century, and is now deposited in Trinity College, Dublin. The next is the "Book of Ballymote," a large folio vellum MS. of the fourteenth century, and the "Book of Leacan," a work of similar size and material, and of about the same period. Both of these are in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. James II. was not a prince of high literary taste, nor supposed to be particularly affected towards Celtic learning, yet, although precipitate his flight from our shores, he chose to bear away with him this "Book of Leacan" to St. Germain's. The "Leabhar na h-Uidhre" and the "Book of Fermoy" are two other volumes of the same character. The "Book of the O'Kellys," formerly belonging to Sir William Betham, is now lying uselessly inaccessible in some private English library. Another volume of the same kind is the "Psalter of Mac Richard," at present deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. This term "Psalter," here more than once mentioned, was frequently applied in old times to signify a rhythmical work from which the ancient bards were accustomed to chant histories. Amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum is one (No. 5280) of the same class, transcribed, it is stated, by Gilla Tancolour, son of Tuathal, son of Teig, nicknamed the Crooked O'Cleary. "The book," the description goes

on to say, "does not run much upon one subject in the whole, but a rhapsody or variety of small tracts, some historical, and some mixed, some moral, and some that seem to be purely legendary, as entirely depending upon the faith and veracity of the authors of them." There is in the Imperial Library at Paris another parchment volume, of 117 folios, precisely similar in the variety of its contents and subjects to those here mentioned. The staple of all consists of historical pieces in prose and verse, lives of saints, moral discourses, topography, law, and romance. In several we find frequently recurring transcripts, evidently favourites with the old scribes and their reading public, such as the "Book of Rights," the "Book of the Britons" (Nennius), the "Uraiceacht," or "Book of Oghams," the "Dinn Seanchus," or "Book of Topography," the "Tain bo Cuailgne," or "Cattle Raid of Cuailgne," &c. One only of the articles enumerated occurs in the Mac Carthy MS.; but in the general character of its other subjects it closely assimilates to those volumes. Modern Irish scribes very much ambited this style of compilation, and we have amongst us several bulky collections, entitled "Bolg an Tslathair," or "Wallet of Industrious Labour," as miscellaneous in their composition as need well be. These last, at one time tolerably numerous, have been long gradually disappearing from amongst us, with the class of painstaking scribes who cultivated this species of literature. In Munster, at the commencement of the present century, Irish MSS. of every description were to be had in some abundance. Slowly, but surely, however, these have been becoming rarer and more difficult to obtain. Those written on vellum may be said to have nearly altogether departed. I know of but three or four of these, now in the hands of those who care for such productions, in South Munster,—none of them, certainly, of equal antiquity or importance as regards the volume under consideration. This is a work which we may be pardoned for feeling some pride in having amongst us in the South. That it is so is owing to the enlightened liberality of its present owner, Thos. Hewitt, Esq., of Summerhill House, Cork, an original member of the Kilkenny Society. He, at a very considerable expense, secured it when offered for sale in 1853, and when it was on the point of being transferred to the jealous guardianship of the Royal Irish Academy. Under other circumstances it might have been wished that a work of this description should have been secured for the country in that, or some similar institution; but so long as our literary establishments are virtually closed against public access by stringent regulations,—well intended, it may be, but operating obstructively,—it will hardly be a subject for regret that this manuscript should remain in the hands of a gentleman, such as its present possessor, courteous and liberal in affording every facility for consulting and using his extensive literary collections. It is, indeed,

highly desirable that the valuable materials for the illustration of the history and antiquities of Ireland, accumulated in the Library and Museum of the Academy, should be made practically available for consultation by scholars, with as few impediments or obstructions as possible, or as may be consistent with their reasonable conservation. The regulations in use at the British Museum and in the Imperial Library at Paris might well be adopted in an institution now become national, sustained, as it is, to a considerable extent, at the public expense.

The history of this manuscript, as known to us, may be briefly told:—A large vellum MS. was discovered, somewhat about half a century since, it is said, in a recess which had been long walled up in front, in one of the chambers of the Castle of Lismore, in the county of Waterford. Soon after this the work found its way into Cork, where it remained for some years, and many transcripts were made by the local scribes, then rather numerous in that neighbourhood. On its return to Lismore the volume was considerably reduced in bulk, portions of it having been abstracted, or altogether lost. Of the first forty-three folios there is at present no trace, whilst the part now in Cork, consisting of sixty-six folios, supplies the other missing portion. After the year 1813 the Cork part having passed, by death, from the hands of its original holder to those of a third party, it so remained until December, 1853, when it was purchased by Mr. Hewitt. In May, 1840, on the completion, by Mr. Eugene Curry, of a fac-simile copy of the “Lismore” volume, for the Royal Irish Academy, the Rev. Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, Dublin, read an analysis of its contents to the Academy, since published in the “Proceedings,” vol. i. p. 136, and to which it is not now further necessary to advert, the object of this Paper being to discharge a similar duty by that portion of the volume which we of the South possess.

As it has become necessary to distinguish those two portions, so long separated, it is desirable to continue to that retained at Lismore its now well-recognised title of the “Book of Lismore;” whilst to the Cork volume may be given its more correct designation of the “Book of Mac Carthy Reagh,” to which it is properly entitled, as shall be shown immediately.

The Mac Carthy manuscript, as has been said, consists of 66 membranes, numbered by folios, and each page written in double columns. It contains 57 articles, two of which are imperfect: one, the Life of St. Finchua; the other the Forbuís Dromdamhgaire. The chasms in these are supplied in the “Book of Lismore.” There are but few titles or headings, and the distinctions of the various pieces are merely indicated by larger-sized initial letters, some of them elaborately wrought with interlaced ornaments. The penmanship is admirable generally,—large, round, and firm; the abbreviations few. Dr. Todd

observed, in 1838, when the Lismore portion was first before the Academy, that the writing was exactly similar to that of the "Book of Fermoy," written in 1487, and that both volumes were probably the work of the same scribe. Unquestionably the penmanship of this manuscript does not merit the condemnation pronounced by Dr. O'Connor on that generally of its period. "The Irish writing," he says, "of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries is *barbarous almost in the extreme*. The beautiful writing of former ages, which Giraldus describes as rather *angelic than human*, had utterly declined, in consequence of the perpetual state of war in which the country was incessantly engaged."—"Stowe Catalogue," i. 401.

That this very low estimate cannot apply to our manuscript is fully apparent on inspection. Its age is ascertained by an entry, in the same hand as the remainder of the MS., made at fol. 134, p. 1, col. 2, at the conclusion of the legend of Fintuinn, where it is recorded that "Aongus O'Calladh wrote this for MacCarthy, viz. Fingean Mac Diarmod, and a blessing on him."<sup>1</sup> This was Fineen MacCarthy Reagh, or Riabhach, son of Diarmod, Prince of Carbery (in the county of Cork), the head of an old and important branch of the great house of MacCarthy, which once gave kings to Munster and Desmond, and in more recent times was ennobled in the titles of Clancaire, Clancarty, and Mountcashel. This Fineen received from Henry VII. a commission, conjointly with Cormac Mac Teig, Lord of Muskerry, to receive the homage and oath of fealty of the southern lords and chieftains. He married Catherine Fitzgerald, daughter of Thomas, the eighth Earl of Desmond, who was beheaded at Drogheda in 1467.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that the volume was taken to Lismore whilst that noble mansion continued the residence of the bishops of the See of that name, and remained there, *perdue* or mislaid, after their expulsion or dispossession.

The contents of the "MacCarthy" portion are quite diversified, and may be generally described or classified into hagiology, topography, romance and legend, poetry and history.

The hagiology consists of the Lives—1. of St. Finchua, of Bri-gown, near Mitchelstown (Cork), a saint not so much as named by Colgan or Lanigan; 2. of St. Brendan, son of Finloga, the celebrated navigator, whose voyages in quest of "the land of promise,"

<sup>1</sup> Should there be other MacCarthy manuscripts lying *perdue* in Munster, it is to be hoped that Mr. Windele's interesting paper will elicit information as to their whereabouts. Our valued contributor and fellow-member, Daniel MacCarthy, Esq., a lineal representative of the Princes of Carbery, is most anxious to procure intelligence of ma-

nuscripts bearing on the literature and pedigree of his race.—Ems.

<sup>2</sup> This prince died in 1505, according to the "Annals of the Four Masters:"—"MacCarthy of Carbery, that is Fingin son of Dermot an Dunaidh, the son of Donal Riabhach, died, and was succeeded by his brother Dermot."

in the western ocean, are supposed to have relation to some traditional knowledge of America; 3. of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, who died on the 9th of September, 549 (the lives of these saints have not been given by Colgan); 4. of Mochua, Abbot of Balla, in Mayo. This piece, translated into Latin, has been published in the "Acta Sanctorum," p. 780. To these are to be added a number of selected legends of other holy men, as of St. Patrick, Colum Cill, Mocholmoch, Mochuta of Rathin and Lismore, St. Moling, &c. Overcast as all the lives of early saints are, with legendary invention engrafted on them, it may be, from ancient Pagan myths, to elevate in the minds of an ignorant and superstitious populace the memories of those primitive lights of the faith above the fabulous attributes of the old, overthrown, Druidic hierarchy, yet the historian has long recognised their great utility as records of contemporary historical characters and events. The sceptical Pinkerton takes a just and sensible view of the value of such biographies, even with all their demerits of factitious and absurd miracles. "The lives of the saints," he says, "formerly only considered in a religious view, now begin to be regarded in a historical light by most countries, whether Papist or Protestant. . . . The falsehood of miracles no more affects the historical and topographical parts than the miracles of Livy and Tacitus discredit their history. Not to insist on a matter now so well known to the learned as the value of those old lives in the history of the middle ages, it may be further observed that many of them are well written, and are curious monuments not only of the literature but of the manners of the times."

The topographical information contained in every portion of this volume cannot be over-estimated. A tract on the "Two Fermoy's," a district now represented in the baronies of Fermoy, and Condons and Clongibbons, Cork, is almost unique, there being now only known an imperfect copy in the British Museum ("Egerton," 92). It is evidently a composition of the ante-English period, when the O'Keeffes and O'Duggans held undisturbed possession, and the Roches, Barrys, Condons, &c., were still unheard of. The enumeration of the various occupying tribes or clans found here exhibits a density of population which, without such a document, we might well incline to question.

In the "Agallamb," or dialogue of Caoilte, Oisín, and Fincadh, a tract formed on the plan, and in imitation of, the "Agallamb na Seanoiridhe," in the "Book of Lismore," we have embodied a vast amount of the topography of Ireland generally, giving the derivation and origin of the names of remarkable places, mountains, valleys, lakes, rivers, raths, tumuli, &c., of the greatest use in the illustration of our historical literature.

At fol. 140 we have the "Book of Rights," of whose utility in this respect Dr. O'Donovan has afforded us such satisfactory evi-

dence in his published translation. The Mac Carthy Reagh tract differs to some extent from the copies used by that learned editor.

Article 52 is a copy of the "Ímtheacht na Trom daimhe," the adventures of the bards,—a tract most essential to a complete memoir of the bardic order in Ireland, and to which Mr. Walker seems not to have had access. It offers a curious picture of the extraordinary influence, and the insolent and oppressive exactions and flagrant abuse of their privileges, by that body in the sixth century, which fully justifies the clamour raised against them, and which threatened their total expulsion, if it had not been for the intercession of St. Columba, who, in the great assembly of the States, held at Dromceat, in Donegal, in 580, saved the delinquent order from suppression.

Amongst the strange incidents of this piece is the revenge taken by a "Royal Cat,"<sup>1</sup> upon Seanchan, the Ard Ollamh, or chief of the bards of Erin, who, after satirizing some hostile mice, subsequently wishing to avert from them the injurious consequences, transferred his satire to the cat. His feline majesty, justly indignant at such treatment, carried off the offending poet from the court of the King of Connaught; but fortunately, as the enraged animal was bearing away his victim to his cave at Cnobha, near Clonmacnoise, the blessed Kieran happened to espy him from the door of a forge where he happened to be standing. Catching up a red-hot ploughshare from the fire, he flung it at the animal, and killed him, whereby he liberated Seanchan.

The origin of the harp, as given in this piece, is somewhat fanciful. It differs altogether from that forming the subject of Moore's song:—

" 'Tis believed that this harp, which I wake now for thee,  
Was a Siren of old, who sung under the sea."

The Lady Cana having taken a dislike to her husband, Mac Cuil, fled from him, and betook herself to the woods and wilds. He followed in pursuit of her. One day she came to the shore of the sea of Camas, and, as she walked musingly along, she found the remains of a whale on the beach, and heard the murmur of the wind as it sighed through the fins of the animal. She listened, and was lulled to sleep by the sound. It was then that her husband came there, and found that she had fallen asleep by the music of the wind. He went to the next wood, and formed the frame of a harp, to which he

<sup>1</sup> With a cumulation of epithets peculiar to Irish compositions, described as "round-snouted, ravenous, panting, scabby-eared, massy-chested, strong-tendonned, smooth-

clawed, gap-nosed, sharp-toothed, rough, fleshy-mouthed, nimble, powerful, deep-flanked, terror-striking, raging, irresistible, mad, flaming-eyed, and purring."



attached the strings made from the whale's fins; and this was the first harp made.

The historical pieces are heavily overladen with fiction and fable. One of these is a narrative relating the varied events of his long and chequered life by a mythical antediluvian, named Fintuinn mac Bochna, i. e. "Fair Wave, Son of the Sea," delivered by him at a convention held at Tara, in the reign of Diarmuid mac Cearbheoil. It is an ingenious device for conveying an abstract of the national history as feigned to have been stored up in the tenacious memory of a personage who had survived the Deluge in the shape of a salmon, and lived to the sixth century of our era. Fionntuin is called in "Magh Leana" (p. 97) "the salmon of knowledge, the possessor of all intelligence, and the jewel manifestly rich in all history and all truth." This should be regarded as a historical lecture delivered to the assembled council of the realm. Of course the abstract was made palatable to his admiring and noble auditory by a good deal of legendary and romantic colouring. More pretentious historians than "Fair Wave" have not disdained such embellishments. Livy is a mass of fable; Tacitus the Philosophical, and Bede the Venerable, have all their marvels. Of the latter, the already cited Pinkerton tells us that "for fifty pages of fact he gives us three hundred pages of miracles." Yet Bede is otherwise a writer of good repute, and no one dreams of flinging his works away as of no authority; for, disfigure or envelope the narrative of ancient events as we may, the great cardinal facts will stand out above all the clouds of fable,—the marvellous is merely the superstructure raised upon the old basis of truth. Even in the most recent writings it will be found that the phrase—"history is founded upon a general conspiracy against truth"—will but too generally apply.

Another historical chapter is the "Forbuis Dromdamhghaire," or encampment at Knocklong (county of Limerick). As mentioned heretofore, this is but a fragment. It relates the invasion of Munster by Cormac mac Art, King of Ireland, in order to raise a tribute upon the province. Against the overwhelming forces of the monarch the Momonian king found himself necessitated to avail himself of the necromantic powers of the Druid Mogh Ruith, whose art of glamour brought ruin and defeat upon the invader. This is, indeed, a "wild and wondrous" piece.

A tract follows this, detailing the visit of the King-Bishop of Munster, Cormac Mac Cullinan, to Ceann Claire, a mountain east of Knocklong, and his poem thereon, recounting the various events which had occurred there during the campaign of Dromdamhghaire, such as the feats of magical sheep, pigs, &c.

Next occurs an account of the revolt of the serfs of Ireland in the reign of Fiacha Finn Fhola, and the massacre of the kings and princes at a great feast prepared for them by the serfs.

There are several articles devoted to the acts of the monarch Diarmuid mac Caerbhcoil. One recounts the feast given to that prince by Bresal, his son, who was afterwards put to death by the king for forcibly taking away a cow, for that feast, from the nuns of Cill Heagna, in Ceananus (Kells), and how the prince was restored to life by St. Becan. Another is an account of a battle fought by the men of Connaught and the northern Hy Nials against Diarmuid for having put to death Curnan, the King of Connaught's son. Curnan had slain a man at the feast of Tara, and, although he had put himself under the protection of St. Colum Cill, the king executed the law against him; for which act of justice, overbalanced by his violation of the saint's protection, he suffered a signal defeat. Then we have a poem lamenting Diarmuid's contention with the saint, and predicting the misfortunes to ensue from it. In another piece we have an account of this king's death.

The purely legendary portion, as may be expected, is particularly rich in invention and fancy. One of these is the legend of Dobhurelu, who being cursed by St. Brendan of Kerry for killing his oxen, was changed into an otter, on falling into Loch Lir, in Thomond.

Another is that of Finghein mac Luchta, who had a yearly interview with a banshee, in which she was accustomed to communicate to him much strange information, such as descanting on the fifty wonders of Ireland, amongst which was the carbuncle in Lough Lene (Killarney), visible only on the night of Samhain (All Soul's Eve); the five roads leading to Tara, discovered and first used on the night of the birth of Conn of the Hundred Battles; the petrifying properties of the water of Lough Neagh, &c.

The "Pig's Psalter" relates how the monks inhabiting an island in Loch Righ obtained a young pig from the men of Brefny, which they killed when hunting, and how it turned out to be a youth from the fairy land which lay beneath the waters of the lake.

Many of the smaller pieces were selected as mere filling for blank spaces at the foot of articles which did not fill the entire page. As specimens of these tail-pieces the two following articles are given:—

"A woman was cast on shore in Alban. She was 62 feet in length. There were 15 feet between her two breasts, 17 feet was the length of her hand, 7 feet that of her fingers, 7 feet was the length of her nose, 2 feet between her eyebrows. Fairer than the swan or the foam of the wave each member. But the shape was not goodly or becoming."

The next relates to the comparative ages of animals and plants, and is specially useful as indicating the duration of the world in these times, when its speedy dissolution by contact with the approaching comet is apprehended:—

"A year for a stalk, 3 years for a garden  
 Thrice the age of a garden for a hound  
 Thrice the age of a hound for the horse  
 Thrice the age of a horse for a man  
 Thrice the age of a man for a wild deer  
 Thrice the age of a deer for a blackbird  
 Thrice the age of the blackbird for the eagle  
 Thrice the age of the eagle for a salmon  
 Thrice the age of the salmon for the yew  
 Thrice the age of the yew for the world."

By the rule of multiplication this extends the duration of the world to 59,049 years, which will give a safe and comfortable margin to the alarmists.

Hesiod (Plutarch, "De Defect Orac.") has some speculations on comparative ages, very much in the spirit of the Irish Seanachuidhe:—"The clamorous crow lives nine times the flourishing age of man; the stag, four times the age of the crow; the raven, thrice the age of the stag; the phœnix, nine times as long as the raven; and but ye, you beautiful-haired nymphs, daughters of Jove, the eternal ruler of the world, ye live 10 times the age of the phœnix,"—i. e., a nymph, according to this calculation, was imagined to live 680,400 years!

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WAYSIDE ANCIENT MONUMENT AT DRISOGE,  
 KING'S COUNTY.

BY T. L. COOKE, ESQ.

THE sketch accompanying this Paper<sup>1</sup> is a faithful representation of an old sepulchral stone which lies flat on the edge of an ancient narrow and crooked highway, that formerly was the only public pass from the village of Cloghan<sup>2</sup> to that of Ferbane, both in the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cooke's sketch represents a slab with a plain cross, cut in relief; its arms combined by a circle. Mr. Cooke also sent a map of the places mentioned in his Paper.—Etc.

<sup>2</sup> This Cloghan village is to be distinguished from Cloghan Castle, in the territory of Lusmagh. It is true that both these Cloghans are now in the barony of Garrycastle, King's County; but no part of Lusmagh territory was in the original barony of Garrycastle, or even within the original bounds of the King's County.

Lusmagh belonged to O'Madden, chief of Siol Anmchadha, and it was a portion of the county of Galway. The entire territory of Lusmagh now goes, improperly, by the name of the parish of Lusmagh, whereas it comprises not only the parish of Lusmagh proper, but also the parish of Kilmocunna, and part of the parish of Meelick. Lusmagh parish was the southern end of the territory of the same name, while Kilmocunna parish occupied the centre of the territory, and part of Meelick parish (the main bulk of which was on the Galway side of the Shannon) stretched

barony of Garrycastle, and King's County. This remarkable, but mutilated, remain is on the northern edge of the road, and it is almost hidden by brambles and whitethorn bushes at a point where the tortuous and now unfrequented pass winds through the lands of Drisoge.<sup>1</sup> It is a grayish-brown sandstone, of an irregular form, measuring 46 inches in length, by 18 in width, and 6 inches thick. The only device upon it is a cross; but neither letters nor inscription are traceable. The old name of this part of the barony of Garrycastle was Dealbnaeathra,<sup>2</sup> once the principality of Mac Coghlan.

At about the distance of a furlong from the sepulchral slab, and on the opposite side of the road, stand the ruins of the church of Killourney. At the time (six or seven years ago) when I made the pencil sketch from which the pen-and-ink representation accompanying this Paper is copied, there was under the slab an excavation, out of which the earth had been abstracted. It had been taken away, I was informed, to serve for charms supposed to possess some supernatural preservative and healing, if not higher, qualities.

Having collected thus much of information about the Drisoge monument, it occurred to me that the stone must have been deposited where it then lay, as a memorial of some once-revered per-

along the left bank of that magnificent river in the northern end of the territory of Lusmagh. In an inquisition, taken at Philipstown the 13th of March, 1637, finding the title of the Crown to various lands, some of the denominations in the territory of Lusmagh are mentioned as then being in the county of Galway. Thus we read:—"1 cartron' vocat' Carrownakeeloge in Ballyvievolloghan in co' Galway, p'cell ter' Mellaghlin Duffe M'Donnogh M'Cuollaghan in rebellion' interfect'; 1 quarter' ter' vocat' le quarter de Cograne in Ballyvievolloghan in co' Galway, p'cell possession' Joh' M'Cuollaghan in rebellion' interfect'." The territory of Lusmagh still forms an isolated part of the diocese of Clonfert, to the south of the Shannon. The Lusmagh Cloghan was known as Cloghan-*ui-Madden*, and the village of Cloghan (where also stood a castle) in Mac Coghlan's country was known as Cloghan-na-gCeapach, and Cloghan-a-geaioire. The learned and usually very accurate Irish scholar and topographer, John O'Donovan, LL.D., has, in a note to his translation of the Annals of the Four Masters, ad ann. 1548, inadvertently identified Cloghan-na-gCeapach as the Lusmagh Cloghan. The text of the Four Masters, to which that note is appended, shows that it could not

be the Lusmagh Cloghan which was there meant; for it refers only to castles in Ely and Delvin, whereas Lusmagh never formed a portion of either of these districts. An inquisition, taken at Philipstown the 17th of March, 1634, calls the village of Cloghan in Delvin-Mac-Coghlan by the alias "Clonegenenigappagh."

<sup>1</sup>The appellation Drisoge is in this instance a very appropriate one; for the Irish word *bréireog*, or *bréiróg*, signifies a little bramble, a little brier, a blackberry bush. It is the "*Rubus major fructu nigro*," over which the vulgar suppose Satan casts his club-foot after Michaelmas.

<sup>2</sup>The term *bealóna* is a component in the names of several ancient districts in Ireland. Thus we have Dealbhna-eathra, alias Dealbhna-Mac Coghlan, the country of Mac Coghlan above mentioned; Dealbhnamor, once the lordship of O'Finallan, but now giving title of Baron of Delvin to the family of Nugent, Marquis of Westmeath; Dealbhna-beg, also in Westmeath; Dealbhna-tean, alias Dealbhna-iarthar, formerly the patrimony of O'Scullly; Dealbhna-nanuadhat, in the county of Roscommon; Dealbhna-cuilfeabhair and Dealbhna-saadh, both of which were in Connaught. Many other examples might be adduced.

sonage who had met his death there,—that, in fact, it supplied the place of the *leacht*, or pile of stones accustomed to be raised over those who had met with death by violence. On my making inquiry at a cottage near the place, an old man told me that the stone had been placed there *in the ould times* in consequence of *the Maw's* (Mac Coghlan's soldiers) having murdered a friar there. Farther than the eliciting this little share of information, my interrogatories proved unproductive. Who that unfortunate friar was,—what the cause of his having been put to death, or at what time the occurrence happened, I was then unable to find out. I subsequently wrote to the Rev. Kieran Egan, the respected parish priest of the parish of Gallen, in which Drisoge is situate, requesting of him to communicate such information as he might have gleaned on this interesting subject. His report merely confirmed what the old man had told me.

The tradition of the neighbourhood being thus vague and inconclusive on a subject so attractive to the antiquary, we must seek elsewhere for more authentic particulars. In the annals of Duall Mac Firbis, under the year A. D. 1444, we meet with an account of the transaction which led to the monumental slab, the subject matter of this Paper, having, probably, upwards of 400 years ago, been placed on the public wayside, where we yet find it. The annalist just named writes:—

“A. D. 1444 . . . . . Greate warr stirred in Delbhna-Eathra, the sons of David Mag Cochlan & ffeim Mac Cochlan, on the one part, & the Bishop Mag Coghlan, with the sept of Connor Mag Cochlan, on the other part, so that each partie gathered their severall freinds, to wit, Mag Eochagan & his sons & the sons of Daniel O'Bryan, and the sons of Daniel O'Kelly his son on Mag Cochlan's side. And Breasel fitz Brien fitz Eogan O'Kelly with the Bishopp: and went they both parties to Magh Beannchoir to meete O'Madden upon terms of agreement. And the Bishop would not allow not (even) the cessation of one day nor of that night neither, but he followed all that multitude to Lom-cluain-I-flatily to pursue them, where the Bishop with his men were defeated; & farther the Bishop with his two brothers, Brian & Magnus, the two sons of the Archdeacon Mag Cochlan, & the sons of O'Edhacan also were all killed on the bogg northward next Tuaim-Eolaing, and James the Bishop's son, Archdeacon of Clonmacnoise, & Breasall fitz Brien fitz Eogan O'Kelly, prior of Cloontuiscert OMany was killed on the bogg southward by Tuaim Eoluing, & also 18 of the Laytie were killed therein, & they ramsacked & burnt the ffothaire<sup>1</sup>-Dealbnach that night, and it was on munday before St. John the Baptist's day, these greate deeds were acted.”

Ware (“Bishops,” at “Clonmacnoise”) has the following entry concerning this prelate:—“Cormac Mac Coghlan, dean of the ca-

<sup>1</sup> *ffothaire* seems to be *poftir*, a good country, being compounded of *po*, good, and *ctir*, a land, a country. The term *ceapac* is nearly synonymous with *poftir*. It sig-

nifies a district, and the name Cloghannag-ecapagh means the Cloghan of the large district (Dealbhna) to distinguish it from the Lusmagh Cloghan.

thedral, was elected by the chapter, and consecrated in 1427. He died in 1442." But Harris gives us more full and correct information regarding him. He writes that he "was elected before the 27th of January, 1426." He subsequently adds: "There is in the Registry of John Swain, Archbishop of Armagh, the guardian of this see [Clonmacnoise] during the vacancy, a commission for the visitation of the diocese of Clonmacnoise to this Cormac [whom he styles Bishop-elect], and to John O'Mayl, guardian of the monastery of Granard, dated the above day and year, whereby he constituted them sub-guardians of the see of Clonmacnoise: and there is in the same Registry another citation to him, *as Bishop-elect*, to appear at a provincial synod to be held at Drogheda the October following; but he did not appear. He died (*as is said*) in 1442; but I think [writes Harris] not until 1444; for it appears in the annals of Dudley Firbisse under that year, that one Bishop Mac Coghlan and the Prior of Clontouskirt, and James, the bishop's son, who was Archdeacon of Clonmacnoise, were slain in a battle fought with another sept of the Mac Coghlan, on the Monday before St. John Baptist's day." Harris further observes:—"Now as Clonmacnoise lies in Mac Coghlan's country, and as I find no other Mac Coghlan a bishop at this time of any other diocese, I cannot but think that this Cormac Mac Coghlan was the warlike bishop that year slain." This reasoning of Mr. Harris seems to be conclusive as to the fact that it was Mac Coghlan, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, who fell in the battle of Lomploon<sup>1</sup>.

The existence at the present day, in the neighbourhood of the Drisoge sepulchral slab, of the various places named by Mac Firbis,

<sup>1</sup> Although Lomploon is now (1857) reckoned a place of no public importance, it appears to have been, in times gone past, the scene of frequent strife and violence. Accordingly, besides the conflict of 1444 above mentioned, we find that another battle was fought there, A. D. 1285, between Carbrey O'Melaghlín, King of Meath, and Theobald Butler, aided by the forces of O'Kelly, of Ely O'Carroll, of Ormond, of Arra, and of O'wney O'Mulryan, of Siolanmanchie, and Clanwilliam Burke. On that occasion, Butler entered Delvin Mac Coghlan for the purpose of plundering and ruining it. There were killed there of the Butler party Sir William de la Rochelle, Murrough Mac Cormack O'Connor, and many others. Sir Robert Duinn, Mac William Burke, and others, were taken prisoners. See Mac Geoghagan's Translation of the "Annals of Clonmacnoise." On another occasion, viz., 9th of May, 1548, Cormac Mac Coghlan and the people of Ily Many made an incursion into Delvin, and burned

and plundered Lomploon. See the "Four Masters" at that year. The place now simply called Lomploon was heretofore denominated Lomploon-I-Flathrie, from its having been the patrimony of that sept; but it had been previously known as Lomploon-O'Doynne, to which family it then belonged. The name Lomploon is indicative of a retired and barren place, being compounded of the words lom, bare, lean; and cluain, a retired place, or sequestered situation. Such is really the situation of Lomploon at the present day. The term lom, however, cannot with propriety be any longer considered as descriptive of the soil of that townland, in consequence of the modern advanced state of its improvements. Lomploon is now the estate of the Earl of Rosse, one of the Members of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society. Much of the Lomploon improvement is traceable to his Lordship's excellent land agent, George Garvey, Esq., J. P., who is also a Member.

leaves but little room to doubt of that slab having been placed in its present situation to mark the spot where Bishop Mac Coghlan fell. A glance at the map which accompanies this Paper will suffice to show such to be the fact. Thus Lomploon, where the chief part of the action was fought, is in that neighbourhood, and distant about a mile and three quarters E. S. E. of Drisoge. The bog extends between them, and up to the last-named place. There is some difficulty in identifying the locality of Tuaim Eolaing, or Tuaim-Eoluing, mentioned by the annalist. It may be the townland adjoining the town of Cloghan, now denominated Tomlomon, which is about three-quarters of a mile due south of the Drisoge slab. Tuaim Eolaing (*Tuam olann*, the village of the wool) sounds nearly as if written in English Tom-olonn, which might have easily been corrupted by an English scribe into Tomlomon. But there are two townlands named *Timolin*, (which sounds more like Tuaim eolaing), not very far distant from Drisoge. The one of these, called Timolin, alias Derrynaharane, alias Derryholmes, is about two miles W. N. W. of Drisoge, and in the parish of Tisarn. The other Timolin is S. W. of Drisoge, and about equally distant from it in the parish of Reynagh. It is probable that these are the places meant by the annalist.

The plain of Banagher<sup>1</sup> (Magh Beannochoir), whither the parties were proceeding to avail themselves of the conciliatory interference of O'Madden, until they were interrupted by the bishop, is about five miles to the south-west of Lomploon, and it (Banagher) adjoined Siolanmchie and Lusmagh, the country of O'Madden.<sup>2</sup> Drisoge is about six miles from the celebrated Seven Churches of Clonmacnoise, and it lay directly on his line of march, if we suppose the bishop to have been retreating from Lomploon to Clonmacnoise.

The traditionary account hereinbefore related as having been furnished by the peasantry regarding the sad event which led to having the sepulchral stone placed at Drisoge, vague and imperfect though it be, nevertheless furnishes strong evidence of the faithful accuracy with which tradition hands down from one generation to

<sup>1</sup> The straggling town of Banagher, long celebrated for its fairs, is situate on the Leinster side of the river Shannon, in the barony of Garrycastle, and King's County. A religious house, known as Kill-Bignaighe, formerly stood here. It was founded by St. Regnacia, sister of St. Finian, who died in the year 563. The orthography of the name of Banagher, according to the Four Masters, is *beanbóop*, or *beanbóup*, as if it had been compounded of *béann*, a summit or top, and *copa*, a weir. There is very high ground there, on which the modern church stands; and a ford, with weirs

across the Shannon, was close below the town. O'Brien's "Irish-English Dictionary" has, "*beannaóop*, or *beannóup*, i. e. *beanna bó*, cow-horns." O'Reilly's "Irish-English Dictionary" has the same.

<sup>2</sup> The country of O'Madden was coextensive with the barony of Longford, in the county of Galway, with the addition of the territory of Lusmagh, on the rivers Shannon and Little Brusna, in the present King's County. Ballyshiel (*baile-úí-fiaáil*) once the abode of the O'Sheils, who were the hereditary physicians to the Mac Coghlan, adjoins Drisoge.

another the outlines of past transactions, even when the filling-in of the picture has faded and disappeared through lapse of time, or the action of other causes unsuited to its preservation. In this Drisoge instance, the peasantry have informed us that it was a *clergyman* who had been killed by the *soldiers of Mac Coghlan*, although they knew no more of the circumstances; and, by a mixture of fable with fact, the tale has been embellished with the additional circumstance of a servant having given to the bishop a timely warning of the murderous character of his master's pretended hospitality. Mac Firbis's record of the battle fought at Lomploon in 1444, coupled with the story preserved by the country-people, supplies a striking elucidation of the assistance which written annals and verbal tradition reciprocally render one to other in perfecting a complete history. Thus, the traditionary account of the Drisoge slab would stand wholly imperfect as to *dramatis personæ* and epoch, did not Mac Firbis enlighten us on these points. On the other hand, the written Annals, as well as the history of Bishop Mac Coghlan, by Ware and Harris, would be defective in identifying the precise spot where the bishop was slain, had not the old sepulchral stone and the current of tradition served to supply the want. Between both authorities the history is complete.

The Drisoge slab bears a great resemblance to that represented by the woodcut (vol. iii, p. 278, of this Society's Transactions), which represents a stone at the old church of St. Audoen, Dublin, and was contributed by the Rev. Dr. Spratt to this Society.

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#### ON THE LANDING-PLACE OF HENRY II. IN THE HARBOUR OF WATERFORD.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B.

WHEN Henry II. came to Ireland, in order to lay his royal grasp on the broad lands which had been conquered by the "fillibustering" adventurers who followed Earl Richard Fitz Gilbert<sup>1</sup> into this island, Hoveden, the annalist, tells us he disembarked at Crook, and marched thence to Waterford. The editor of the translation of Hoveden lately issued by Bohn, in a note on the name, gravely suggests that "Crook" is a mistake of Hoveden's for "Cork." This egregious blunder must serve my purpose to excuse the following short notice

<sup>1</sup> So Strongbow styles himself in his charters.



of the place, written at a distance from my books, but within eye-shot of the spot where Henry first trod on Irish ground.<sup>1</sup>

A glance at any good map of Ireland, but, more especially, at those models of all good surveys, the Ordnance Maps of the district, will indicate the position of the parish of Crook, on the western shore of the noble harbour of Waterford, below, and close to, the secure anchorage of Passage, where Queen Victoria lay-to, in her splendid steam-yacht, for a night, on the occasion of her first visit to Ireland. A low sandy beach, with clay cliffs, intermixed here and there with slaty rocks, forms its sea boundary; from this the land swells upward gradually to a considerable height. On this slope, now mapped out with a formal network of enclosures and very bare of trees, about half a mile from the beach, and in the centre of some fine pasture lands, stand the remains of the preceptory and parish church of Crook. The Templars seem to have formed an early settlement here, as Crook is mentioned in the most ancient lists of their establishments in Ireland; but the existing records of the Order are so scanty that I have never been able to discover any documentary evidence to show the date of the foundation: I think, however, we cannot be far wrong if we place it within a very few years of Henry's disembarkation. The church is small and rudely built; it consists of a nave and chancel, and presents unmistakable evidence that it was erected early in the thirteenth century. The stone used in its construction is the conglomerate of the neighbourhood, and its inapplicability to ornamental sculpture probably precluded the introduction of a single molding. Notwithstanding this absence of moldings,—the most unerring guide we possess to determine the age of ecclesiastical remains,—the tall, slender lancets infallibly proclaim the style to which we should assign the unpretending structure, namely, that usually called the "Early English," a term which, as the style indicated thereby was introduced into Ireland by the English settlers, may, with great propriety, be used in describing those specimens of Irish architecture built in the districts under English rule during the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup> There is not any ancient monument remaining in the church or churchyard. Not far from the church a remnant of the domestic buildings of the Knights Templar

<sup>1</sup> I have already had occasion to rectify a vulgar error respecting the landing-place of the first detachment of Strongbow's contingent.—See "Transactions," vol. i. p. 189, First Series.

<sup>2</sup> The nomenclature of architectural styles in Ireland is, at present, very unsatisfactory. For instance, we constantly hear churches, erected before the English set foot

here, called "Norman,"—how inappropriately, a moment's reflection will show. A very convenient division would be into "Early Hiberno-Romanesque," A. D. 500-1100; "Late Hiberno-Romanesque," A. D. 1100-1200; "First Pointed," A. D. 1200-1300; "Second Pointed," A. D. 1300-1400; "Third Pointed," A. D. 1400-1500; "Renaissance," A. D. 1500-1800.

points out the site of the preceptory. Nothing now remains but one angle of a massive tower, built of the same material, and in the same unadorned style, as the church, and plainly contemporary with it, but quite insufficient to indicate either the plan or extent of the original structure. Between the preceptory and the church, but, probably, in former times included within the precinct of the former, is a well, covered by masonry, with a pointed arch, and a doorway of the same form, which latter does not seem to be of much antiquity.

When Henry's fleet entered the Waterford Harbour, their first care would be to look for a safe anchorage. This the waters of Passage afforded them. The navigation of the Suir was probably unknown to the seamen, or the king would have proceeded higher up the river. At all events, we know that he landed at Crook, and marched thence, some seven miles, to Waterford. At present, except at the top of a very high spring-tide, it would be difficult to land forces under Crook; but we may well suppose that the tidal currents, which have, within the memory of man, filled up the boat-docks at Passage, may, during the six centuries which have elapsed since Henry's debarkation, have materially added to the shoal which extends from the shore of Crook to a considerable distance into the harbour. But, even supposing that this shoal existed in Henry's time, it is quite sufficient for the accuracy of the chronicler to suppose—and, knowing the persistency of natural phenomena, it seems the most probable supposition—that Henry, his nobles and followers, landed on the beach at the place which is now called Passage, but whose ancient name may have been unknown to Hoveden, who was satisfied with noting down the name of a church not quite an English mile from the place of debarkation. It is plain, at all events, that Hoveden knew what he was writing about when he stated that Henry II. landed at Crook; and this is more than can be said for his latest editor, when the latter suggests that the annalist blunderingly wrote "Crook" for "Cork."

The history of the visits of England's kings to Ireland would, in good hands, make an interesting work. Should it ever be accomplished, Waterford and her harbour must take a leading part in the story. Here, as we have seen, Henry II. and his mail-clad knights and men-at-arms landed. Here his weak and wicked son, John, "Lord of Ireland," surrounded by his foppish and overbearing Norman courtiers, disembarked, to pluck the beards of the Irish princes who came to do him homage. Here came to shore Richard II., dazzling the eyes of the sober citizens with the flash of steel and waving of plumes, as his gorgeously harnessed army defiled through the gates of Waterford, with full intent to finish the conquest so long left incomplete; but soon to have the sheen of their armour dimmed, and to be shorn of their gay plumage by the Barrow's side,

immeshed in the woods and bogs of Art Mac Murrrough's fastnesses ; and here, again, the same effeminate but chivalrous monarch landed,—to revenge the death of his cousin and heir-apparent, Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, slain by the Irish in a petty skirmish,—and so left England open to the usurper Henry. Again, on the shores of this harbour, James II. terminated his ill-starred connexion with Ireland, and, breathless with his headlong flight from the Boyne, hid his dishonoured head on board a French vessel of war. Finally, as already observed, Queen Victoria entered its waters, the only one of England's monarchs that ever dropped anchor there in peace.

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## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on  
Wednesday, September 2nd, 1857,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LEIGHLIN in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

John Clarke, Esq., Belmont, Carlow; William Norris, Esq., St. James's-square, Manchester; and Richard R. Phillips, Esq., M.D., Straw Hall, Leighlin-Bridge: proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin.

The Hon. John L. Cole, Florence Court: proposed by the Right Hon. Lord Clermont.

George Morant, Esq., Shirley House, Carrickmacross; and the Rev. Thomas Hincks, A.M., Derrykeigan Rectory, Dervock, county of Antrim: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

William Cantwell, Esq., Ballymaddock House, Stradbally, Queen's County: proposed by the Rev. John O'Hanlon.

Alexander Tate, Esq., C.E., County Surveyor, Dublin, Santry Lodge, Santry: proposed by Samson Carter, Esq., C.E.

The Waterford Mechanics' Institute: proposed by J. G. Davis, Esq.

The Rev. Beaver H. Blacker, A. M., 30, Waltham-terrace, Blackrock, Dublin; and Joseph Hanley, Esq., 25, Lower Gardiner-street, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The following presentations were received, and thanks ordered to be given to the donors:—

By the Society of Antiquaries of London: "Archæologia," Vols. XXXVI. Part 2, and XXXVII. Part 1; "Proceedings," Nos. 43 to 46, inclusive; and "Lists of Members" for 1846 and 1847.

By the Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society, for

the County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester: their "Journal," Parts 1, 3, and 4.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for July and August, 1857.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," Third Series, No. 11.

By the Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckingham: "Records of Buckinghamshire," &c., No. 7.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: their "Report and Communications," No. 7.

By the Geological Society of Dublin: their "Journal," Vol. VII., Part 4.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 19.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 751 to 760, inclusive.

By Mrs. R. Hitchcock: "The Tour of the French Traveller, M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, in Ireland, A.D. 1644:" London, 1837; and the "Historical and Genealogical Memoir of the Family of Fleming of Slane," &c. By Sir W. Betham.

By Miss H. C. Archer Butler: "La Normandie Souterraine ou Notices sur des Cimetières Romaines et des Cimetières Francs, explorés en Normandie. Par M. l'Abbé Cochet;" seconde édition. "Sépultures Gauloises, Romaines, Franques, et Normandes, faisant suite a 'La Normandie Souterraine,' par M. l'Abbé Cochet;" "Notes on the Interment of a young Frankish Warrior. By M. l'Abbé Cochet;" and "Note sur des Sépultures Anglo-Normandes trouvées à Bouteilles, près Dieppe, en Mars 1856; par M. l'Abbé Cochet."

Mr. Michael M'Creery presented several documents connected with the Kilkenny Amateur Theatricals, including a plan of the theatre, filled in with the names of those who had engaged seats.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory presented a curious document, being an authority from the curators of the estates of George Count Schuleburgh to Captain Hieronimus Gothard Kirchoff, to receive a legacy of £8000, left to him by the Countess of Chesterfield, A.D. 1784.

Mr. Edward Kelly presented the matrix of the seal of the last Seneschal of the Marquis of Ormonde's property.

Mr. Bettsworth Lawless presented a silver groat of the English mint of Henry VIII., with that king's head in profile.

The Secretary read a letter from the Oxford Architectural Society, inviting the members of the Kilkenny Archæological Society to visit Oxford on the occasion of the meeting of the first-named body in June next.

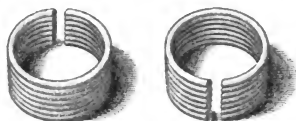
The Very Rev. Chairman communicated to the Meeting a drawing of a remarkable stone found during some repairs outside the

south porch of Haslingden Church, Lancashire; the upper surface exhibited two oblong rectangular depressions. It was traditionally known as "The Plague-stone," in the orifices of which money used to be placed to purchase food for those afflicted with the disease. The water now resting in the hole was considered by the peasantry a never-failing cure for warts.

Mr. W. Williams, Dungarvan, wrote to announce a discovery made by him of a group of five Ogham monuments occurring in an unconsecrated burying-ground at Kilgrovane, county of Waterford, a detailed account of which he promised to send to a future Meeting of the Society.

Captain Edward Hoare, A. B., North Cork Rifles, sent the following paper, together with the woodcut by which it is illustrated:

"I have much pleasure in presenting to the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, to illustrate their 'Journal,' a woodcut of two views, the actual size of the original, of a new, unique, and hitherto unknown variety of the ancient Celto-Irish penannular gold ring-money,



presenting a variety of very great interest. It resembles seven plain penannular rings joined together, or rather placed on the top of each other, is of the purest and finest description of gold, and weighs exactly six pennyweights. It was discovered in the neighbourhood of Rathfarnham, in the county of Dublin, during the month of December, 1855; and a few days after its discovery was secured by a friend for my collection. A single specimen of somewhat similar type and character has been found in Dorsetshire, in England, a representation of which will be seen in one of the early Numbers of the 'Journal of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,' where it is described as a specimen not known among the very many varieties of these curious and singular relics, which have been so frequently and abundantly discovered in Ireland. I have also been informed by Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., that this same type has been lately discovered in Denmark,—an important fact, showing clearly that at some period a similarity of fashions existed between Ireland, the south of England, and the Scandinavian people, and which we must, I think, attribute to other, and no doubt much earlier, periods than those of the northern and Danish invasions. What the meaning and intention of the seven-ringed type may be is uncertain and difficult to ascertain; but, perhaps, some light may be produced hereafter regarding it, as future discoveries take place, which may assist and be useful in elucidating the theory of the weights and value of these relics, and which may prove beyond doubt, as

is asserted with great probability of truth, that they were at one period, and in early times, the current media, or the representatives of money and exchange."

Mr. Prim, on the part of Mr. Thomas Lane, exhibited a Kilkenny token which the latter gentleman had picked up, and which served to correct an error in the Catalogue of Dr. Aquilla Smith. Dr. Smith had given a token as struck in Kilkenny by Thomas Toole; but the only specimen which he had obtained was imperfect



as to the first letter of the surname, and he felt uncertain whether the name might not be Doole. However, the more perfect specimen now found by Mr. Lane, and here represented, set the matter at rest, and proved that neither of Dr. Smith's conjectures had been correct, the name of the striker of the token being Thomas Poole. Mr. Prim also mentioned that Dr. Cane had obtained a new county of Kilkenny token, not known to Dr. Smith, and had intended to exhibit it at this Meeting, but was prevented by business from attending. Dr. Cane would exhibit it at their next Meeting.

The Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C., sent a continuation of his valuable series of communications descriptive of the stores of matter collected by the staff of antiquaries and draughtsmen employed on the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. It was as follows:—

"The following are the materials for the parish and county memoirs or histories of Wexford, as contained amongst the Records of the Ordnance Survey Office, and noted in the Catalogue:—I. Names from Down Survey (see Leinster, vol. ii.). II. Extracts, two volumes (see also page 33); Rough Index to Irish part, not arranged. III. Letters, two volumes. IV. Name Books, 183. V. Parish and Barony Names, one volume. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. County Index to Names on Ordnance Maps, one volume. VIII. Sketches of Antiquities, 68.

"I. The Leinster vol. ii. of the Down Survey contains the counties of Meath, Queen's, Westmeath, Wexford, and Wicklow. As often before remarked, this volume is a folio; and the Barony, Parish, and Townland Names of the county of Wexford are comprised within pages 487 to 697. There are five columns of an Index to the Barony and Parish Names, on pages 487, 488, 489. Each paged leaf is for the most part filled with Names and references to the Custom House Down Survey Maps, as I suppose from figures in some instances affixed. These figures, however, are not to be

found in the engraved map of Wexford, in the published Down Survey copies. Some of the leaves as numbered are found blank. There is only a list of names of townlands under the headings of the respective baronies and parishes in which they are situated. These lists appear to have been copied by clerks at the Custom House, Dublin, and to have been indexed at the Irish Ordnance Survey Office. II. The Extracts are comprised in two volumes, quarto. The first volume is a thick, rather loosely written MS. of 875 pages, all of which, however, are not written upon; and there are 51 additional pages of an Index to the matter contained, which are found unnumbered in the preceding part of the volume. The Extracts are from the 'Irish Calendar' (Irish and English character, referring to saints, supposed, or known, to have had a connexion with the county of Wexford); from the 'Annals of the Four Masters' (Irish text, with original English commentaries by Dr. O'Donovan); from Colgan's 'Acta Sanctorum' (English translation, with English comments, in pencil-marks, by Dr. O'Donovan, and almost obliterated—*en passant*, it would be desirable, on the transfer of the MSS. to the Royal Irish Academy, that some careful and competent scribe would retrace these characters in ink, as they are of much historic value, and may otherwise soon be completely effaced); from Archdall's 'Monasticon'; from Lanigan's 'Ecclesiastical History of Ireland'; from Gough's 'Camden'; from 'Liber Regalis Visitationis' (Diocesis Ffernensis); from O'Flaherty's 'Ogygia'; from Colgan's 'Trias Thaumaturga' (English translation); from Haliday's 'Keating' (Irish character, with English comments, by Eugene Curry); Index to Petty's 'Map of Wexford'; 'Names of Remarkable Places,' from Keating's MS. 'Hist. of Ireland,' part 2, R. I. A.; from 'Book of Lecan' (Irish character, and regarding the genealogies of Hy-Kinsellagh families, places, &c., transcribed by Eugene Curry); Index to Wexford Irish Extracts; from 'Book of Ballymote' (transcribed in Irish characters by Eugene Curry); from the 'Book of M'Firbiss' (*idem*); 'Life of St. Maodhoge,' MS. of R.I.A. (*idem*); from 'Book of Glendalough'; from 'Leabhar Breac,' (*idem*, and relating to the churches of South Leinster); from 'Book of Lismore' (Irish and English, transcribed by Eugene Curry). Next occurs an Index to the second volume of the 'Wexford Extracts,' which is, however, bound up with the first volume. It contains 112 unnumbered pages, and may be considered as supplemental to the numbered ones with which it is bound. Besides Extracts from some of the sources already indicated, there follow others from Camden's 'Annals,' from Moryson's 'Ireland,' from Brewer's 'Beauties of Ireland,' Abstracts of Grants of Lands and other Hereditaments, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, A.D. 1666–1684; 'An Act for the better Execution of his Majesty's Gracious Declaration for the Settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland; from MS. Hist. of Ireland,' p. 378, 391, R.I.A.; from 'History of the Irish Rebellion of 1641,' R.I.A.; from Mason's 'Parochial Survey,' and from Lodge's 'Peerage.' Vol. II. of the 'Wexford Extracts' is a thin quarto volume, of only 44 closely written pages. It contains solely the 'Vita Sti. Abbani Abbis,' from the MS. in Marsh's Library, classed V. 3, 1, 4. It is in contracted Latin and Roman characters, and accompanied by various readings from Colgan, in the shape of marginal comments. In the 'Catalogue of the Topographical Collection of the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin,' in



charge of the Civil Assistant and Chief Clerk, Joseph Mooney, we are referred to page 33, where we find a volume under the heading, 'Miscellaneous,' entitled, 'Extracts from the British Museum, Lambeth, Oxford, and Bodleian Libraries,' relating to the counties of Antrim, Armagh, 'Coleraine,' Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Leitrim, Longford, Louth, Monaghan, Queen's County, Tyrone, Wexford, and the Provinces of Ulster and Munster, 1 vol. The matter in this MS. which specially appertains to Wexford is found at pp. 71, 72, and refers to an account of a plantation there before 1622.<sup>1</sup> The rough Index to Irish part of Extracts, not arranged, is contained in 41 loose leaves of foolscap folio paper. The names are given in the Irish and English character, and the pages are loosely written, only on one side of each leaf. III. The county of Wexford Antiquarian and Topographical Letters are contained in two volumes, quarto. Vol. I. consists of 378 closely written pages, preceded by twenty additional pages of an Index thereto, admirably arranged and written by Mr. O'Lalor. It contains seven letters, all of which were written by Dr. O'Donovan. The first is dated, Gorey, May 20, 1840. The others are respectively dated, May 23rd and 25th, June 5th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, of the same year. In one of these letters, Dr. O'Donovan gives a pen-and-ink sketch of a doorway in Templeshambo old church. The artist, Wakeman, also illustrates these letters by eight beautiful pen-and-ink sketches of old remains. Vol. II. consists of 370 pages of tolerably closely written matter, preceded by nineteen additional unnumbered pages of Mr. O'Lalor's Index. The matter in this volume was jointly written by Messrs. O'Donovan and O'Keefe. The former gentleman dates one letter from New Ross, June 24, 1840; another letter bears the same date of the month and year,

<sup>1</sup> This quarto MS. was transcribed by Mr. O'Keefe in England, during the years 1836 and 1837, and contains 254 pages. The following is the prefixed Index to the matter it contains, with references to the subsequent pages:—I. Contents of MSS. in Bibl. Lamb. No. 630 (T. T. Tomus secundus), p. 2. II. Extract from "A Project for the Plantation of Six Counties in Ulster" (Coleraine), p. 8. III. Dowcra's "Certificate of Fines of House at the Derry," p. 13. IV. Specimen of Dowcra's "Relation of Service done in Ireland," p. 16; "Description of the Province of Ulster:—County of Louth, Down, Antrim, Monaghan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Coleraine, Armagh," pp. 18 to 27. V. "Project for the Plantation of Escheated Lands in 6 counties of Ulster," p. 30. VI. "Extract from Rates set on the Four Provinces of Ireland (Ulster, with Louth)," p. 32. VII. "Articles respecting the Plantation of Ulster, and Answers," p. 37. VIII. "Reasons for the Plantations in Ireland," p. 52. IX. "Considerations in the works of Plantations in Ireland," p. 64. X. "Account of 6 Plantations in Ireland before 1622:—Queen's County, Munster, Ulster, county of Wexford, Longford, Leitrim, &c.," pp. 65 to 76. XI.

"Genealogy of the Munroes," p. 79. XII. "A Letter from his Majesty to the Lord Deputy, on the Plantation of Ulster," p. 83. XIII. "List of Servitors thought meet to be Undertakers," p. 86. XIV. "Advices respecting the titles of the Bishop, Dean, and Inhabitants of Derry," p. 88. XV. "Summary View and Distribution of the 6 escheated counties of Ulster," p. 90. XVI. "Commissioners' Propositions respecting the Plantation of Termon and Erenach Lands," p. 91. XVII. Edgecombe's "Letter to Lord Burleigh on the Improvement of Irish Mines," p. 99. XVIII. "Certain considerations touching the Plantations in Ireland," p. 103. XIX. "Specimen of affinity between the Irish and Welsh languages," p. 120. XX. Winche's "Letter to Julius Caesar on the New Plantations in Ulster," p. 122. XXI. Bagnall's "Offer to make a walled town in Ulster," p. 124. XXII. "Relation and Report of English Works, Buildings, and Fortifications in Ulster:—Town of Coleraine, County of do., Castle of Limavady, Dungiven, Derry," pp. 131 to 144. XXIII. "Records concerning Rathlin and Lands adjoining possessed by M'Donnell," p. 148. XXIV. "Instructions given to Dowcra by the Lord Deputy and

without assigning the exact locality from which it was written. Mr. O'Keefe gives no date or locality throughout the lengthened contribution he returns to the Office, on the various parishes of the county of Wexford. This would appear, however, to have been written during the month of July, 1840, as I find from one date of Dr. O'Donovan, who intersperses various remarks throughout the treatise. Mr. O'Keefe gives one or two rough pen-and-ink traces of old remains in his MS. Towards the close of vol. ii. are seven traces of maps of the county of Wexford, the *first* taken from Mercator's 'Atlas;' the *second*, do.; the *third* from Speed's 'Ancient Map,' 1610; the *fourth*, do.; the *fifth*, Map of county of Wexford, from Down Survey; the *sixth* from the Railway Map of county of Wexford; the *seventh*, a coloured hand-traced Map of the county of Wexford, with the names of a few localities marked in the Irish character. IV. The Name Books, 183 in number. Their contents and form have been described in former letters. V. The parish and barony names of Wexford are comprised in a quarto volume of 155 pages. On the top of every alternate page, we have the name of the parish or barony, given by Dr. O'Donovan in the Irish character, with its English signification. In some instances the parishes only bear an English nomenclature. The volumes corresponding with the present MS. have been also described fully, in previous communications. VI. The Memorandums, in one volume, quarto, of 477 pages, with an Index of 16 pages, double columns, in addition and preceding them, may also be well conceived from former descriptions. This volume is, however, particularly valuable from the number of traces, maps, and inscriptions it contains, besides the several interesting printed extracts, taken from the 'Wexford Conservative' newspaper, referring to

Council," p. 150. XXV. "Instructions given to Covert," p. 160. XXVI. Bramhall's "Account of Improvements in the Province of Armagh:—Letter to the Archbishop, Improvements in the See of Armagh, Advowsons gained to the Crown in do., Rental of the Archbishopric of do., Improvements in the Diocese of Derry, Rental of the Bishopric of do." pp 175 to 184. XXVII. Dowcra's "Relation of Service done in Ireland," p. 187. XXVIII. Bodley's "Certificate concerning Forts and Garrisons:—Newtown, Dunlalong, Derry, Culmore, Killybegs," pp. 223 to 225. XXIX. "Grant of an Erenachy by Milo, Archbishop of Armagh," p. 226. XXX. "Grant of the Supervisorship of the Shannon to Waterhouse by Q. Elizabeth," p. 228. XXXI. "Articles of Covenant for building houses in Derry and Coleraine," p. 230. XXXII. "Orders and Instructions to Dowcra, appointed to reside at L. Foyle," p. 232. XXXIII. "The 5 antient best Towns in Ireland," p. 235. XXXIV. "Names of Servitors and Natives in the Precincts of Kilmacrenan," p. 236. XXXV. "Antient Estates of the Bishopricks of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher:—Derry, Coleraine, Iuishowen, Tyrone," pp. 239 to 243. XXXVI. "Notice

of a Book in the Bibl. Bodl., containing various Irish tracts," p. 244. XXXVII. "Table of Contents of a MS. in the Bibl. Bodl. signed G. Carew," p. 245. XXXVIII. "Mother's Confession to the Bishop of Derry of O'Doherty's Treason," p. 246. XXXIX. "List of some Ormond Papers, in the Bibl. Bodl." p. 248. XL. "Names of Derry Corporation in 1660," p. 249. XLI. "List of some Rawlinson MSS. in the Bibl. Bodl." p. 251. These extracts are interspersed with some private letters of P. O'Keefe to Thos. A. Larcom, Esq., relative to his own progress in the work of transcription, and they are bound into the same volume. In my notice of the Queen's County Ord. MSS., I referred to this volume before, without having had the opportunity of seeing it, as it was then in the custody of the Under-Secretary for Ireland, Lieut.-Col. Larcom. It has since been returned to the Office, and I have here given a general description of the MS. and of its contents, to save the necessity of a more particular notice when I shall next have occasion to refer to it. It will be observed, from the foregoing Index, that it contains several curious pieces, especially illustrative of the history of the Ulster province.

the old castles, ruins, &c., of the county, which were written by Herbert Hore, Esq. VII. The County Index to Names on Ordnance Maps is in one folio volume of 237 pages, as I find on counting them, for they are unnumbered. This volume, like all of its class, is drawn up on a uniform plan, for reference to the engraved maps, in the order of townlands, baronies, and parishes, pasted with the slips of paper, inserted on each page. The townlands run in regular alphabetical order, from the commencement of the volume to the end. VIII. The Sketches of Antiquities in the county of Wexford are as follows:—1. The Abbey of Ferns, from the east. 2. The castle of Ferns, from the east, and underneath is sketched a window in the south-eastern door. 3. Part of a stone cross in the church of Ferns. 4. Three sculptured stones in the churchyard on the island of Beg Erin. 5. Castle on the Lady's Island. 6. Church at Bannow. 7. The old church of Ard-Columb, from the west. 8. The towers at Ballycearny, from the Enniscorthy side. 9. The Three Bullet Gate, New Ross. 10. The Castle in the townland of Rathmacnee. 11. Castle of the Deeps, on the Slaney. All of the foregoing sketches are exquisitely traced in ink, on sheets of quarto letter-paper, by W. Wakeman. They were executed by this artist, a pupil of Dr. Petrie's, in the summer of 1840, as appears by the dates on many of them. They are all close imitations of Mr. Petrie's style of landscape drawing, and if accurately engraved would strikingly resemble the beautiful woodcuts in the 'Round Towers and Ancient Architecture of Ireland,' so admirably written and splendidly illustrated by the gentleman last-named. In addition to the foregoing drawings, I must enumerate:—12. Tintern Abbey. 13. Dunbrody Abbey. 14. The Tower of Dun-Galf. 15. Castle of the Deeps. 16. Doorway of the Church of Mayglass. 17. Tomhaggard old Church. 18. The Church of Bannow. 19. Tomhaggard Church—a second view. 20. Adamstown Castle. 21. East gable of Mayglass Church. 22. Chapel of Killane Castle. 23. Danes' Castle. 24. Baldwinstown Castle. 25. The interior of the Church at Bannow. 26. The Fair Gate, New Ross. 27. Buttermilk town and Salmon-weir. 28. The Abbey of Clonmines. 29. The Church of Killog. 30. Danes' Castle, second view. 31. Butlerstown Castle. 32. Mountgarret Castle. 33. The old Castle of Coolahue. 34. Ballyteigue Castle. 35. Kilbrennan Church. 36. The Three Bullet Gate, Ross. 37. The old Castle of Taghmon. 38. Church on the Lady's Island. 39. Lady's Island Chapel, from the west. 40. The Castle on Lady's Island. 41. The Castle on the Lady's Island, second view. 42. Stones on the Island of Beg Erin. 43. St. Ivor's Church. 44. Church Town over Hook. 45. Killane Castle. 46. Ballykearny Castle. 47. The old Church of Drona, near Killane. 48. The Tower of Killaggin. 49. Hilltown Castle, the country seat of Jack Sheppard, Esq. 50. Mulrankin Castle. 51. The Castle of Scar. 52. The Cross of St. Mun, Taghmon. 53. The Church of Kilcohen. 54. Kilmacnee Church. 55. The Castle of Slade. 56. The Church of Kilcavin. 57. St. Vouk's Church, near Carn. 58. The Church of Moyglass. 59. Kilmannin Castle. 60. The Tower of Clow East. 61. The Castle of Lingenagh, at Little Limerick. 62. Castle in the townland of Rathmacnee. 63. The Castle of Baldwinstown, a second view. 64. Teamul Patrick. 65. Ferry Carrig. 66. Castle of Ferns. 67. Stone Cross in Ferns churchyard. 68. Part of a cross, Ferns churchyard. The

foregoing sketches are on drawing paper, from 8 by 12, to 12 by 20 inches in size. They are executed in pencil or Indian ink by W. Wakeman, apparently in the summer and autumn of 1840, as may be gleaned from the dates appended to some of them.

"In closing this communication I might as well add the announcement, for the information of the Members of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, that in a short time the greater part of the MSS. of the Irish branch of the Ordnance Survey Office will be transferred from Mountjoy Barracks, in the Phoenix Park, to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. About the latter part of June, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, Lieutenant-Colonel Larcom, and the Rev. James H. Todd, D.D., S. F. T. C. D., were at the Office in the Phoenix Park, making the necessary arrangements previous to the removal of the MSS. The Name Books, Parish and Barony Name Books, Memorandums, and County Indices to Names on Ordnance Maps of the various Irish counties, must necessarily be left at the Ordnance Survey Office I believe, as they will be required by the officials there employed; and besides, they are not particularly interesting to antiquaries, however valuable to topographical investigators. All the other volumes and memoir papers, I believe, will be removed to the Royal Irish Academy, where they will be more accessible to its members and to literary men. It has been arranged that the Memoir Papers will be bound; and Lieutenant-Colonel Larcom also intends to have many, if not all, of the other volumes carefully rebound. It would be well, also, that some of the ancient maps of Dr. O'Donovan in the Office, should be mounted on linen and rollers, as at present they remain on chart-paper only, and are, consequently, liable to injury, even with the greatest care bestowed on them, whilst being consulted or used. As the drawings of antiquities are of various sizes, they cannot be conveniently bound into the volumes of Letters they are intended to illustrate, however desirable such an arrangement might otherwise be. They should, however, be cased or bound in suitable portfolios, with tissue-paper between each drawing, to preserve the pencilled outlines. At present they are merely tied in separate parcels of stout blue paper. The Letters and Extracts, with the Memoir Papers, should be indexed in instances where this has not yet been done. I am quite sure that all these matters of detail will be attended to, so far as practicable. The necessary permission has been obtained from the Government for the removal of the Ordnance MSS., and the preliminary arrangements have been commenced for that purpose, as Captain George A. Leach, the present talented and efficient Superintendent of the Irish branch of the Survey, returned from London last June, furnished with the requisite instructions. The writer cannot allow this opportunity to pass without placing on record his grateful acknowledgments for the uniform courtesy and kind attentions of this gentleman on all occasions, and for the earnest desire he has constantly manifested to afford him every facility requisite for the furtherance of his particular pursuits. I feel very many obligations, also, to the subordinate officials of the Department for their ready zeal and intelligence in furnishing much of the information contained in the several communications prepared for the pages of this 'Journal.'"

The Rev. J. Graves said he was sorry to find that all hope of the Government ever continuing the publication of the County Histories of Ireland was at an end; and as this was the case it was, perhaps, well that the materials, collected at so much expense to the nation, should be rendered more accessible to the public than they hitherto had been. It was sad to find our Government relinquishing the elucidation of our national history and antiquities, whilst the ruling powers of every other nation in Europe were employing the literary talent of their respective communities on works of this nature.

Mr. Carter, C. E., suggested that as the Government had relinquished the work, the various counties ought to take it up, and each carry out the publication of the materials applying to its own district. As regarded the county of Kilkenny, the Secretaries of this Society would, no doubt, be willing to edit the historical portion: for his part he would undertake the geological portion; some other gentleman might be found willing to take in hand the natural history of the county; and thus the whole might be completed, if the necessary funds could be procured.

The Rev. J. Graves observed that the latter would be the grand difficulty, as such a project would require at least £2000 for its realization.

Mr. Carter admitted that under these circumstances the scheme was hopeless.

The Very Rev. Chairman asked might not some effort still be made to induce the Government still to continue the work.

Mr. Graves said everything possible had been done with Government, and the last move of transferring the materials to the Royal Irish Academy showed that they were determined to throw it on private enterprise, if it was to be done at all.

The following paper was then submitted to the Meeting.

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STATE-CRAFT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, AS ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF DOCUMENTS FROM HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY, ESQ.

THE compiler of the following pages ventured, in a former page of this "Journal," to assert, that could O'Neill have hanged her Majesty's principal Secretary, the Lord Deputy, and some others, extant documents, in the handwriting of these illustrious personages, would have been his warrant in all time to come for the justice of the deed. It is the purpose of the following pages to satisfy the

reader that these were not words thrown up idly into the air, but a sentence that must force itself upon the deliberate conviction of all men made acquainted with the correspondence habitually passing between the Minister of England and the men he employed to govern Ireland. In the language of the time, "to do her Highness good service" usually meant to murder somebody; and countless were the lives taken by treachery, and paid for with money out of the Queen's exchequer. No life was so often put to price, no murder so frequently undertaken, as that of Hugh O'Neill; but before proceeding to lay before the reader the various authorized attempts to assassinate this illustrious Irish chieftain, it will be well to dispose of a rumour, current and credited, of the design of the English Minister to destroy a man who, only less than O'Neill himself, caused him anxiety and alarm.

In the year 1599 all Munster, save a few port-towns, was in rebellion: James Fitz Thomas, the "sougane" Earl of Desmond, at the head of all the Geraldines, and with a numerous body of O'Neill's bonaghts, fresh from the victory of the Blackwater, occupied all the open country to within a mile or two of the walls of Cork. The Clancarties were at the time without an acknowledged chief, for the Earl of Clancar was recently dead, and the man whom every gentleman of his race and alliance would gladly have elected as Mac Carthy More in his place, was a prisoner in England. That a sept, numbering many thousand men, occupying all Desmond, all Carbery, great part of Kerry, and reaching to within a few miles of the city of Cork, could not remain idle whilst their neighbours, almost to a man, were in action, was manifest. Had the English prisoner possessed less influence with the minor chieftains of his race, or had they despaired of his liberation, there can be no doubt but they would at once have elected a chieftain, and burst, with a common and hereditary impulse, into rebellion. The late Earl of Clancar, though leaving no son legitimate, had given to his country a brood of bastards, foremost amongst whom in daring, in defiance of the Queen's authority, and in hatred of the very name of an Englishman, was Donell Mac Carthy. The character of this man was well known to the cabinet of Elizabeth: he had broken prison, been for years an outlaw, committed many murders, preyed towns, and burned churches, and was the terror of every "undertaker" who had ventured to settle within the remote districts of his fathers' country. Seldom went a despatch to England without a recital of his evil deeds; yet, though the "undertakers" hunted him as they would a wolf, and the Queen's horsemen were out for weeks upon his track, Donell, with a fluctuating force of loose swords, defied them all, and for years contrived to luxuriate upon the cattle of his English neighbours, to hang an occasional stray Englishman, and to light the horizon on dark winter evenings with the blazing stacks and rural settlements

of the men who had hunted him during the long days of summer. It may be supposed that such a man was not likely to miss the opportunity which troubled times would throw in his way: nor did he, for as soon as James Fitz Thomas proclaimed himself Earl of Desmond, Donell declared himself Mac Carthy More. But he encountered an obstacle which he had not probably foreseen,—the gentlemen of Desmond were neither bandits nor savages, and they scorned to acknowledge such a man for their chief. Donell appealed to O'Neill, and O'Neill, considering himself as little less than King of Ireland, declared him head of his sept. This open defiance of the Queen's authority brought to speedy maturity a design which had for some time occupied the thoughts of Sir Robert Cecil. Florence Mac Carthy was at the time at court, though nominally a prisoner, and was a suitor for the inheritance of his father-in-law, the late Earl of Clancar. As soon as the tidings of Donell's proceedings reached England, Cecil at once sent for Florence, provided him with letters patent granting him the whole of Mac Carthy More's territory, and sent him to Ireland to wrest his country out of the hands of Donell. A very short time sufficed for this able man to drive the bastard and a few desperate followers beyond the limits of Desmond. Donell repaired to the camp of the "sougane" Earl, and every clansman of Muskerry, Desmond, and Carbery withdrew from it. Sir Robert Cecil was destined before long to discover that he had sent into Munster as astute a politician as himself, and a far abler administrator than any of the authorities to whom that province was intrusted. Florence Mac Carthy accomplished speedily and completely the purpose for which he had received his freedom: rebellion was extinguished throughout his country; not a gentleman of his race was in action; and, what was more surprising, neither O'Neill nor the "sougane" Earl uttered a word of remonstrance against the withdrawal of his entire sept from open support of the cause on which they had themselves staked everything. Florence, after a few weeks spent at the seat of government, and having gained the entire confidence of Sir Henry Power and Sir Warham St. Leger, the Commissioners to whom the government had fallen on the death of Sir Thomas Norreys, retired into the depths of his own impenetrable country; and how he occupied himself there was utterly unknown in Cork, and little suspected by Cecil. It was not until Sir George Carew was sent as Lord President to Munster that aught of him was known with certainty in England. Cecil then learned, to his astonishment and dismay, that the man who had arrived there, after eleven years of exile, without a follower, had, within a space of less than six months, so organized the martial resources of his country that every man was in arms, that he had found means to hire a considerable body of trained soldiers from Connaught, and could at a moment's notice assemble three thousand

weaponed men, who would ask no reason but his will for joining with the Queen or the Queen's enemies. He wrote to Carew, and his letters were in phrase modest and loyal, but in meaning lofty and independent: he declared that he would maintain his country in tranquillity, and that unless the Queen's forces attacked his people, as they had done in the latter days of Sir Henry Power, he would observe a strict neutrality. The Lord President was too wise to use threats which he could not carry into effect, and Florence too wary to be enticed from his own fastnesses by cajolements. His position paralyzed all movement in Carew, who dared not venture to take the field against the Geraldines, lest the weaponed men of Desmond should forget their neutrality.

At this time there got abroad a startling and revolting rumour that "Cecil and Carew had found a man to poison Florence," and the world believed it; for the characters of these two ministers were known thoroughly, and the wretch who had undertaken to do this foul deed had himself avowed it. Carew denied his complicity in the crime, and the reader will see with how much warmth and indignation Sir Robert Cecil now called God to witness *his* innocence of this rumoured wickedness.

1600. October 15. CECIL to CAREW.

"Yt remaineth nowe that I saye something to you concerninge Anias who hath neuer deceaued me, for I haue held hym a villaine. Fyrst y<sup>e</sup> Lord God doth knowe y<sup>e</sup> my sowle neuer had the thought to consente to y<sup>e</sup> poysoninge of a dogge, muche lesse of a man. Treu yt ys y<sup>e</sup> to take a rebbell alyue or to bringe theire hedd I was contented to hear his promyse, though for myne owne pte I neuer beleived hym. I do therefore praye you and coniure you, by all y<sup>e</sup> loue you beare me to finde y<sup>e</sup> meanes to take hym, and seeinge he hath otherwaies ofended y<sup>e</sup> lawe, bee assured of this from me that y<sup>e</sup> muste bee his hanginge, and publike confessyon y<sup>e</sup> must clere us from this odious ymputacōn. Remember S<sup>r</sup> what I wryte, I praie you, and thinke of yt, for there ys no other waye to clere yt. And knowe this from me that when you haue hym yf you kepe hym long alyue he will escape from you bye one meanes or other; send hym not oue<sup>r</sup> therefore, nor spare hys lyfe, for then yt wilbe thought whatsoeu<sup>r</sup> he sayeth to clere us that yt is to saue his neck.

"London 15. Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1600."

1600. November 8. CECIL to CAREW.

"I expect daiely to understande what you haue don w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> wicked and horrible wretch Anias, who hath giuen owt (as yt semeth) so vyle an untrewth of you and me concerning Florence; of w<sup>h</sup> I protest to y<sup>e</sup> Lord I neuer entertayned the thought; I trust therfore you will come by him, by one means or other, y<sup>e</sup> he maye paie y<sup>e</sup> ransome of suche a vyllanie."



It would appear from the former of these letters that the crime which Sir Robert Cecil viewed with so much horror was not the *murdering* a man, but the *poisoning* him! The distinction seems a little fanciful, but we will accept it as the conscientious rule of the Minister in such cases, and proceed to examine whether this repugnance to the use of poison, so solemnly professed, was the single weak point in a strong character, or whether occasionally—once at least—Sir Robert Cecil could “be content to listen” to a project for poisoning; and that under circumstances, both as to the actor and the mode of accomplishing it, which rendered the crime more revolting and wicked than such deeds commonly are. But we will, in the first instance, endeavour to clear the character of the minister from this calumny respecting his dealings with Florence.

In the January Number of this “Journal” allusion was made to a countryman of ours who had accomplished the surprising feat of breaking out of her Majesty’s Tower of London, and had been recaptured by the Mayor of Cork: that man was John Annias, “the wicked and horrible wretch” of the above correspondence. There are few compositions extant so curious as this man’s letters, and it would be to do his memory an injustice, and to deprive the reader of considerable entertainment, were we to tell his story in any language but his own. The well-known policy of Elizabeth had roused a spirit of vindictiveness amongst a host of exiles, which led to plots of various kinds, some to destroy portions of the English fleet, and others to murder the Queen. The contrivers of these schemes kept themselves safely beyond the reach of the English Ministers, but their agents seldom escaped so well. In 1594 the English cabinet received information of one of these conspiracies, and before long succeeded in capturing several of the wretched men who had been sent to England to murder the Queen. Amongst these was Patrick Cullen, a fencer, and “John Annias, an Irishman.”<sup>1</sup> They speedily found themselves inmates of her Majesty’s Tower, and in due time were summoned into the august presence of the Lords of the Privy Council. Both men readily confessed all they knew, and from their avowals it appeared that the main contriver of the design was a foreigner of the name of Jacques de Franceschi. Cullen was hanged, and Annias offered “to expiate his former faults by doing her Majesty good service.” His service was not immediately required: eventually, by his own story, the price of his forgiveness was the poisoning of Florence. But a very curious part of this story is that an attempt was made to implicate Florence himself in this very design against the Queen’s life. Jacques had formerly been an officer in the army in Ireland, and served with Florence against the Earl

<sup>1</sup> Patrick Cullen was an Irishman also, but in the documents of the day—why, it is difficult to discover—Annias has the designation to himself.

of Desmond: Cullen the fencer had actually been of the household of Florence, and "wore his cloth;" but although several years had passed since that time, his enemies quickly suggested the probability of his knowledge of this plot. Most happily for the fame of Florence, a single sentence in the examination of Cullen proves not only that he knew nothing about it, but that the fear of forfeiting his good opinion almost withheld that wretched man from consenting to connect himself with it. Annias shall now speak for himself:—

(Domestic: Eliz. 1594.)

"TO THE LORDES OF HER MATIE MOST HONNORABLE PRYVIE CONSELL.

"My very good Lordes, may yt please the same. John Annyas Irysmen, and a prysoner towe yeres at the Tower, in great myserie, noe clodes at all excepte towe shurtes M' Lyftenant gave me, neverthesse, I have a gyfte of God, even pacience yn afflyxion: the cause of my faultes was a cartaing opinyon yn Relygion; and be perusinge the Beble nowe a yere I ame fully satsysfied, and reformed. To mack amendes for me faultes paste, beholde my Lordes, I ame content to venter my lyffe to doe God and her Majestie great sarvice, and worthie to be comended, which is to dyscover playnly all those in England which shoulde tack parte w<sup>h</sup> the Spanysse Kinge againste her Majestie, be thes reson followynge. All the Kynges bessenes, eyther secreat or knowen passes the Secretary in handes; and for hes dyschardge, as allso the Kynge to knowe how his money and bessenes goes, all is registred yn a boock, a bryeff notation of all bessenes; which boock remeanes alwayes yn the office called the Scritoria, at the lyfte hande goinge in to the courth of the Secretaries house; an other register boock answerable to the same at Madrid, and relation send be the post to Spaynge; the key of this office the under Secretarie kepes at Bruxeles, caled Diego Geffrey a Spaynarde, one that I ame verie well aquanted w<sup>h</sup>: all Ynglyshmen yn England, eyther nobleman or gentleman whatsoever estat he be, what number of men he is hable to mack use, and what money he hath receved of the Kynge, or bestowed eyther oppon hes chylidren or kynsmen at Rome, Remes, Lowayn or Doway, and what place or provence yn England, or yf he be alyve or deade, or put to death for persecution, as they name it soe; and all those that pays trybuyt to the Queene, as I hearde amongst them ther, and what satsysfaction the Kynge mackes them therof, the day and yere, Behold my Lordes all is noted in thes reister boock! I have seen w<sup>h</sup> my eyes Holte and Gordon the Scote, verie often after secret conference w<sup>h</sup> the Secretarie then confer in the Scritoria office w<sup>h</sup> thes Register boock, eyther to write uppe mor names converted be them, or crosse outhe such as be dead or put to death. Seinge I knowe thes to be true, and that I have bene well aquanted in thes office, I shall undertack, and venter my one lyffe, and to mack amendes for me faultes to wyn credit: I shall, be Godes helpe, w<sup>h</sup>out fayle brynge thes boock to yo' honors handes w<sup>h</sup> all dyligence. Yf it shall please your honnours to hawe bannysse me publicklye out of thes realme w<sup>h</sup> dysgrace, so that yt may be knowen ther manifestly, then I writ a letter to the Conde de Fontis that yn all hast his Excellencie should send my avarant that I might saffly

w'houth any let stay or molestation to me parson for anny cause whatsom-  
 ever, but to come and goe saff to confer secreatlye w'h his Excellencie for  
 great sarvice for the Kynge: then I would showe howe I have sarved the  
 Kynge along tyme, and howe I have bene prysoner towe yeres, and howe  
 I have *brocken outh* and nowe banysed for the Catholick cause, and howe  
 I have proveded of my one frendes and contremen y<sup>t</sup> I dare trust as my-  
 self, six marinere talle fellows sarwyng yn the Queenes shyppes, and  
 howe I have good experience yn mackyng of firewoorckes; myself in mar-  
 ryner is apparell, w'h these sixe w'h a smal pennas would fire and burne  
 twentie of the Queenes best shyppes be night, escape also oure selves  
 easlye; and knowing that the Kynge hathe ben often dysceved of money  
 for secreat sarvices, I aske noe money, but at my one chardges I shall  
 brynge to passe, and after the execution of the sarvice then the Kinge to  
 reward me accordyngly. Yn this offer he shall have a good opinion of the  
 matter, then I wyll mack aquatance yn the Scrittoria office, and cast an  
 ey wher the Regester boock leys, yn what place; then I shall have a  
 handfull of dowe abouth me, and clape the key of the office doure fast in  
 the dowe, that y<sup>r</sup> prent remayne styll, and cause a key to be mad of the  
 same; tackinge leve w'ith hes excellencie before hand, and provydinge a  
 rope double the heyght of the walle, that I myght drawe the rope backe  
 agayne to myself, I wyll provyde a supper for a dosen persons, gentel-  
 wemen, musick, and thes undersecretarie envyted before hand: abouth  
 seven a'clock, w'h a black lantern under my clocke; open this office, and  
 fynd owth thes Regester boock, then come to entertayn the company, and  
 after everye man to hes rest and lodginge: I wyll tack the reddie wey  
 over the walles w'ith the rope provyded, and goe all night eyther the wey  
 to Lyedge and to Flyssing in Zeland, or to Calles; and thus I undertack  
 to brynge thes boock w'h me, and w'houth doubt I shall brynge it to passe,  
 for ther shall no boddie be hable to bewray my; and for the great zeale to  
 her Mag<sup>ties</sup> sarvice, and fervent desyr to mack mendes for my faultes past,  
 to get credit, I wyll assure thes my offer; and for securitie, and please yor  
 honnours, I have to brederen of one father and mother, the one maryed,  
 yf they be alyve I knowe not, thes eight yeres I never harde frome them,  
 the unmaryed I wyll put hem hostadge: that yn my ther shalbe noe fault.  
 Beholde my Lordes, not for lowe to have lybertie I mack thes offer, but for  
 to mack amendes for my faults! *I have discovered to M<sup>r</sup> Lyftenant howe  
 I myght escape and goe unknowen to my keper verye easlye*; and please yo<sup>r</sup>  
 honnors thes sarvice must be done yn the longe nightes, for manny reasons  
 and yncovenyences should happen. Yf thes sarvice please yor honnors  
 not, my humble request is to have clodes to put of the wenter; and yf  
 yor honnors wyll showe my favoure, that I may goe to church to sarve  
 God! I shall mack meanes to relyve my vantes mysel. The wyll of God  
 be done! for to her Magestie and to yor honnors it is geven to comand,  
 and to me to be pacient and obedient, and I shall pray &c.

“JOHN ANNYAS.”

Sir Robert Cecil had many remarkable correspondents, many  
 who, with better knowledge of his character, could propound darker  
 crimes in more polished and direct phrases, for he corresponded with  
 Carew, and, as will be seen, with William Atkinson, and Cambus,

and Sir Geffry Fenton ; but we may doubt whether on his long list was to be found one more amply gifted by nature with the true genius of an agent of police than this uneducated man, who could devise so complicated an apparatus, involving an outbreak from his prison, a long foreign travel, the association with ambassadors and secretaries, a banquet with "gentlewomen and musick," the manufacture of false keys, the semblance of burning an English fleet, and the bloodless issue of all this—the purloining of a book ! It would seem that the letter containing this remarkable project was written in the year 1596, two years after his capture and trial ; for he asserts that he had been for that time a prisoner : hence we may conclude that the offer "to do her Majesty great service and worthy to be commended," which he had made when first called before the Privy Council, had dwelt in the recollection of the minister, and that he had been detained in the Tower till opportunity should render his services desirable. By referring to the Tower Bills we are fortunately able to acquaint ourselves with the domestic life of this remarkable man during the two years of his abode in that state prison. We shall see that not only was he regularly fed, washed, and shaven, but that he was taken care of in his sickness, and periodically supplied, as he had petitioned, with "clodes to put of the wenter." During the earlier portion of these two years there had stood against his name the ominous marginal note, "to be proceeded with by Justice." This note after a while disappears ; his assiduity with "his Beble," and probably various colloquies with the Lieutenant of the Tower, duly reported to the minister, obtained the removal of this unpleasant memorandum. The letter last laid before the reader, which was in all likelihood the result of a growing tedium under his continued restraint, produced another effect strikingly perceptible in these Tower accounts. It will have been noticed that a portion of the scheme, there so minutely developed, involved his "breaking out of the Tower, and going away knowen to his keeper very easily, which he had made knowen to Mr. Lieutenant." This portion of the plan was not lost upon the professional mind of Mr. Lieutenant, and we find that, pending the ministerial meditation on this design, that functionary thought it not amiss to take the precautions sufficiently indicated by an outlay for shackles, bolts, new hinges, and repairs to the prison door. The following are the extracts from the Tower Bills above alluded to :—

"The demaunds of Sir Michael Blount K<sup>t</sup>. Lieutenant of her Majesty's Tower of London for the Dyet and other chardges of prisoners in his custodie from thAnnunciation of our Blessed Ladye the Virgin till the 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1595 then next following.

John Annias an Irishman.	}	Item for the diett and chardges of		
To be pceded w <sup>h</sup> by Justice.		John Annias frome the said 25 <sup>th</sup> of March 1595 untill the 20 <sup>th</sup> of June then nexte		
followinge, beinge 14 whole weekees at the rate of xiiij <sup>s</sup>				
the weeke for himselfe . . . . .		viiij <sup>s</sup>	xiiij <sup>s</sup>	iiiiij <sup>s</sup>
Item for fewell and lights dureinge that tyme at vj <sup>s</sup>		viiij <sup>s</sup>		
the weeke . . . . .		iiiiij <sup>s</sup>	vi	viiij <sup>s</sup>
Item for his kepe that tyme at vj <sup>s</sup>		viiij <sup>s</sup>	iiiiij <sup>s</sup>	vi
the weeke . . . . .				viiij <sup>s</sup>
Item for a Dubblett & hose of fustyan for him . . . . .				xviij
Item for his washinge . . . . .				v
Item for stockyns & showes . . . . .			iiiiij <sup>s</sup>	vi <sup>s</sup>

The following quarter John Annias was still "an Irishman to be pceded w<sup>h</sup> by Justice," and cost her Majesty money for "twoe shurtes, twoe bandes." At the end of 1599 Annias and the whole Tower family were handed over by Sir Michael Blount to the parental care of Sir Drew Drurie, whose first anxiety was to review the wardrobe of Annias the Irishman,—no longer "to be pceded w<sup>h</sup> by Justice,"—and he at once provided him with "a dubblett, a payre of hose and a payre of shoes," and a whole suit of apparel, at a cost of 28s. But between "thAnnunciation of our Blessed Ladye in 1596 and the 24th of June then next followinge" occurred the suggestive outlay for—

"A Payre of manacles and for mendinge the shackles . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup>	vj
Item for ij staples, iij hinges and bowlt for a pryson dore . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup>	"

And so matters trained on with John Annias through the remainder of the time of Sir Drew Drurie, through the occupancy of Sir Richard Barclay, till the appointment of Sir John Peyton in June, 1599. He was still at her Majesty's charges, varying his costume from fustian to sheepskin, as the seasons altered, and subjected at times to the common lot of humanity,—falling sick. As if on purpose to prove to posterity how vigilant was the official solicitude for the care and comfort of unfortunate gentlemen under trouble in the Tower, an apothecary, a nurse, nay, a physician, were in prompt attendance; and the Irishman repaid all this care and cost by recovering, after a period of three weeks, his customary looks, health, and energy.

In the summer of 1599 it is manifest that a change of considerable importance was at hand for the prisoner, for we see in the account of Sir John Peyton the startling charge, "for apparell and other necessaries, of £5." No details are given, and it is the last time we meet with his name on the Tower books. So munificent an outlay diminishes our surprise that at our next meeting with him he is no longer "John Annias, an Irishman, but Mr. Annias, a gentleman, travelling from Cork to the court of London, for purposes of

his own," with a letter of recommendation from the Lord President of Munster to Sir Robert Cecil. In utter contempt of "shackels and prison dores," he had gone quite easily away from his state prison, had made a short visit to his native country, and was now in his new character repairing to London to make a friendly call on "Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State and one of her most honourable Privy Council."

1600. *April 30.* CAREW to CECIL.

"Sir this bearer M' Anias is returned into England to furnishe himselve of some necessaries wh he wants I have conferred with him and do like of his proiects he promises to retourne presently, wh I beseeche you to expedite, And so referringe my lardger discourses to the dispatche wch now I haue in hand do humblye rest

"Your honnours most bounden

"GEORGE CAREWE.

"*Shandon Castle*  
*this 30 of Aprill, 1600.*"

Total obscurity shrouds the proceedings of Mr. Annias for several months; all that we can discover is, that he went and came between Cecil and Carew, and that his usual abode was in the city of Cork, the Presidential residence. How, with some knowledge of the characters of his ministerial friends, he should have permitted himself to invent so unaccountable a calumny concerning them, as that they had employed him to poison Florence Mac Carthy, is inconceivable. Most unfortunately, the letter of Sir George Carew, in which he made known the currency of this scandal to Sir Robert Cecil, is lost. The good genius of Mr. Annias was, however, bent upon keeping him from shedding the blood, whether of the Queen or the Queen's enemies. In March he was a gentleman with a property; in the October following he was "a wicked and horrible wretch," whose hanging could alone clear the good names of the Queen's ministers from so foul a calumny. It would seem that Annias had some instinctive conjecture that, after his unguarded speeches, his native city was scarcely the safe and pleasant residence it had been before, for he suddenly disappeared, and a whole twelvemonth elapsed before Cecil heard more about him. What fatal allurements induced him to venture again within the sovereignty of John Meade, the Mayor, we know not; certain it is that he did so, and that he was captured! And in what evil plight!! Poorly arrayed, barefooted, altogether disguised from his wonted attire; scarcely to be known as a gentleman, his sumptuous Tower outfit in rags, his very name worn out, and a subject of shame to him!

1601. *March 6.* JOHN MEADE, MAYOR OF CORK, to CECIL.

"I am allsoe bold to aduertize y' hon' that one John Anias latelie there restrayned in the Towre, was found uppon the walls of this cittie, poorelie arraied, barefooted, and altogether disguised from his wonted attire: whou being brought before me, I examyned his name, and he said his name was John Magnes, whom I did know by eing him narrowlie, and comytted him to the gaole, where he is to remayne till he have his tryall by law, w'h whose aprehension I have acquaynted the L President, for w'h he was verie thankfull. Yo' honnor hath received notice heretofore of his behaviour since his last depture from thence, wherefore I thinke yt unnecessary to repeate the pticulers."

This letter of the Mayor of Cork reveals to us something more than the mere apprehension of one John Annias, and the thankfulness with which the Lord President received him from the hands of his captor. The Mayor had been acquainted with the prisoner's *wonted* attire, and had kept the minister informed of his behaviour during the time he had spent in Cork; to escape from this inconvenient observation had probably been the cause of his abrupt departure from that city.

The reader would now conclude that Annias and his project were alike at their termination; but a little acquaintance with the writings of Sir Robert Cecil induces us to hesitate in the very literal acceptation of his professions, whether of favour or resentment. The next, and the last, that is heard of Annias is a plaintive sound of supplication from the Castle of Dublin, whither, instead of to the hangman, Carew had sent him. He humbly prays to be allowed to walk abroad, daily, for an hour or two with his keeper; for that his health was suffering for want of exercise and air. It is evident that to the last his enterprising mind was unsubdued, and that he had yet a project. No success has repaid my search after any further account of him; nor upon this, the feeblest of the cases against Cecil, would the writer of these pages have occupied so much valuable space, but that he found it impossible to resist the temptation to lay so curious a biographical sketch of a countryman before his reader. The declaration of Annias, that Cecil had employed him to poison Florence, is not sufficient to convict so eminent a man of so great a crime. Florence was rendered harmless by a baser, though not so bloody a crime; his captor was a bloodier, though, in a certain sense, not so base a man. To convict the English Minister of listening to a design to poison a rebel requires further proof than the obscure transaction in which he, Annias, and Carew, were engaged. His own hand has endorsed the letter, signed "William Atkinson," presently to be laid before the reader, and it will be seen, by the one that follows it, that the writer of the first had gone to Ireland, and that Cecil was impatient to know what he was about, and to have him back again in England. The

first of these letters is undated; fortunately, the one by Sir Robert Gardener has its date, 1597. Atkinson had then been known to him for two years. We may thus presume that the "project or practice" was submitted to Cecil in 1595, at which time the rage of Elizabeth against the arch-traitor O'Neill was in full fervour, and the following proclamation issued from the cathedral church of the Blessed Trinity at Dublin:—

"The Queenes Maiesties proclamacon against the Earle of Tirone, and other principall traytors in Vlster, confederate with him, and offer of pardon to such as haue bin by false perswasions allured by them to take their parts, and shall now relinquish them and submit themselues to her Maiesties mercie.

"Forasmuch as the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, hath heretofore of her great princely bountie aduanced Hugh O'Neile, the Sonne of one Mathew Ferdorogh O'Neile, a bastard sonne of Con O Neile commonly called Great O'Neile in Tyrone, to the noble dignitie of an Earle in this her realme of Ireland, and hath therewith endowed him with as large territories and possessions (or rather larger) than any other Earle in Ireland doth possesse: and also these many yeares allowed him yerely in readie mony out of her treasure the summe of one thousand markes sterling, towarde the better maintenance of his estate, and hath at his repaire into Englande first, giuen to him and to his heires by her highnesse Letters pattents, verie large possessions, and rule ouer sundrie her subiectes: yet neuertheless he hath since this his aduancement by many degrees, as one puffed up with pride and ambition, fallen from his dutie of allegiance, and hath committed sundrie foule murders, and other violent oppressions against her Maiesties good subiectes, refusing to answer to Justice for the same, as namely in murdering by violent hanging of one of Shane O'Neiles sonnes without anie processe of Justice, or any crime committed by him, he being borne of more noble parentes than the Earle himselfe, for which act he was in Englande pardoned by her Maiestie, upon hope, and firme promise of amendment. But since that time he hath againe by force taken two others of the said Shane O Neiles sonnes, holding them captiues in places unknowne in streight prison without anie order of Justice, and in danger also to be murdered at his will, refusing upon streight commandement, of her maiesties Lord Deputie, and counsell, to put them to libertie, or to haue them tried, by law. And for his further aspiring to liue like a tyrant ouer a great number of good subiects there in Ulster, owing him no seruice or dutie, he hath lately allured O Donnell the chieftaine of Tyreconnell (a man before well disposed) by matching with him in marriage, and whose father and predecessors haue alwaies bin loyal, and done good seruice to the Crowne of England, to enter into sundrie actions of rebellion, and hath in like manner comforted, and prouoked with aides of his brethren, and bastards, certaine other disobedient subiects, as Mac Gwirc chieftaine of Fermannagh, the traytor O Roirkes sonne, and sundrie of the Mac Mahounes of Monaghan, to inuade with open armies, diuerse countries in and neere to the English pale, burning whole townes and people, and spoiling of their goods. And in his further malice hath taken and razed her Highnes forte of Blackewater, and in his owne person



in open hostilitie with all his forces and adherents, hath of late assaulted, murdered and killed some of her maiesties souldiers being sent to reuite the garrison at Monaughan. And to the further accomplishment of this his trayterous minde to liue against law, and to attaine in his opinion to a soueraigntie of rule, as to be, as he would be, a Prince of Ulster, he hath also, partly by force, partly by false perswasions allured and drawne to concurre with him, in this his tyrannicall rebellion, a great part of the chieftaines in Ulster, who before liued in good peace, and obedience. For these causes although her Maiestie did, most graciously cause him in the beginning of this his defection, to be earnestly warned to change his course, and to returne to his dutie, and so to be receaued to grace, which he hath manifestly refused to do increasing dayly, by open actions of his confederates, his former rebellious intentions: Her Maiestie minding like a Soueraigne Prince ordained by God to rule her people that are obedient to law, with Justice and fauour, and such as willfully shall rebel, to suppress with armes, doth now upon the preparation of the Army, notesse to all her good subiects of all estates both English and Irish, the said Earle to be accepted the principall traytor and chiefe author and head of this rebellion lately stirred up by the foresaid confederates O Donnell, O Rourke, and the Mac Mahonnes, and a knowne practiser with Spaine and other her Maiesties enemies, willing and commanding all manner her subiects that haue aided, or accompanied him (and yet shall desire to liue peaceably in her fauour) to withdraw themselves from the said Traitor the Earle, and his complices, and to returne to their owne countries, as soone as they may escape from him and his companie, or within twelue dayes after this proclamation published upon the frontier of the English pale, and to withstand the said Traitor to the best of their power, and not to giue him anie aid of men or victuall. And when her Maiesties army shall enter into Ulster, if they shall come to the Lord Deputie, or to such as shall haue anie generall charge of her Maiesties armie, upon their submission, they shall haue pardon of their liues, goods, and landes by the Lord Deputies order from her Maiestie, as persons that haue been either forced or otherwise with false perswasions, abused, and brought into danger of Treason. And if anie of the said persons that haue ben so forced or allured by him to adhere to him, that were the seruants tenants or followers, of Sir Tirlogh Lenogh, whom her Maiestie accepteth and alloweth as a verie loiall noble subiect, shall returne frō the said Earle, and the other aforesaid traitors to the said Sir Tirlogh Lenogh, and ioyne with him in withstanding the said traitors, upon knowledge from Sir Tirlogh Lenogh whom he will commēd as men disposed to become good subiects, the same shall also haue like pardons, for so hath her Maiestie given full authority to the Lord Deputy to giue pardon to such persons comming to him or to the generall of her armie with submission to require pardon, or otherwise that he shall pursue with all force of armes, all such as shall continue in rebellion with the said Earle, or with O Donnell, O Rourke, or the Mac Mahonnes, that are knowne open rebels. Given at her Maiesties Castle of Dublin, the twelfth day of June in the seauen and thirtieth yere of her Maiesties most prosperous reigne.

“Imprinted in the Cathedrall church of the blessed Trinitie Dublin by William Kearney Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

1595.”

During the whole course of O'Neill's rebellion it would seem that every man was welcome to the minister or to the Lord Deputy, who had a scheme to murder him. Compared to such a project as that of Atkinson, the project of Annias was mild and venial! Compared to such a man, he was a very "speculum innocentiae."

"To the Right honorable S<sup>r</sup> Robert Cicill : one of here Mati most honorable privie Councell give this."

Endorsed in Cecil's writing:—

"Atkinsons lfe, the Priest y<sup>t</sup> discovered Tychburn, and was broght me by Mr. Fowler.

"Right honorable. Sithence I haue framed the primisses of a loyall myndd, I meane unfeinedlie, in verbo sacerdotis, to make a pfect periode, and to ioyn issue and a compleet conclusion to noe lesse effect, and albeit my creditt before your honour was called in question howe that I should haue abusedd your honour in playinge their goods, under pretence of search, by sayinge I was your man; with many other adiects, all which weare false, having as far as I doe remember when they would not search in such places, as I willed, I might use your honours nayme, by saying I would complain to Sir Robert Cicill, or the like, which I only uttered as I ame a Christian, and noe other, to my remembrance, and albeit having bereaved my selfe of million of frindds, in regard of the service I pformed, being odible to all Catholiques, of whome before I receyved verie large maintenance, and nowe onlie reliinge upon your honourable disposition, and gracious favour, I thought good to present unto your honour some platforme which I planted, vz. howe that I have obtained divers letters for Irlandd, one frome Mr. Blackwell, and another from father Walle,<sup>1</sup> alias Garnett, and from diverse others of the best creditt, in my commendations, for I haue made theme for to beleeeve howe I intend for to be a religious man, and of the order of S<sup>t</sup> Francis, and in regarde I ame of good acquaintance in Irland I make choise for toe be under Bishoppe Macraith, by the which letters, Right Honourable, I assure myself (so that there be verie greate secrecie used) for to pforme shortlie service worthie of a good rewardd, for it is most easie for to poysine Tirone through some poysined hoastes, the which in regard I shall be their where he haith continuall resort, I make noe doubt at all, as I shall be saved but to abbreviate the Traitors dayes, by that or other meanes, for the Bishoppe being a Franciscan frier, and all that entreth into that order in Irland, entreth under him, who is almost daylie with Tirone, and Father Nangle and Father Archer are his ghostlie fathers, unto whome I haue letters in my behalfe, and beinge verie well acquainted with them boithe, I shall without difficultie pforme my desyre, and for a reward I will onlie requier it, when the service is efected, saving your honourable woord, I would not seeme to come my selfe to your honour, least some should by fortune see mee,

<sup>1</sup> Whalley was Provincial of the Jesuits in England.

and therfor I sent my letter by Mr. Fowler, thus with my daylie praier, for your honours most pserous and longe life, I rest ever duringe breath to be commanded by your honour, before any man livinge, I protest

“Youre Honnours Continuall Orator

“WYLLIAM ATKINSONNE, PR.”

1597. GARDENER to CECIL.

“Rt honorable y<sup>r</sup> lres of the third of this present cam’ unto my hands beinge w<sup>th</sup> my L. deputye in the north not untill this 12 of July by w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>r</sup> honor requyreth my care in fyndinge out on’ Willm Adkynson’ late syrvant to Andrve Jenyson whose psone w<sup>th</sup> ill disposition’ is well knowne unto my self and unto S<sup>r</sup> Henry Wallopp by meane whereof I shalbe the better inabled to fynd him out (iff he be in this realme), but I have nyther sene nor muche hard of him thes last two yeares and more by a posteryt in your lres your honor wishe me pryvatly to acquayt my L. dept<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> the contents therof w<sup>ch</sup> I have donn and his Lp. w<sup>th</sup> my selfe are lykly to be longe absett we have directed o<sup>r</sup> lres unto S<sup>r</sup> Henry Wallopp who for fidelyt and best knowledge of the man is thought most fytt for this syrvice we have also added our opinō as well howe to fynd him as to send him o<sup>v</sup> beinge found, w<sup>ch</sup> shalbe endeoured effectually and so beinge manye wayes busied I am bould w<sup>th</sup> my dutye thus much to deliv<sup>r</sup> unto yo<sup>r</sup> honors consideracions, from the campe nere Armagh in Ulster this 14 of July 97

“Y<sup>r</sup> honors at comānd

“RO GARDENER”

Of the Rev. William Atkinson and his project we find no further certain trace. In 1603, when O’Neill was pardoned and at court in England, when every move he made, every man he spoke to, were reported to the minister, “a certain Robert Atkinson, dwelling near Richmond as Hipswell in Yorkshire,” presented himself before John Bird, a notary public, and voluntarily related as followeth:—

“That at his Majesty last being at Hampton, where he was a suitor, he saw one called Father Archer a Jesuit alight from his horse whereon he was well mounted, at the Earl of Tirones lodgings at Kingston, whom he forthwith saw introduced by one of the Earl’s servants, and conducted up to his lodging wherein his Lo. then was, and thither Archer often afterwards frequented, as he had formerly done at the Earls being lodged at Chelsea; somewhiles following the Earl to Court, and in company keeping of those Irish Knights and gentlemen which are in the Tower, and Sir Christopher Plounkit, Sir Edward Fitz Gerald and others of that nation in divers kinds of apparel, sometimes like a courtier, and otherwhiles like a farmer, or chapman of the country. Him he well knew in Ireland, where he saw him as chief commander over the Irish troops of rebels, horse and foot; for his own guard commanding as many as himself pleased, and for any murders, burnings, spoils, or other bloody actions that were to be exploited upon any of the English nation or favourers of the English govern-

ment; called commonly the Popes Legate, and Arch Priest over all others in the Provinces of Leinster and Munster, and also the O'Neils; or of others called Tyrones confessor, as he had been the Arch Dukes confessor of Austria; and in England is said to be the Earl's massing priest daily to execute his function of a Jesuit for masses, absolution and such like, as for others the Knights and Irish gentlemen with whom he is conversant however near unto the Kings court they may happen to be lodged . . . .

"At Kingston also he often saw in company of the before named Knights and gentlemen in the Tower, and that are their countrymen at liberty, a secular priest called Father Hussey, well horsed and in their company, with feathers in his hat as gallantly attired as any Knight in the court; for whose apprehension the Hon. George Hume chancellor and Treasurer of the Exchequer directed a warrant to one William Atkinson, a kinsman of this relater, howbeit this relater for some friendly respects he bare unto some of the Knights in whose companies it was intended he should have been apprehended (whereof there might have occurred discredit and trouble) gave such forewarning thereof to one of the Knights as he escaped . . . . . Archer is in stature somewhat tall, black, and in visage long and thin, born in Kilkenny."

Whether this William Atkinson, the Catchpole of 1603, was Cecil's correspondent of 1595; whether one family produced the informer and the poisoner, is left to the reader's grave consideration.

Atkinson and Annias were wretched men who consented to do murder to save their own lives; Cecil might have hired a hundred or a thousand such in the streets of London, who would have done it for a less consideration. The characters of such men are so saturated with infamy that they will bear no additional drop of evil fame; hence, must the full ignominy of all crimes in which they had accomplices or employers be borne by the latter. The meditated destruction of the English ships and the murder of the Queen are enough for the reputation of Annias; the betrayal to the scaffold of Tichbourne, a brother priest, ample for the fame of William Atkinson; the projected poisoning of Florence and O'Neill are superfluous for them; they remain for the purposes of the future biographers of the statesmen who employed them. In the instances that remain to complete this inquiry, Sir Robert Cecil has at least to share such infamy with him, men of family and station, who undertook similar actions for a meaner motive, the motive, namely, of ministerial support and favour; but there is infamy enough for all, and upon each one of their names may it rest, as long as Ireland remembers that to such men, at the most critical period of her history, her government was intrusted!

August, 1598, the date of Sir Geoffrey Fenton's letter, was precisely the period of the famous "Jorney of the Blackwater," when Fenton himself, in company of the Lords Justices, was shivering with terror in Dublin, and in hourly expectation of the coming of O'Neill and his victorious followers. The great "Oke" was never in

greater luxuriance than when this trembling functionary was in quest of the axe to lay it prostrate. Let the reader turn to the narrative of the "Journey of the Blackwater," and he will see in what condition to strike down the monarch of the forest were the Council of Ireland—Fenton was one of them, at the time the following letter was written:—

1598. *August 4.* FENTON to CECIL.

"for the other greater matter mencioned in yo' ho. lfe, though I know yt wilbe difficult to draw one dogg to byte of an other, and more despat to fynde an ax to stryke downe at one blowe, a greate oke that hath growen upp in many yeres, yet I will cause the forde to be sownded, to see yf theire may be founde a passage that waie. When yo' ho. shall write to me of theis matters of seruice, or in any other cause that may concerne myne owne pticular, and that yo do send those lfes in the geñall packett, yt may please yo to endorce the direction of the packett to me, so shall I take owt myne owne lfes and delyv the rest to the Ll. Justices."

In February of the year 1600, O'Neill was, if possible, more an object of terror than in 1598, for the Spaniards were coming; the same sylvan simile served the men who were now ready to take up the service which had been undertaken so often, and so fruitlessly. The great oak had still grown, and its mighty limbs now overshadowed Munster; the axe was not yet taken from the mine, the arm was not yet shaped, that was to strike down that noble tree, to commit murder upon that able and hated rebel.

1600. *February 10.* LO. DUNSANY to CECIL.

"In the meane I thought yt my dutie to signifie this muche unto yo', that in the seruice of cutting of a badd graff, w<sup>h</sup> when I tooke my leaue of yo' I promysed to sett a worke. I haue assaied many waies. Butt whate for the difficultie and daunger of the attēpt, and for the distrust of requitall in eny pporōn of a seruice of that consequens I fownd myne endeour styll frustrat; but nowe to my greater comfort and hope I procured (w<sup>h</sup> all circumstance of secrecy and othes) the mater to be broken to one of gretest nobilitie, spirit, and valure, amongst them, promisinge unto him the place and hono<sup>r</sup> for his reward, whose ambition tooke the sooner and faster hould thereof because his birth dooth in a sort warrant him to sceed, as beinge lineally descended from the cheefe house, and for as muche as yf the matter take wished effect, soñ others might labor for y<sup>r</sup> honor of the proiect, yt may please yo' to understand yt Henry Oge M<sup>r</sup> Henry M<sup>r</sup> Shane is y<sup>r</sup> man, beinge linealy descended from Con O Neyle, this my proceedinge I haue imparted to my Lord Deputie w<sup>h</sup> I hope in God will take effect."

In August, 1601, Queen Elizabeth, who, as Cox informs us, was but too often penny wise and pounds otherwise, brought her mind to make a great and costly effort to extinguish the Irish rebellion, "which had almost reached that sum at which her Majesty

estimated the worth of the realm of Ireland." The army had increased from seven or eight to sixteen or seventeen thousand foot, and from two or three hundred horse to as many thousands. With this force the Lord Deputy, Mountjoy, resolved to attack O'Neill in his great fastnesses, and to force the dreaded pass of the Moiry; thither he marched, and there was fought many a sanguinary skirmish, for O'Neill had, as usual, plashed the ways, and erected earthworks, and placed his best men to guard them. The weather was stormier than had been known for twenty years, and the English soldiers perished faster by exposure and want than by the sword; but Mountjoy persevered, and, having forced his way several miles within the pass, built forts to secure the ground he had won. O'Neill retreated, and the Deputy was enabled to lead his troops to the famous fortress of the Blackwater; the old castle was in ruins; he built a new one; and it is gratifying to know that the first constable to whom it was intrusted was the gallant Captain Sir Thomas Williams! That brave man had had a soldier's revenge for his former ill luck, for he had met his old enemy in a fair field, and after a hard-fought day had beaten him. In the camp of Carrickban, on the 25th of July, he had received the honour of knighthood from the sword of the Lord Deputy. It were well for the fame of Mountjoy if he had written nothing to Cecil but the journal of that arduous and eventful campaign, the account of his visit to the scene of Bagnal's disaster, and the prowess of Sir Thomas Williams; but from the camp of Carrickban went also the two following letters:—

1601. August 23. LORD DEPUTY to CECIL, *from the camp at Carrickban.*

"Sr. when I planted the garison at Armaghe, I apointed Sir Henry Dauers to comaund the same in the absence of Sir Francis Stafford, both because I found him best able for that service without any newe charge unto Her Maty hauing horse and foote of his owne in entertaynement, and that I sawe he was extraordinarily desyrus to take that oportunity to bee actiue, in hope therby to deserue Her Mats fauour and good opinion. I aduised him to be often stirring with his forces upon the rebels and withall to practise what possibly he could deuise upon the person of the Arch traytor Tyrone; and he, assuring me that he would leave nothing unassayed, that in his iudgement might tend to ye perfecting of that woorke, within a few days after found one Walker, an Englishman and a Londiner, newly come ouer, who brake with him to bee employed in that same busines, alleaging that he kneue yt to be a seruice tending greatly to his countries good, and for that cause, and to aduance his owne fortune, that he was come resolued to kill Tirone, hauing plotted the maner howe to doe yt. Sir Henry was desyrus to bee made acquainted with his plott, but Walker refusing to discover it, under pretence to keepe yt the more secreate, he pressed him no furdre thereabout, and the rather for that Walker desyred no other help or furtherance from him,

but to be put without the guards in the night, and so left to take his fortune. Sir Henry imparted this offer of his to me, and I wished him to giue way to yt, as I have done to divers others, and may not refuse the like to any, for yf any one speed it is enough, and they that misse loose nothing but themselves; but because this Walker coming afterwards to Tyrone did not effect what he had undertaken, though (as himself sayth) he was much made of, and had once drawne his sword with purpose to kill him, tho under pretence to do great matters in his quarrell I thought fit at his return to our camp to apoint Mr Marshall and Sir George Bourcher to examine him, and he confessing unto them, that Tyrone would haue sent him into Scotland, which seemed to bee the more probable, by reason he was with Randall M<sup>c</sup>Donnell, and by him sent to Sir Arthur Chichester to Carrickfergus, and from thence to Sir Fra. Stafford at y<sup>e</sup> Newry, and so to y<sup>e</sup> camp again to mee, I comitted him close prisoner, and sent him to the Newry wishing Sir Francis Stafford further to examine him, and doe nowe send him in bands unto you Sir, whoe can best judge of him, and may hapley learne more of his intent and disposition, by reason his frends are dwelling there in London, than we here can find the meanes to doe. I am sorrie I should be troublesom to you on a matter of this nature, because for myne owne part I confess I thincke the man little better than frantick, though such a one was not unfit for such an enterprise; yet considering it might otherwise proue dangerous to myself, or y<sup>e</sup> gentleman that sett him awoorke, I presume you will hold me excused, and conceave that I haue reason to so doe, for myne owne discharge. And so Sir I comend you to the Grace of God.

“From the Camp at Carickbane  
this 23<sup>d</sup> Augs<sup>t</sup> 1601

“Yours to do you service  
“MOUNTJOYE.

“The Maior of Chester is written to, to send you this prisoner; and the Copie of this his lre herewith sent, will shew y<sup>e</sup> discretion of y<sup>e</sup> man.”

“1601. Aug<sup>t</sup> 22. From THOMAS WALKER close prisoner at y<sup>e</sup> Newry to the R<sup>e</sup> HON: THE LORDE MOUNTJOYE LORDE DEPUTIE OF IRELAND deliuer these

“R<sup>e</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> I youre Honour's pore petitioner, a prissoner till my truth haue had her triall, which I trust in God will not be longe, since I understand youre Lordship hath sente into England aboute me, doth beg for his sacke, whoe hath fashioned us to his one similitude and likenes, y<sup>e</sup> youre Honor will not see me hunger for wante of meanes, my good Lorde I speake this in all humillity, for them I sente to for my meanes, feares by sendinge to supplie my wants, least they be allso brought in troble for me; thus in the worldes eie I seem hardly thought one, when had I had a souldiers harte, as I wanted not his forwarde minde, and not given place unto effeminate thoughtes, forgettingte how I promised to my God, yf it woulde please him to send his Angell to conducte me saffe, and give me fauor in the presence of Tirone, I would not feare to smitte him, weare his garde aboute him, it had not bin so whith me as it is, and to see Godes

mercie towards me that daye, he had no garde to speake on, neither had he one a quilted coate, only a blacke fresse gerkin which beinge unbuttoned I might see his naked brest, I having my armes redelivered me by his own comandement. He tooke me twisse, in that shorte time I was whith him, by the hande sayinge I was wellcom to him, and toulde me by those wordes, I was the fortunatest man that ever came unto him, for had not my horsemen bin the honestest, sayde he, they would have sore wounded thee, but had my footmen mett thee, thoue hadest never come alive before me—thus before and after I was most mithily preserved by the Lorde, and persuade myselfe it is to some good end; wherfore His name be prayed, whose mercie endureth for ever. And my good Lorde when I am found an honest man towards my countrie I will shew myselfe a true servante to youre Honor, in givinge youre Lordship to knowe what I have herd and seen in my travells, meanwhile I will laye it up in my harte, till I may have accesse unto your Lordshipe, yett earnestly beseechinge youre Honor for Godes sake to shake offe by littell and littell the harde consente youre Lordship, whith good reason hath of me, for God that knowes my harte, knowes it is free of that maculated spott, I am a foolle to speake thus much, but alas! hath not the sillie asse, that is beaten for his stumblinge, since to knowe in what he made his Lorde a faulte; a littell beare whith me good my Lorde, for I have wrotte this in my teares, and whatsoever I have sayde or done, hereafter God willinge I will give a reason for it; but it will seem foolish for a time—thus fearinge to overlaye youre Honors patience whith copiosnes of wordes, I will surcesse, comittinge youre Honor to the saffe keepinge of the Allmithie, that his stronge arme maye be ever whith youre good lordship to your liues end.

“From the Prisson of the Newrie  
Satterdaye the xxij<sup>th</sup> of August 1601.

“Your Honor’s true servant while liffe lasteth

“THOMAS WALKER.”

Another year was drawing to its close, and the great “oke” still flourished; under its majestic branches armies encamped, and Irishmen still dreamed of the freedom of their country. Cecil was by this time accustomed to see the dagger dropped and the poison spilled, but as long as “5000 English angels” were at his command, he had no cause for despondency. Walker had succeeded no better than Atkinson; the Lord Deputy, than Lord Dunsany. In the next attempt, the last with which we shall weary the reader, the minister took the matter in hand himself; he found his man, and made his own bargain. The usual course of such transactions is reversed; hitherto the offer stood in the writing of the assassin, now it flashes forth in the authoritative words of the minister himself.

“1602. *Dec. Answeres to certayne articles of* RICHARD COMBUS.

“To the first, wherein it is desyred, that the enterprise (whereof you and I had conference) be kept from the counsell of Ireland. You may be sure, that none shall know it but the Deputy himself whom her Ma<sup>t</sup>



hath putt in trust w<sup>h</sup> her kingdome, and of whose secrecye and wisdome she hath approoved experience.

“To the second, that the Governour of Carickefargus, be made party to it, it is all verie well liked, because he is a wise gentleman, and a commander of those places, w<sup>h</sup> lye most convenient for retrayte after the enterprise. But because it may be uncertayne, to what place he shall first come for retrayt he shall haue a lfe dyirected to him, and others, her Mat<sup>r</sup> comandars, cap<sup>ns</sup> and officers, whomsoever, to receaue the Partye into their protecōn till aduertisem<sup>t</sup> be sent heth<sup>?</sup>

“To the third. For her Ma<sup>ty</sup> lfe to be written to M<sup>r</sup> Donnell before hand, she will in noe sort yeild to the same.

“To the Fowerth. For my writinge to him, or assurance by bond to you, if you will send upp a draught of ether I will signe them if I like their forme, If not, I will draw an other in such forme as I thinke convenient, whereuppon you may proceed if you like it.

“Lastly (because we may each of us understand one and other, and that I may not discredit my iudgmt w<sup>h</sup> the Queen and my credit w<sup>h</sup> you that trust me), I think it not amisse to touch these two poynts followinge.

“First if your meaninge be, that Donnell Govran must haue libertye to passe into Tyrone w<sup>h</sup> any numbers, at w<sup>h</sup> all those, that know not the cause, will exclaime and wonder, if *then*<sup>1</sup> it should soe fall out, that he should not performe this, but that the least addition of strength or opinion of strength, should be conceaued to be added to the Traytor, by this tolleration of *his* goinge over to the Traytour (w<sup>h</sup> but for this end should never be suffered) *in such case untill the effect thereof shalbe shewed, itself, much advantage would be taken against my counsell all w<sup>h</sup> beeing in the hands of God, as it may lack success though he weare never soe well disposed so will y<sup>e</sup> disgrace be much greater to me y<sup>e</sup> haue ben the adviser If the Q. shold receaue y<sup>e</sup> scorn to let him go w<sup>h</sup> any forces and he then tourn on thother sydes, or shew y<sup>e</sup> he neuer went but to serve some other tourn.* In w<sup>h</sup> respect, because you did not perticularly sett downe whether he meane to goe in, privately and do *only* desyre to haue such an assurance, as if he shew it when he hath done, it may be sufficient to procure the protecōn, of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> forces if he come for retrayct or whether he meane to goe in w<sup>h</sup> numbers (in shew, to serue the Traytor) thereby to amuse him, and yet because he feares her Ma<sup>ty</sup> forces, would *troble him doth desire some lfe to her ministers* to lett him passe w<sup>h</sup> his numbers, I doe desyre to know his meaninge by your next certificate *in this point.* *In these respects I think fitt to let you know that if he can goe in w<sup>h</sup>out her Ma<sup>ty</sup> dyrection to her Governours, for letting him passe (whereof there wilbe much varietye of censure as I wold not care though he went w<sup>h</sup> neuer soe many).* But if he must needs carrye some, and cannot passe w<sup>h</sup>out her Ma<sup>ty</sup> tolleration, then had they need to be verie feaw the cariest. As I shall therefore heare from you, you shall haue a lfe to the Governour of Carickefargus, w<sup>h</sup> beeing sent privately to him, by some trusty person, there may be some course taken, between them for his safetie, and yet noe shew made but that he doth come in agaynst his will. Thus much I thought good to lett you know, because the Governour must presently be acquaynted, w<sup>h</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> The words in italics are in Cecil's handwriting.

reason, if he cannot passe w<sup>h</sup>out his tolleration, where otherwise, noe man shold need to know it in Ireland, till it had been done, and then he mought haue had about him such a life, as should haue been sufficient, to haue procured him a wellcome and a safe retrayct *when y<sup>e</sup> enterprise was past, and yet he shold not haue doubted to be discouered, seing no body cold tell it, but myself.* The other matter w<sup>h</sup> I thinke fitt to lay before you, is this, That when the Proclamation was made, the Traytor was in his pryde, and then 3000<sup>l</sup> had been well bestowed, to haue saued three hundred thousand; but now that his hart is broken, and he almost a wood kerne, for me to ingage my word for more then was offered, weare lacke of discretion, for be you sure of this, that beeing perswaded, as I am in my conscience, that it is not unlawfull to practise the death of a declared, a proscribed Rebell, that whatsoever you shall receaue my hand for, I will see discharged though I sould my shirt of my backe—and therefore Sir proceed in the matter, as you please, and for the Proclamation doe not much buyld upon it, for much tyme is past since it was divulged. But be you assured of this, that if by this draught, Tyrone be slayne or taken, there shalbe payed to your disposition 5000 English Angells.<sup>1</sup> And this is the substance of all my answeares, *who as I am desirous to do my contry service herein by sawing y<sup>e</sup> effusion of much christian blood whereof he will be y<sup>e</sup> auctor whilst his lyfe lasteth, so I am jelous of ingadging you or any man upon any promises w<sup>h</sup> I will not yforme to you as I will do these by God's fauor really."*

The Proclamation to which allusion is made in the foregoing letter is not, as far as I am aware, extant in print. It is laid before the reader as a curious ebullition of petty spite. By it the Lord Deputy exposed himself to the ridicule of every Irishman who could read it; he calls Hugh O'Neill the son of a smith! Hugh O'Neill was the legitimate son of Mathew, Baron of Duncannon, who was a base son of Shane O'Neill! It would have been time enough to refuse a pardon to Tyrone when Tyrone asked for it:—

"1601. 23<sup>d</sup> of July. Proclamation. By the L. DEPUTIE MOUNTJOYE and COUNCELL

"For as much as yt is by manie very credibly reported that the Arch-traitor Tyrone who taketh upon him the title of Oneale, doth usually giue out among his followers, that he can make his peace when he liste, and for that purpose (as he saith) is offered parlee w<sup>h</sup> when he thinckes fitt he will accept of, by that meanes causing diu<sup>r</sup>se to contynue w<sup>h</sup> him, and sticke unto his ptie in hope w<sup>h</sup> him (if the worst fall) to be receaued unto mercy. Wee knowing this report of his to be a meere falsehoode and untruth deuised to abuse those longer whom allready too long he hath misled, by like devises and illusions, doe publishe unto all men by this her Ma<sup>ty</sup> Proclamation that wee are so farr from receaving him to mercy or parlying w<sup>h</sup> him as he would faine haue yt thought, as wee are resouled neuer so much as to harken to any thing that he shall offer to propose in hou

<sup>1</sup> A gold coin, varying in value from about six and eightpence to ten shillings.—Halliwell.

humble maner soever he would begg the same upon his knees, for so her Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath expressly comaunded us, for thoughe her h<sup>er</sup> in her most mercifull and princely disposition is pleased to haue compassion upon many others that haue highly offended her by their defection, because shee conceaveth their offences grew chiefly (if not onely) by his intisements and instigation, and not out of any undutifull and disloiall disposition of their own: yet doth her Mat so well remember that Tyrone was at the begynning the sonne of a smyth, that shee raised him to the title of an Erle and gaue him lands and meanes to mainteine that estate, and that all that would not content him but that out of the cankered malice of his own hart (w<sup>h</sup>out pretence or grounds) he is himself revolted in the worste degree that may bee, and seduces others by all the meanes he can devise; that shee is resolved never to give him pardon, but as a reprobate to make him an example of her justice to the world, and for that cause hath giuen us auctoritie in her name to promise to any man that brings him in aliue or dead, unto the state, the some of Two thousand pounds ster' if he bring him in aliue, and one thousand pound ster' for his head, if by the bringers meanes he come to his end, besides a geñall pardon for all offences whatsoever, if the ptie that brings the bodie or head shall stand in need of the same. To this effect a former proclamation was published at the camp at Mountnorryes in Nouember last upon the rising of the army, w<sup>h</sup> hereby wee haue thought good to renew, and to assuer e<sup>u</sup>er man that can iustly challenge the same to haue the benefitt thereof.

“ Giuen at the Camp at Blackwater

“the xvij of Julie 1601.

“R. WINGFELDE.

“G. BOURCHIER.

“ God Saue the Queen.”

According to the words of Mountjoy's proclamation, O'Neill had asserted that he could have "his peace when he liste," which when he thought fitt he would accept of, to which it was replied by authority that so far was the Queen from any disposition to receiue him to mercy, that she was resolved *never* so much as to hearken to anything he would propose, in how humble manner soever he should beg the same upon his knees! When the Spanish expedition under Don John di Aquila failed utterly, O'Neill did think fit to have his peace, and the last acts of Elizabeth were to receive that arch-rebel to mercy, and to bequeath her crown to the man who for years had upheld the same rebel against her. In 1603 the "great oke," the "bad graff," the object of so many conspiracies, bore his charmed life to London, and was presented, by the hirer of Annias, Atkinson, Combus, Walker, and the rest, to the monarch who had commissioned the soldiers and furnished the powder and the lead with which had been fought the "Jorney of the Blackwater."

## PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

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GENERAL MEETING, held in the Assembly Rooms, Kilkenny, on  
Saturday, Nov. 21st (by adjournment from the 4th), 1857,

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,  
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Sir Edmund Workman MacNaghtan, Bart., Dundarave, Bushmills; the Rev. John Gibbs, A.M., Rector of Dunluce, Bushmills; David Fielding Jones, Esq., J.P., Nahilla Cottage, Belturbet; the Rev. Ferguson Smyly, Lifford; Captain Hannay, Ballylough House, Bushmills; the Rev. George Brydges Sayers, Port Ballintrae, Bushmills; Richard Bolton, Esq., Castlering, Louth; Henry Burke Brownrigg, Esq., Norrismount, Camolin; Robert Hannay, Esq., Kew; Miss Read, Rahans, Carrickmacross; and James Keyden, Esq., Torwood Row, Helensburgh, Scotland: proposed by the Rev. George H. Reade.

Frederick Hosford, Esq., Master of the School of Design, Carmarthen: proposed by Richard R. Brash, Esq.

The Rev. William Brock, R. C. C., 4, Clarke's Buildings, Harold's Cross, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. J. O'Hanlon.

Young Men's Society, Dungarvan; the Rev. Jeremiah Hally, D. D., P. P., Dungarvan; Patrick James Power, Esq., Coolagh, Dungarvan; and John Thomas Luther, Esq., Brookedale, Clonmel: proposed by W. Williams, Esq.

Kilkenny Young Men's Catholic Society: proposed by P. Aylward, Esq.

The Rev. Michael Mullarky, Croghan House, Parsonstown: proposed by T. L. Cooke, Esq.

Patrick O'Byrne, Esq., "Tablet" Office, Dublin: proposed by M. A. O'Brennan, Esq., LL. D.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By Captain Greene, M.P.: "Antiquities of Shropshire," by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, Vol. IV., Parts 3 and 4, and Vol. V., Parts 1 to 4.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archæology," No. 20.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for September, October, and November.

By the Society: "Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire," Vol. IX.

By the Cambrian Archæological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," New Series, No. 12.

By the Cambrian Institute: their "Journal," Part 15.

By the Author: "The Life of St. Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, and Delegate Apostolic of the Holy See, for the Kingdom of Ireland," by the Rev. John O'Hanlon.

By the Ossianic Society: their "Transactions," Vol. III.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 54.

By the Oxford Architectural Society: their "Reports," Sessions 1853-56.

By the Author: "The Banners of the Bayeux Tapestry, and some of the Earliest Heraldic Charges." Also, "Remarks on the Mechanical Structure of Cotton Fibre," by Gilbert J. French, Esq.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 751 to 771, inclusive.

By the Rev. John Drapes, A.M.: the original Mandate to instal James Colgan as Vicar-Choral of St. Patrick's, Dublin. The Mandate is dated 24th March, 1744, and is signed by "Jo: Wynne, Sub Dean." It bears appended a fine impression of Dean Swift's official seal, viz.: a bishop robed and mitred, holding a crozier in his right hand, impaling a chevron nebuly (not *vair* as given by Burke in his "General Armory") between three bucks courant.

By S. E. Busby, Esq.: a late Roman Brass.

By Dr. Keating: a six-pence of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1579, found near the castle in Callan, in the county of Kilkenny, where so many persons perished when that town was stormed by Cromwell.

The Rev. James Graves exhibited, on the part of the Rev. George H. Reade, two exceedingly curious antiques in bronze, found in a bog at Killeevan, near Analore, in the county of Monaghan, and now forming part of Mr. Reade's collection.

Mr. Graves said that the Plate<sup>1</sup> (which faces the next page)

<sup>1</sup> The Society has to thank Lord Clermont for a liberal donation towards defraying the cost of this Plate—an example worthy of wide imitation.

The first part of the document discusses the general principles of the proposed system, which is designed to improve the efficiency of the existing process. It outlines the objectives and the scope of the project, emphasizing the need for a comprehensive approach to address the various challenges faced by the organization.

The second part of the document provides a detailed description of the system's architecture and components. It explains how the different modules are interconnected and how they work together to achieve the desired outcomes. This section includes a flowchart illustrating the overall process flow and a list of the key features and capabilities of the system.

The third part of the document focuses on the implementation and testing phases. It describes the steps taken to integrate the system into the existing infrastructure and the methods used to evaluate its performance. This section also includes a comparison of the system's results against the initial objectives and a discussion of the challenges encountered during the implementation process.

The final part of the document provides a conclusion and a summary of the findings. It highlights the key achievements of the project and offers recommendations for future work. The document concludes by expressing the confidence in the system's ability to meet the organization's needs and improve its overall performance.

This document is intended for the use of the project team and other stakeholders involved in the implementation of the system. It is not to be distributed outside the organization without the prior approval of the project manager.



ANCIENT ENAMELLED BRIDLE-BIT, AND  
BOSS, OF BRONZE.

Found at Killeevan, near Analore,  
A D, 1848

represented the originals, drawn to a scale of two-thirds their size, and printed in chromo-lithography by Ward and Co., of Belfast. The circular plate was of extremely thin yellow bronze, and ornamented with raised patterns in hammered work of a style peculiarly Celtic. Several examples of a similar kind were preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. By some persons these plates were supposed to have served as the bosses of shields, but their delicacy of construction would seem to preclude such an idea, being ill calculated to resist violence. Portions of this plate had been corroded by age, but it exhibited no indication of having suffered from hard knocks. The other antique was a bridle-bit of dark bronze, and, if not unique, was undoubtedly of great rarity. As would be seen from the Plate, the cheek rings were of different sizes and patterns, and one of them had loops, for the insertion of the reins, brazed to the back of the ring. The ornamentation of both rings was Celtic, presenting the guilloche and fret patterns, which occurred so constantly on our ancient crosses and other ecclesiastical sculptures of early workmanship. But what rendered this antique particularly interesting was the evidence it gave that enamelling was used by the ancient Irish on lay, and military, as well as ecclesiastical, works of art. Indeed, it had been stated to him (Mr. Graves) by the late Mr. John Mitchell Kemble, that, although he had found numberless enamelled brooches and military ornaments in the cemeteries of the Teutonic nations, he had rarely or ever observed enamel to have been used by the Celts, except in ecclesiastical ornament. The smaller ring exhibited the depressions prepared for the enamel, the fret being left in relief, but no trace of the colour used, or intended to be used, remained: not so the larger ring: the guilloche was left in relief, as in the other, but the depressed portions exhibited numerous traces of a rich crimson enamel, which the artist had, in the plate, restored on one half the ring, leaving the remainder as it appeared in the present state of the antique.<sup>1</sup> The holes drilled into the depressed portions, to retain the enamel the more firmly, were well represented. The link which connected the larger cheek ring with the centre piece of the bit had been broken, and neatly brazed with antique bronze.

Mr. J. G. Robertson exhibited a portion of a case for counsel on the part of the celebrated Harry Flood, when in custody for shooting Mr. Agar, of Ringwood, in a duel at Dunmore, near Kilkenny. The document contained the names of the jurors sworn on the coroner's inquest, the finding of the jury, and the opinions as to Mr. Flood's chance of being permitted to stand out on bail, pending his trial, given by the then Attorney-General, and by Wolfe, afterwards Lord Kilwarden, who was slain in Emmet's insurrection.

<sup>1</sup> It is right to observe, that the crimson colour should not extend over the guilloche: in the original it is confined to the depressed portions.



The Rev. John O'Hanlon sent the subjoined continuation of his series of papers on the topographical labours of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, relative to the county of Wicklow :—

"The following is a list of the records connected with the county of Wicklow, as found in the Catalogue of the Topographical Collection in the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin :—I. Names from Down Survey (see Leinster, vol. ii.). II. Extracts, two volumes (see also page 33); and 'Repertorium Viride;' also Common-place Book M; Rough Index to ditto. III. Letters, one volume. IV. Name Books, 79. V. Barony and Parish Names, one volume. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. County Index to Names on Ordnance Maps, one volume.

"I. The Names from the Down Survey are contained in the second folio volume (Leinster) already described, pp. 705 to 759. They are preceded by a double-columned Index to the Barony and Parish Names of the county of Wicklow, at p. 705. These names are comprised in 51 pages, loosely written, and on a similar plan with the like names, referring to the county of Wexford, &c. II. The Extracts are contained in two quarto volumes. The first volume contains 873 numbered pages, nearly all of which are closely written. In addition, there are 28 pages of an Index to the county of Wicklow Extracts, and preceding them. The Extracts commence with an article headed 'Dun Baoi,' but, according to a marginal note of Eugene Curry, it has reference solely to Dunboy in the county of Cork. Then we find Extracts from Archdall's 'Monasticon;' from the 'Annals of the Four Masters' (English); from the 'Irish Calendar' (Irish character,<sup>1</sup> and I should remark that the Calendar thus designated is known to Irish hagiologists as O'Clery's, or the 'Martyrology of Donegall'); from M'Firbis, on 'Churches' (Irish character); from O'Flaherty's 'Ogygia' (English); from Messingham's 'Florilegium' (Latin); from Colgan's 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ' (Englished); from Colgan's 'Trias Thaumaturga' (Englished); from Gough's 'Camden's Britannia;' from 'Co. Wicklow' (O'Reilly MS. R. I. A.); from Carte's 'Life of Ormond,' vol. i., p. 27, T. C. D. (case of the Byrnes); from Mason's 'History of the Cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin;' from the 'Liber Regalis Visitationis;' from 'Poems on Ballinacorr' (O'Reilly MS. R. I. A., and in Irish character); from 'Poem on the chieftains of Leinster,' by Owen M'Grath (O'Gara MS. R. I. A., and in the Irish character); pedigrees of the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, &c.; from M'Firbis (Irish character); from 'O'Huidhreen's Topographical Poem' (Irish character); from 'Book of Lecan;' from MS. H. 2, 18,<sup>2</sup> T. C. D.; from MS. H. 2, 16,<sup>3</sup> T. C. D. (all the foregoing in the Irish character); from the 'Inquisitions;' from Usher's 'Primordia' (Englished); from the 'Liber Ardmacha' (Latin and English); from M'Firbis's 'Pedigrees of the Leinster families' (Irish character); from Archdall's 'Peerage of Ireland;' from Harris's 'Ware;' from Lanigan's 'Ecclesiastical History of Ireland;' notes of Mr. O'Keefe; from the

<sup>1</sup> This MS. contains several curious tracts illustrative of Irish history.

<sup>2</sup> This MS. contains matter descriptive of Irish battles.

<sup>3</sup> It may be observed that nearly all the

Irish Extracts in the county of Wicklow volumes, here referred to, are in the handwriting of Professor Eugene Curry. Some few were, however, transcribed by Mr. O'Keefe.

Leabhar Breac' (Irish character); from 'Annals of the Four Masters' (Irish character); from Garret Byrne's MS.; from an imperfect English translation of the will of 'Cathair More' (a MS. in the handwriting of Peter O'Connell, R. I. A.). Vol. II. of Extracts contains 383 numbered pages, nearly all of which are closely written. As in vol. i., some few pages are blank. In addition to matter from the sources already indicated, or from some of them, this volume contains a letter from Dr. O'Donovan to Thomas A. Larcom, Captain, R. E., dated 21, Great Charles-street, April 14, 1840, and referring to Glendalough; 'Litera Palliorum missorum in Hiberniam' (Latin and English); from 'Irish Life of St. Kevin of Glendalough' (MS. T. C. D., H. 44, and in the Irish character); the 'Latin Life of St. Kevin' (MS. Marsh's Library, classed V. 3. 1. 4, in contracted and modernized Latin, and in English); from 'Giraldus Cambrensis' (Camden's ed., p. 726, &c., English). In the reference to page 33 of the Catalogue, under the heading 'Miscellaneous,' I find 'Cambrensis Topographia Hiberniæ' translated, vol. i. This was a translation of Giraldus's work, which contains so many fictions, rendered into English by Mr. O'Connor. It is a folio volume of 250 closely written pages, and of course contains more than one allusion to the county of Wicklow. The 'Repertorium Viride Johannis Septimi Archiepiscopi, Dubliniensis, agnomine Alanus,' is the Common-place Book marked on the back as Y. 24, S. It is a quarto volume, containing only a few closely written pages, most of the leaves being blank. It includes references to churches in the county of Wicklow. The Common-place Book M has matter referring to the county of Wicklow, extracted from the O'Reilly MS. R. I. A., and the case of the Byrnes already alluded to in the Extracts. It is consequently of no additional interest for the elucidation of the county of Wicklow history. This matter is included between pp. 115 to 167. The MS. in question contains 318 numbered quarto pages, most of which are blank. The Rough Index to Wicklow Extracts, vols. i. and ii., is alphabetically arranged on pasted slips, and on 184 openly written and unbound pages, covered with a sheet of wrapping-paper, and tied together for better preservation. III. The county of Wicklow Letters are in one volume quarto, containing 533 closely written pages, containing several maps and drawings. Mr. O'Lalor's well-arranged Index precedes these pages. There are 44 letters in this volume. Of these, 19 letters were written by Eugene Curry, 15 by Thomas O'Connor, 9 by John O'Donovan, and 1 letter by William Smith, the latter dated Arklow, February 4th, 1839. All these letters were written at various dates, from the 13th of December, 1838, to the 14th of April, 1840. Three were written at Enniskerry, two at Carlow, three at Bray, six at Baltinglass, four at Newtownmountkennedy, four at Rathdrum, ten at Blessington, three at Wicklow, six at Arklow; and the remainder were written by Dr. O'Donovan in 1840, but no place is named to indicate where they had been written. Messrs. Curry, O'Connor, O'Donovan, and Smith, wrote all the other letters in the month of December, 1838, or in the month of January or February, 1839. The letters of Mr. O'Donovan, written in 1840, all refer to Glendalough, and to its ruins, of which an accurate description is given. They are interspersed with a great number of beautiful sketches, executed by William Wake-man, Junior, artist; but these sketches are mostly, if not altogether, copied

from the Conyngham drawings. There are, moreover, interspersed throughout many of the letters of Messrs. Curry, O'Connor, and O'Donovan, several rough sketches, taken on the spot, of various relics of antiquity, and their outlines are for the most part well drawn. There is a leaf inserted with the Letters which ought rather have been bound with the Memorandums. It contains notes of George Petrie, Esq., and Captain Tucker, R. E. Besides the sketches already alluded to, there are the following traces of maps towards the close of the volume:—1. Glendalough, from an old plan made about 1780, for Col. Burton Conyngham, p. 517. 2. Sheet 23 of Ordnance Survey of the county of Wicklow, pp. 520, 521. 3. Sir Henry Harrington's Defeat in the 'Berne's Countrie,' anno 1599, from the original in Library, Trin. Coll., Dublin (a very curious drawing), p. 523. 4. Wicklow, from Railway Map, p. 522. 5. Wicklow, from Down Survey, p. 524. 6. Wicklow, from various old Maps, pp. 525 to 527. 7. Wicklow, from Ortelius, improved, p. 528. 8. Wicklow, from '*Mappa Britanniæ faciei*,' &c., p. 528. 9. Wicklow, from '*Ptolemæi Geographia Hiberniæ*,' p. 529. 10. Talbotstowne, &c., from 'Down Survey,' p. 530. 11. Ballinecur, &c., p. 532. 12. Newcastle, &c., p. 533. 13. '*Provinces de Milie et de Lagenie divisées en Dynasties, par le Sr. Robert de Vaugondy, Géog. Ord. du Roi*,' &c. (1757), p. 531. IV. The Name Books are 75, and of uniform size and shape with others already described. V. The Barony and Parish Names are contained in a quarto volume of 71 numbered pages, although double that number of pages has been written upon. It is preceded by three columns of a Parish and Barony Index, with a page of various authorities, from which there are various spellings of the parishes in the subsequent pages. VI. The Wicklow Memorandums are contained in one quarto volume of 211 numbered pages, and one loose leaf. There are 27 columns or parts of columns of an Index preceding. Many interesting 'Notes and Queries' will be found in the body of this volume. VII. The County Index to Names on the Ordnance Maps is included in a folio volume of 120 pages, which are not numbered. The various townland or object names of the county of Wicklow, followed immediately by the barony, and then by the parish name, in which situated, had been written on separate slips of paper, and the latter, having been arranged in regular alphabetical form as to the townlands, were afterwards pasted into this volume in the same order. Thus, the first entry reads—'Abbeylands, Arklow, Arklow,' the second 'Abbeyview Cottage, Ballinacor, Ballykine,' the third, 'Aghavannagh, Ballinacor S., Ballinacor,' and so on. This volume, as before remarked, is one of reference for the clerks and engravers of the office; and, I should also remark, it is one of especial value to the antiquary and topographer, when on the inquiry for the identification of ancient and modern local designations. There are no Memoir Papers or original artistic sketches for the county of Wicklow in the Ordnance Survey collection, if we except what are to be found in the Letters. In this case we have not such great reason to regret the omission as in other instances in connexion with most of the Irish counties, as the celebrity of Wicklow, which, for its picturesque and romantic landscapes, has been designated 'the Garden of Ireland,' contributed to attract the regards of artists and literary tourists to the illustration of its most celebrated scenes. But, singularly deficient as it

is in ancient remains, as compared with nearly all the other Irish counties, the few ruins that have survived the wreck of time (excepting those of Glendalough) have for the most part escaped the pencil of the artist, and the description of the tourist. It must also be observed, that in too many instances, in illustrated works on Ireland, fancy sketches of celebrated scenery and ruins have been substituted for drawings and engravings, correct in outline, and faithful to the originals, not only in general, but even in accessory details. Those who are disposed to consult the engraved plates of the pretentious works, Bartlet's 'Irish Scenery,' Ledwich's and Grose's 'Antiquities of Ireland,' the 'Anthologia Hibernia,' &c., and to compare them with the original subjects, will find that in many instances they 'o'erstep the modesty of nature,' to which they profess 'to hold the mirror.' Would that we could boast of many such artistic and national works as the estimable and learned Dr. Petrie's 'Round Towers and Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,' or the Ordnance Survey 'Memoir of Londonderry.' Let us trust that the men of this generation will witness the accomplishment of this desire, by the arrangement and publication of the Irish Ordnance Survey Office 'Records.' With the further development of education, and of statesmanlike views, the national demand for such a consummation must prove irresistible, when brought once more under the notice of the Imperial Parliament."

Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, of Youghal, forwarded the following reply to some observations on the dating of Irish Armour, made by the Rev. James Graves on the same subject:—

"The conclusions come to by Mr. Graves in the 'Transactions,' p. 363, on the subject of the dates of Irish armour in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seem to me far from being satisfactory, and an unwarranted precedent laid down for dating,—a much 'graver error' than the alteration of the date of the mutilated effigy at Youghal in the first instance. A few words before the subject is laid by as settled seem necessary, especially as Mr. Graves to my mind appears rather obscure on the matter himself, as he says, in substance, that the Anglo-Irish and English fashions in armour ran side by side during the thirteenth century; but that they lagged during the next two centuries: so that at the commencement of the sixteenth their monuments presented the curious anomaly of being sculptured in the armour of Richard II., as evidenced by monuments at Kilkenny, &c., 'and he had no doubt that where dated effigial tombs remained in other countries', the same anachronism would be found to exist."

"I have little doubt but that Mr. Graves is right as regards the monumental remains at St. Canice and in the county of Kilkenny; and as a specimen of his interesting new work on the Cathedral, &c., regret he did not give the quotation from it he refers to on the subject; but to what 'other countries' he alludes I am at a loss to imagine; nor does it seem a satisfactory conclusion to come to—because an anomaly exists in some effigial monuments in the cathedral and county of Kilkenny, that we should place all other monumental remains of this description in Ireland, and

r "Countries" was a misprint for "counties" in the passage quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald.—Eds.

those of other countries, in the same category of anachronism, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. I cannot, therefore, subscribe to this anomaly being general; for where such familiar intercourse was kept up by the Anglo-Irish nobles with the English Court during those disputed centuries, it does not seem probable; and among many instances of this which may be adduced, I single out three as touching the history of the mutilated monument in question.

"We find the first Earl of Desmond, about the middle of the fourteenth century, leading an army into Scotland, and rendering signal services there for Edward III.; he was also Viceroy of Ireland after. We also find, in the middle of the fifteenth century, Thomas Fitz-John, Earl of Desmond, Viceroy of Ireland, and renowned as a chieftain in nine battles under Edward IV. between the Houses of York and Lancaster; and so great was his familiarity with the King that Edward did not consider him beneath consulting on the important affairs of his kingdom, a conversation still preserved, which occurred between them, shows. 'Tell me,' said the King, 'I conjure you by the recollection of our friendship and intimacy, see you aught in my administration either injurious or disagreeable to my people?' The Earl, therefore, candidly informed him that he knew nothing which could be turned to his Majesty's prejudice, save his marriage with Elizabeth (Elizabeth Woodville), widow of Sir John Gray. 'Wherefore,' continued the Earl, 'I think you would do well in divorcing the present Queen, and forming an alliance with some powerful foreign princess.' The King assured him that he rejoiced when he considered that the marriage could injure none but himself, and kindly took leave of him. Some time after, the King and Queen had a serious disagreement, and, as usual, recrimination followed; whereat the King, growing warmer, said, 'Long since would I have broken thy insolent spirit had I hearkened to the advice of my trusty servant, Desmond.' Retribution followed: Elizabeth meditated vengeance on the Earl, and, when reconciled to the King, elicited from him the history of his interview with the Earl; and possessing herself clandestinely of the King's privy seal, sent letters to Worcester, then Viceroy in Ireland, ordering him, on receipt of them, to summon and behead the Earl. Worcester immediately cited the Desmond, and caused him to be decapitated at Drogheda, to the utter astonishment of the Irish. This Earl's obituary is thus given in the *Mortilage of Askeaton*:—'Died, Sir Thomas, Earl of Desmond, and Justiciary of Ireland, who was slain by the swords of the wicked at Drogheda, A. D. mcccclxviii.' Again, down in the sixteenth century, it is not probable that an Earl of Desmond, who is considered by competent judges in our own day to have been one of the greatest subjects in Europe, would appear before his sovereign or his own people, in the armour or costume of two centuries out of date.

"However, we have strong reasons for assuming the disputed relic in question, to be a portion of an effigy of an early Geraldine, as we have records showing that the Dominican Friary at Youghal was one of their burial-places, and also, that this Abbey in which it was discovered was founded in 1268 by Thomas Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, surnamed nAppagh (he was father of the first Earl of Desmond), and, as recorded in Grace's *Annals*, interred in the Abbey in 1296, in the middle of the choir, exactly in the position where the effigy was now discovered,

and doubtless where it lay originally over the grave, until the iconoclastic proceedings of the Cromwellian soldiery drove the Geraldine's friends into a hurried interment of it, on the spot where it lay. And common reason would suggest, that the Irish reverence for the dead would not allow them to remove it out of its original position. Another coincidence as to the early date is, that there was found stuck down as a headstone over the effigy, a fine floriated, tapered, monumental stone coffin-lid, inscribed round the chamfered edges in the Longobardic letter, with the legend, as well as can be deciphered, of CRVAL . . . . . S . . . AVSI . . . . . DEV : DE : LOVR : ALMES : EIT : MERCI : PRIE : POVR : LOVR. . . . .

Now, it is generally admitted that the monumental stone coffin-lids and Longobardic letter were not used later than the fifteenth century, as the oblong-square cross slabs, and black-letter, or old English inscriptions, fully usurped their place in the sixteenth century.

There are, I am sure, many instances of Irish effigies in the armour of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries still extant, though Mr. Graves's opinion would lead to the conclusion that they were extinct, and I think I can furnish a few specimens myself, which, though perhaps familiar enough to many of the members, yet may be acceptable as tending towards settling the point at issue,—that the Irish *in general* did not lag two centuries behind the English in costume or armour during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; my illustrations are from that excellent Irish work, the 'Dublin Penny Journal.' In vol. iv., page 228, we have a knight in armour from Old Kilkullen churchyard, county of Kildare; in this the body is in complete scale armour, the legs and arms only in plate.

This remarkable Irish effigy, I should be very sorry indeed to see stamped with a later date than the beginning of the fourteenth century.

We have then a knight and lady given in vol. ii., page 72, of the same work, taken from the Abbey of Howth. The knight in this case is sculptured in chain and plate armour, the plate predominating. Hewitt's chart would place this knight in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and if the effigy was found isolated and on Irish soil, Mr. Graves, no doubt, would assign it to the sixteenth century, but then we find the knight sculptured on the same block with his lady, whom we find attired in the costume and square head-dress of the fourth Henry, which exactly bears out the costume of the period, and which should be assigned to the effigy.

Again, we have a woodcut of a very interesting sepulchral arch, enclosing a monumental effigy of Coo-ey-na-gall, from Dungiven church, county of Londonderry, also from the 'Dublin Penny Journal,' vol. ii., p. 405, and here again the knight is in armour; yet it is not shown or mentioned of what description of armour; but, fortunately, neither is necessary for the purpose of dating, as the architecture of the monument at once stamps it as of the middle or close of the fourteenth century. Tradition also points to it as that of Coo-ey-na-gall, who flourished at this period. The 'Annals of the Four Masters' also record his death, viz.: 1385, Cumaighe O'Kane, Lord of Oireacht-*ui-Cathain*, died at the pinnacle of wealth and celebrity,

The alteration in dating the effigy at Youghal, to say the least of it, was to my mind quite premature; for where we have charts and directions by eminent archæologists for dating such matters, and where relics are

discovered corresponding with the particulars laid down, the proper course, I should imagine, would be, in the absence of other proofs, to fix the date accordingly, until actual proof to the contrary could be adduced."

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

### THE SCANDINAVIANS IN LEINSTER.

BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

DR. LEDWICH tritely observes in his "Antiquities of Ireland" that archæologic topics, which are naturally involved in obscurity, are not easily exhausted, even by the most sedulous investigations, and particularly Irish archaic subjects, which, in an enlightened view, are a new study. To the circumstance that the Doctor derived his descent from Danish ancestors, we owe the industrious vehemence with which he pursued his theory that the Danes were the primary civilizers of Erin. His theory was novel, for hitherto his heroes had been reversely regarded. Many of his errors have been pointed out, and his exaggerations reduced. Yet enough of verity remains, taken in conjunction with the additional information others have gleaned, to enable us to perceive that the Scandinavians played an important and valuable part in old Ireland.

For all that England, in the imperial meaning of the word, owes to her ancient Scandinavian inhabitants, we refer our readers to the agreeable pages of Worsaae, and the enlightening introduction of Laing to his "Chronicles of the Kings of Norway." The commercial probity of English merchants, that *sterling* quality which, combined with their mercantile adventurous spirit, has elevated them and the entire nation of Great Britain to unparalleled prosperity, is undoubtedly derived from their *Easterling* ancestors. Trade has small beginnings; and if we may ascend from modern greatness to archaic origins, let us notice that the title "Easterlings" is historically peculiar to the merchants of the Hanse towns;<sup>1</sup> those sturdy traders whose old league still keeps its bond, and has long enabled their petty republic to hold an independent and peaceful place amid the storms of European war.

Our space does not permit us to do more than notice a few sea and land marks bearing on the somewhat obscure history of the Scandinavians who settled in the south-east of Ireland prior to the Norman invasion. We are, however, enabled, at the least, to give our

<sup>1</sup> *Communes*.

readers one original and curious document respecting the first Teutonic colonists of this district, viz., a transcript and translation of an inquisition setting forth the legal condition of the Oustmanni, East-men, or Ostmen, of the Liberty of Wexford, during the thirteenth century. This record certainly discloses these Easterlings under a different phase to that which, from their mercantile character, we should have anticipated. They appear as a rural, not a civic, people. Our readers will also observe one or two ancillary points of interest in the document, which, nevertheless, derives its value from being one of the very few records bearing on the social and political state of the earliest Teuton settlers; who, being cognate to succeeding and numerous swarms of Norman and Anglian extraction (the forefathers of whose races had also come forth from the great northern hive), merged speedily, under the same laws, language, and loyalty, into the general body of the seaport town Englishry, and, therefore, soon became socially, historically, and in almost every other point, indistinct.

Although our oldest native annalists, who, by-the-by, lived remote from the South-Eastern seaboard, do not chronicle any Scandinavian invasion of earlier date than the eighth century, we will venture to quote other authorities.

“In the year of Christ 586, the people of Norway were Lodes and victours of the landes in the West Ocean called Orchades, and great scowlers of the seas: a nation desperate in attempting the conquest of other Realmes: as being sure to finde warmer dwelling any where then at their towne home.”

So wrote Campion in his quaint “*Historie of Ireland*,” with more quaintness than, it may be, authority. He proceeds to tell how “these fellows lighted into Ireland.” We will not follow him, but turn to another chronicle, of little better value, the text of Chancellor Dowling, who records that the Norwegians, warlike men, bold, robust, rapacious, and much given to conquer the kingdoms of others, having acquired the Orkneys and other Scottish isles, came thence into Ireland in the time of King Laoighaire and of St. Patrick. He adds that, from their time to that of Turgesius, no less than thirty-three Norse kings reigned in Ireland. For ourselves we entertain a private theory in regard to these apocryphal sovereigns; but deem it too vague and tedious to put in type. Every schoolboy knows that the great Danish and Norse invasions, which inundated all the coast and land of Britain, and submerged a vast northern province of France, took place during the ninth century. Is it not probable that these mighty incursions had far anterior precursors? It seems from that valuable record the “*Book of Rights*,” that the Danes of Dublin asserted that their ancestors had been settled in the metropolis so early as the fifth



century, and had been converted to Christianity by St. Patrick. There is also the tradition that this missionary baptized the renowned bard, Ossian, the son of Fionn Mac Comhal, and father of the warrior Oscar. At whatever period the conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin took place, it is clear that the bishops of Armagh, the successors of St. Patrick, assumed metropolitan authority over them. These bishops were hereditarily of the (we suggest) Scandinavian-Gaelic race of the Airgialla, in whose territory Christianity made its advent in Ireland.

According to our chroniclers and historians, Dublin was taken by the *Finu-gail*, or fair-haired strangers, in 836. The first recorded attack of the Danes dates forty-one years earlier. Are they likely to have come in such strong force as to have seized and held possession of the site of Dublin almost suddenly? We say the site of Dublin advisedly, because it is the opinion of our most eminent antiquaries that *Athcliath* (as the Gael styled the metropolis) was but, as its name signifies, a *ford of hurdles* at the epoch in question. Still the invading Ostmen may then have effected the settlement subsequently named Ostmantown. It is surely more consistent with analogous conquests, that such an acquisition was consequent on the accession of a large force, sent specically from the fatherland to aid the old colonists in wresting principal places from the already half-expelled natives; and these colonists may have descended from men who adventured from Scandinavia, or, as semi-Gaels, from the Scottish isles, at so remote a date as to have almost lost their nationality. Such a change in them would make their native annalists ignore their existence. Harald Haarfager's Saga dates the capture of Dublin in the reign of this monarch. Agreeably to this authority, the king gave some ships of war to Thorgill and Frode, with which they went westward on a cruise. The saga says, "They were the first of the Northmen who took Dublin." Yet, that a warlike seizure occurred first at that time does not controvert our reasonable presumption, that Scandinavians had settled long previously in this seaport. The young metropolis is said to have been taken by the unusual stratagem of catching and letting loose a number of swallows with lighted sponges tied under their wings;—away they flew to their nests, and the thatched roofs of the puny city were presently in a blaze. The conqueror Frode was poisoned in Dublin; but Thorgill was for long time king of the city, until he fell into a snare of the Irish and was killed. "Fomar," says the bardic author of the "Book of Rights," was "king of entrenched Athcliath." From this allusion in the tenth century, little can be adduced, save that it favours our belief that the Danes were the first to form earthen entrenchments. But the very remarkable consideration shown by that

<sup>1</sup> "Book of Rights," xii.

<sup>2</sup> Olaus.

<sup>3</sup> Laing's "Chronicle," p. 504.

bard for the "Galls of Dublin" seems to prove they were then in formidable force, sufficient not merely to hold their own against the natives, but to overawe them. It must be borne in mind that the populations of the periods in question were very thin. Want of sustenance at home impelled the Norwegians to become fishermen, pirates, hardy mariners, and colonists. It does not appear that more than three or four thousand men could be supported in one body by any king of Norway.<sup>1</sup> A fleet that brought invaders probably conveyed a much less number of men. It was peculiar to the vik-ings, i. e. inlet-men, to come, not in shoals, like herrings, but in "schools," like salmon, into our wicks, or bays; and wherever they settled in any number they formed fishing villages, which grew into seaport towns.

Giraldus Cambrensis clearly tells us the real mission of the Danes in Ireland. They were living here in considerable numbers during his sojourn; and he simply says that they had settled near the best harbours, where they had built themselves towns; and that they had by no means come to the country as enemies, but with the design of carrying on a peaceful trade. Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford were to them as Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay to our Indian merchants in the days of Clive; and the native kings, O'Brien of Ceanndora, and O'Melaghlin of Tara, as formidable, yet vincible, as Tippoo Sultan and the Great Mogul. It was reserved, however, for cognate successors, the Normans, Anglo-Danes, Saxons, and Gallic-Flemings, to effect a fuller conquest of Irish territory. Teutonic power in Ireland was not full till the reign of the Stuarts; and had fluctuated in its strength and weakness during, it seems to us, a thousand years. It is said to have been at the lowest ebb after the battle of Clontarf. Yet, for what purpose did the Irish, after their victory, permit the vanquished to remain, as they did, in the metropolis? Let us believe the assertion that, in provident policy, and aware of native repugnance to maritime and commercial affairs, the victors "left no Danes in the kingdom, except such a number," says our authority, "of artisans and merchants in Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, as could be easily mastered at any time, should they dare to rebel; these King Brien very wisely permitted to remain in these seaport towns, for the purpose of encouraging trade and traffic, as they possessed many ships, and were experienced sailors." Such is the account given in the MS. entitled "Cath Chluana Tarbh," i. e. the battle of Clontarf. Doubtless, the effect of this victory, however its importance has been magnified, was national. Another ancient MS., "The Wars of the Irish and the Northmen," now about to be published by two of our most distinguished antiquaries, declares that, immediately after the grand

<sup>1</sup> Haing's "Chronicle," ii. 308.

success at Clontarf, "there was not a threshing spot from Howth to Brandon in Kerry without an enslaved Dane threshing on it, nor a quern without a Danish woman grinding on it." King Brian of the Cow Tribute evidently knew the value of skilled labour in political economy, when he left the Easterlings free to carry on the advantageous and peace-producing pursuits of commerce. Donald Mac Firbis, skilled in genealogy, says, that in his time (1650), "most of the merchants in Dublin were the descendants of the Norwegian-Irish King, Olaf Kueran." But this assertion is to be taken *cum grano*, for Henry II. established a colony from Bristol in our metropolis. Without proposing to give all the scattered notices we could collect on the subject of the Ostmen of our archæologic district, we will make two or three notes from our records. By the Calendar of Patent Rolls it appears that one, at least, of the conquered in Dublin, namely, Cristin, "the Ostman," ceded to Strongbow a house which the Earl afterwards granted to De Riddlesford. The domicile was situated outside the gate of Dublin. Some reader versed in metropolitan archaic lore may, perhaps, be induced to favour us with an account of all relating to the Scandinavians of Dublin, and of Fingal (*Fionn-gall*, i. e. the fair-complexioned foreigner), their principal rural colony. Campion states that the Plunket family possessed "special monuments," proving that their ancestors "came in with the Danes." The chief nobleman of this loyal feudal race might then well receive the title of Earl of Fingal. Probably the Harolds of the Wicklow borders had the same Teutonic origin. John Harold was sheriff of Waterford, temp. Edw. I. ("Cal. Pat." p. 3.) There was a Hubard's town, near New Ross, now called "Hobart." Port Lairge, the Erse name for Waterford, is believed by the learned editor of the "Miscellany of the Celtic Society" to have derived its appellation from a Danish chieftain, Lairge, or, as the Danes write it, Largo, who is mentioned by the Four Masters at the year 951. The name *Vedrafiord* is supposed to signify "weather frith." The termination of the names of three of the four provinces, "ster," is declared (see page 170, *supra*) by our best philologist to be Danish. Doubtless the words *ter* derives from the Latin *terra*, as in Finisterre. The extent to which Scandinavian nomenclature of places in Ireland was adopted by the cognate conquerors under Henry II. demonstrates the fulness of possession in which the Northmen held Irish ports and harbours. The Gael might enjoy Sliabh-Gallen and Maghleana, the mountain and the moor, but the Teuton lived in the cities which commanded the island. Oxmantown, or Villa Ostmannorum, perhaps the nucleus of our metropolis, Waterford, Wexford, Wicklow, Carlingford, Strangford, &c., were so completely theirs as to retain their names. Most of the sea-marks around our shores attest the maritime occupation of the vikings. *Sker*, or

*skjar*, a reef, gave names to the various "skerries." *Vik*, an inlet or bay, is found in Wicklow, Blathwyc, and Workingsfrith, now Larne Lough, in Ulster, and Smerwick, or St. Mary's Wick, the landlocked haven in Kerry. The Hill of Howth obtains its designant from the Scandinavian *hofud*, 'head, a name as well adapted as that of Holyhead, on the opposite coast. *Ore*, or *eyre*, or *ayre*, a strand, spit of land or sand, the term still used in the Orkneys, and giving name to the famous "Nore" in the Thames, is also found in Greenore Point, Carnsore, (perhaps) Roslare, &c. *Ring*, a promontory of much the same character as an *ore*, is found in Ringsend, famous as the old point of debarkation for Dublin; Raven Point, at the mouth of the Slaney; and Ringrone, near Kinsale. It has been supposed, seemingly erroneously, to have also given name to "Ring" Tower, the singular round fortalice which, more than seven centuries ago, commanded the navigation of the river at Waterford, and still stands, in stern historic significance, at the head of the city's quay. This supposition, however, is contradicted by the appellation *Turris Reginaldi*, used by Cambrensis for this fortress, of which "the officer, Gillemaire," was, as the Four Masters record, taken by the Anglo-Norman invaders: and is also controverted by the following original extract from a record, in which, it would seem, another designation is given to this antique tower. The entry is in Add. MS. 4793, in the British Museum, taken from a record, probably in Bermingham Tower, to which the date 1226 is assigned, of a plea of accusation against Robert le Waleys (the Welshman), for having killed John, son of Ivor Mac Gillemory. By our notes from this MS. it appears to be stated in the record that Reginald Mac Gillemory, "homo dives, et valde potens," lived in "Renaud's castell." Not to be more unparadoxably wanting in candour than pardonably full of antiquarian eagerness in having produced even a fragment of evidence, we must notice that this record is to be found, differently dated, in Davys' "Discoverie," with this introduction:—

"The meere Irish were not onely accompted aliens, but enemies; and altogether out of the protection of the law; so as it was no capital offence to kill them; and this is manifest by many records. At a gaol delivery at Waterford, before John Wogan, lord justice of Ireland, the 4th of Edw: the Second, wee finde it recorded among the pleas of the Crown of that year:—'Quod Robertus le Waleys, rectatus de morte Johannis filii Ivor Mac Gillemory felonice per ipsam interfecti,' &c. Venit et bene cognovit quod prædictum Johannem interfecit: dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem feloniam committere non potuit, quia dicit, quod prædictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus, et non de libero sanguine, &c. Et cum Dominus dicti Johannes (cujus Hibernicus idem Johannes fuit) die quo interfectus fuit, solutionem pro ipso Johanne Hibernico suo sic interfecto petere voluerit, ipse Robertus paratus erit ad respondend' de solutione

prædict. prout justitia suadebit. Et super hoc venit quidam Johannes le Poer, et dicit pro Domine Rege, quod prædict' Johannes filius Ivor Mac Gillemory, et antecessores sui de cognomine prædict' à tempore quo Dominus Henricus filius imperatricis, quondam Dominus Hiberniæ, Tritavus Domini Regis nunc, fuit in Hibernia, legem Anglicorum in Hibernia usque ad hunc diem habere, et secundum ipsam legem judicari et deduci debent.' And so pleaded the Charter of Denizenation granted to the Oostmen recited before; all which appeareth at large in the said record."

Davy's extract does not include the passage, if there be one, mentioning Reginald's tower. As this archaic question is one of far less curiosity than two other points which are touched in this record, we turn to them, and offer a few brief remarks. By the statement that the slain man was his lord's "Irishman," we obtain a startling insight into the slavish condition, not merely of Celtic *naiifs*, or natives who had been enthralled, but even of some Scandinavians, who also, as it appears, had been treated as a conquered race. For the other, and still more interesting historical point, namely, the legal light in which the native Irish were regarded:—whether the slayer of John MacGillemory, when ready to pay the dead man's owner for the loss he had sustained, offered compensation under the Brehon code, or under some law that provided pecuniary reparation in such cases, are questions we cannot answer, farther than in remarking that the Gaelic code would hardly be observed within the walls of Waterford. Attorney General Davys understood that the Brehon law was observed in this instance—a legal opinion from which we respectfully differ.

However this point may have been, let us not pass over our learned author's concluding remark, that "our law neither protected the life, nor revenged the death," of an Irishman. By some modern and over-sensitive writers, this apparent negligence on the part of "the law" has been pointed to as the climax of English misrule; yet, it may be answered, that the law can deal only with subjects, and not with national foes.

Worsæe observes that architectural remains of Scandinavian sway in Ireland are very rare. The fortalice on the quay of Waterford is the only monument this usually indefatigable inquirer makes mention of. To verify any conjectural ascription of buildings, so ancient as to have stood in the time of Strongbow, to Scandinavian origin, is necessarily a task of which the *data* are too obscure. We may venture to ascribe this origin to the few under-mentioned types of this peculiar style of architecture, with the observation that its characteristics are circular form, unusually thick walls, and narrow apertures:—Hook Tower, a fit eyrie for the human ospreys of the tenth century, whose unguilty prey was taken on the Nymph bank; Arklow castle, or at least the circular tower, still gray with moss and green with ivy, and anciently, it may be,

the stronghold of the Mac Dubhgalls, i. e. sons of the black strangers, or Danes, whose appellative is now modernized to Doyle, a name common in Leinster cabins, and well known in May Fair;— and Inchiquin castle, a remarkable ruin, massive and antique, standing at the head of a small estuary near Youghal, and named from Cu-inn, i. e. the hound of the waves, who, doubtless, was a very active scourer of the seas.

Masters of the sea, the vikings flitted from port to port throughout the straits of north-western Europe; ravaging where they landed, and taking ship again whenever likely to be overpowered. We read in history that some enterprising chiefs who had settled in Ireland led incursions into wealthier lands. Sigurd, son of King Ingial, the Ostman, King of Waterford, and Sydroc the younger, and another Sydroc, King Ivar's son, conqueror of Dublin, headed an invasive expedition to the coasts of Gaul. In 852, Sidroc, "an Irish Dane," entered the Seine, and threw up fortifications in a position which subsequently acquired celebrity, Jéufosse, an insular site in this river that long continued to be a stronghold whence many destructive excursions issued forth.<sup>2</sup> Sir Francis Palgrave, from whose erudite first volume of the "History of Normandy" we quote, observes that the Danes who obtained virtual mastery of France were not numerous. "In England," writes he, "not only the ancient Danelaghe" (or Danish countries, which included no less than the north-eastern quarter of England) "but many other districts, retain, and retained, the records of their preponderance in the names of places and the aspect of the people. Our institutions also recall their memory. But in France, even in the countries where they settled and naturalized themselves, nigh the Loire, where they colonized, in Normandy, where they ruled, they were completely absorbed amongst the Romanized population. Like a stage procession, winding in and out, disappearing, and returning, their numbers were magnified by their activity. If it so happened that they were in danger of being hit, they evaded the blow; when their stores were exhausted, they departed till the next harvest, and sought a harvest elsewhere."<sup>3</sup>

Sir Francis wrote this paragraph with liveliness and judgment. The piratic vikings could hardly have been accompanied by any of the gentle sex in their marauding and colonizing voyages; so they would have taken to themselves wives of the Roman-Frankish and Gaelic natives, and their posterity, speaking the mother tongue, would virtually become French in the second generation. Such, indeed, were the similar circumstances which resulted after the subsequent invasion of the Normans, who, how-

<sup>2</sup> Palgrave's "Normandy," vol. i., p. 429.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 447, 451.

ever, retained, as the aristocracy of northern France, many national peculiarities, excepting language, more completely. Still, we imagine that the Scandinavian fishers and seamen of the north coast of France retained much of that fraternized isolation which is observable in communities following their callings; and history assures us that the best sailors and commanders of the French navy were born in this Dane-peopled border.

It is also worth notice that the eminent philologist, M. E. Du Meril, has traced nearly all maritime words in use by the French to the language of Scandinavia, the northern *officina gentium*, whose hardy sons so often made the deep their home. Very many a vestige of these seamen-settlers remains, of course, all along the coast of Normandy, since their footsteps on these strands were not obliterated either by succeeding waves of invasion, or by down-pourings from the inland countries. Modern Denmark, justly proud of her former sons, who, a thousand years ago, issued forth from her ports, and founded the Anglian and Norman races, the most distinguished in Europe for courage, chivalry, and adventure, has recently taken the lead, with a species of paternal pride, in directing inquiry into all historic and archaeologic monuments of these foremost adventurers. M. Adam Fabricius, Professor of History in Denmark, has lately, under royal commission, similar to that of M. Worsnae, followed his inquiring steps diligently, and has lately published his researches regarding the Northmen in Normandy. He found much of nomenclature, which, as in Ireland, establishes the sites of favourite haunts of the vikings: such as Craquevik (Creek-wick?), Pilvik (the wick of a pill, or tidal inlet?), and Fisigart, near Dieppe, corresponding to Fishguard, i. e. the fish reservoir, on the Pembroke-shire coast. With these researches in foreign lands we have much in common; and may further say, that, as these etymologists derive the most heroic name in English naval annals, Nelson, from the Danish Niel, i. e. Nigel, the black, we are tempted, however far-fetched our analogy, to attribute the boldness in maritime exploits of Nial of the Nine Hostages (believed to be the king mentioned by Claudian as having led naval excursions against Britain) to Scandinavian blood, evidenced in his name.

The Scandinavian settlers in the seaports of Erin cannot be traced as a distinct people for more than about a century and a half after the invasion of 1169. Henry II. evidently recognised them as kindred to his own subjects, and being sensible of their use as traders, extended the benefit of English law to, at the fewest of them, those of Waterford, and he may have endowed those of Limerick with the same valuable privilege. Perhaps the commercial jealousy of the Bristol adventurers he established in the metropolis may have prevented its Ostmen from also receiving a

charter of denizenation. It may also have been, that consequently, having been isolated as regards the law, the Dublin Easterlings continued in civic separation in a suburb of their own. As the conquered Ostmen of Wexford were under the seigniory of Strongbow, they passed to his heirs, and therefore could not be enfranchised by the crown. There may have been an Ostman's town in other cities besides the metropolis, just as also there was an Irish town. These national *faubourgs* must have been more occasioned by difference of law than by other causes. It is no jest to say that "Liberty boys" enjoyed certain franchises within certain bounds, as we know that all Alsacias had their origin in privileges. In the year 1201, Easterlings were so numerous in Limerick as to have been placed on an equal footing with the English and Irish inhabitants, since we find the jury of an inquest, of this date, composed of an equal number (twelve) of each nation. This thriving port, situated at the end of the tidal flow of the Shannon, that extensive resort of salmon, probably owes its origin to a settlement of vikings, who, unquestionably, constructed the first *lax*, i. e. salmon-weir on the site where the great "lax weir" stands. In 1283, Edward I. enforced the benevolent charter of Henry II. in favour of the Ostmen of Waterford, in the case of certain of their number, namely, the family of Mac Gillemory, who required to be dealt with according to English law. As this confirmatory charter of denizenation, granted by "the English Justinian," the subduer and sage law-giver of the northern Welsh, and who would most willingly, of course, have extended the sunbeam of sound laws to the Celts of Ireland, is incorrectly printed in Davys' "Discoverie," we now give the correct reading from the Appendix of Worsaae, to whom a copy of the document was communicated by Mr. Hardy, the obliging and excellent custodian of Records in the Tower of London, where the original is in a Patent Roll of 11 Edward I.:

Pro Oustumannis Waterfordi in Hibernia, Rex Justiciario suo Hibernie et omnibus aliis Ballivis et fidelibus suis Hibernie ad quos, etc. salutem. Quia per inspectionem carte Domini Henrici Regis, filii Imperatricis, quondam Domini Hibernie, proavi nostri, nobis constat quod Oustumanni nostri Waterford legem Anglicorum in Hibernia habere et secundum ipsam legem judicari et deduci debeat. Vobis mandamus quod Gillecrist Makgillemory, William Makgillemory, et Johannem Makgillemory, et alios Oustumannos de Civitate et Communitate Waterford, qui de predictis Oustumannis predicti domini regis, proavi nostri originem duxerant legem Anglicorum in partibus illis juxta tenorem carte predictae habere et eos secundum ipsam legem quantum in vobis est deduci faciatis, donec aliud de consilio nostro inde duximus ordinandum, etc. . . . v. die Octobr.

(Worsaae.)



The following document is printed from a transcript made for us from the original in the Charter House, Westminster, written on a small piece of parchment, and being an inquisition on the state of the Ostmenn in the county of Wexford towards the close of the thirteenth century :—

“ Omnibus has lras visur' v'l auditor', Rob's de Imer sen' tūc Wes salm. Nov'it univ'sitas v'ra me ex mandato nobil' viri dñi W. de Valenc inquisitionem cepisse sup redditibus s'viciiis et cōsuetudinibus oustmann' forincecar' Com' Wes' p' juratur' s'bsc'ptos. videlz Henr' Wythay, Will'm Marescall, Will'm de Kadwely, Clemente Cod, Joh'em le Styward, Rob'm de Amers, Rob'm de Arderne, David fil' Ric', Joh'em fil' Ph'i le Harpur, Joh'em fil' David le Harpur, David Cheure, et Adā Hay. Qui jur' dic' quod tempor' Marescallor' d'nor' Lagen' fuerunt infra Com' Wes' quinquies vigint' oustmann' forinceci valde divites plura animalia h'ntes. Quor' quilibet suis temporibus reddere cōsueverint p' annū p'positis Wes' ad duos t'minos anni sex den' p' corpore suo scil' ad Pasch' et ad festū S'ci Mich'is et duos den' ad festū S'ci Pet'i q'd d'r ad vincul' p' q'libet vacca q' habebat ppriam, et q'tuor den' ad festū Omnīū S'cōr' ne iret in exercitu. Et tres ob' in ant'pno p' blad' dñi sui metend' apud Rosclar' p' uno die in anno. Et q'tuor den' p' quolibet affr' et bove q' habebat in festo S'ci Martini, v'l arrare p' unoquoq' affr' et bove dimid' acr' t're ibidē ad op' dñi. Dicunt vero q'd nūc nō sunt infra d'cm com' nisi q'draginta oustmanni parv' boni habentes, et duodecim, qui s'viant Anglic' et aliis p' victu suo nich' in bonis habentes. Et dicūt q'd tempore Marescallor' solebant p'd'ci oustmanni l'tram tenere de quo dño volebant infra com' p' p'd'cis redditibus et serviciis dño Marescall' solvend' et reddend'. Et q' p'd'cus dñs n'r W. de Valenc' ip'os in eod' statu v'l melior' p' salute anime sue et antecessor' suor' et successor' affectat tenere. Nec vult q'd aliquis vivens gen' portat v'l sustentat mortuar', nec p' mortuis distūgatur: p'd'cos oustmannos nūc existentes ab omnibus honeribus redditibus et s'viciiis q' mort'm solebant sustinere dū vixerant ex mandato p'd'ci dñi n'ri W. de Valenc' imp'petuū clamogietos, dans eis dē ex eod' mandato dñi n'ri licentiam t'ram tenere de quo d'no voluerint infra Com'. Ita q'd decetero nō distūgantur p' aliquo reddū reddendo v'l s'viciiis faciend' nisi p' ip'is qui vivi fuerint et scdm eor' facultates. In cuj' rei testim' p'sentibus l'ris sigillū meū una cū sigillo Thom' Hay, tūc vic' et sigiff' p'd'cor' jurator' apponi feci.”

TRANSLATION.

To all seeing or hearing these letters, Robert of Imer, now seneschal of Wexford, greeting. Know all you that I, by order of the nobleman, Lord William of Valence, have taken an inquest on the rents, services, and customs of the foreign Eastmen of the county of Wexford, by the oaths of the subscribed—viz., Henry Wythay, William Marshal, William of Kidwelly,<sup>1</sup> Clement Cod, John the Steward, Robert of Amers,

<sup>1</sup> Kidwelly is the name of a castle and town in the possession of the De Loundres family on the coast of South Wales, which were long

Robert of Arderne, David son of Richard, John son of Philip the Harper,<sup>1</sup> John son of David the Harper, David Chever, and Adam Hay. Who, being sworn, say that in the time of the Marshalls, Lords of Leinster,<sup>2</sup> there were within the county of Wexford five times twenty foreign Eastmen, very wealthy, possessing many cattle; of whom each in his time was accustomed to render yearly to the bailiffs of Wexford, at two periods in the year, sixpence for his body, that is, at Easter and Michaelmas, and twopence at the feast of St. Peter ad vincula (1st August) for each cow belonging to himself; and fourpence at the feast of All Saints, that he should not enter the army; and three oboli in autumn for reaping the corn of his lord at Roslare for one day in the year; and fourpence for each steer and ox that he possessed, on the feast of St. Martin, or to plough for every steer and ox half an acre of land there, at the need of his lord. They say that truly there are not now within the said county but eighty Ostmen, possessing few oxen; and twelve who serve the English, and others, for their sustenance, and possess nothing in goods. And they say that in the time of the Marshals the said Eastmen were accustomed to hold land of whatever lord they wished in the county, paying and rendering the said rents and services to the Lords Marshal. And that our said Lord William of Valence desires to keep them in the same condition, or better, for the health of his soul, and of the souls of his ancestors and successors. Nor does he wish that any living people should be borne or sustained of the dead, nor distrained for the dead. The said Eastmen now existing are for ever free from all burdens, rents, and services which the dead were accustomed to sustain while they lived, by command of our aforesaid Lord William of Valence. Giving them, by the same mandate of our Lord, license to hold land of whatever lord they will within the county. Also, that they shall not be severally distrained for any rent to be rendered, or services to be performed, unless for they who are living, and according to their ability. In testimony of which I have affixed my seal to these present letters, together with the seal of Thomas Hay, now sheriff, and the seals of the aforesaid jurors."

This curious document must have been drawn up between the marriage of William of Valence to Joan Marshall (by which Valence became Lord of Wexford), and his death in 1296. This very eminent nobleman was half-brother to Henry III., and came over to England in 1248. He was created Earl of Pembroke after espousing the eldest co-heiress of this earldom. His monument in Westminster Abbey is one of the finest of the ancient tombs in that rich cemetery of the illustrious.

The Ostmen specified in this record probably dwelt in the vicinity of the county town. Their Waterford countrymen enjoyed

<sup>1</sup> The ancestor of this Harper may have been Welsh minstrel to Strongbow. Harperstown, near Taghmon, came by an heiress, Agatha Harper, in the fourteenth century, into the family of Mr. Hore Ruthven, its present possessor.

<sup>2</sup> The Marshalls, Earls of Pembroke, were Lords of the Palatinate or Liberty of Leinster, one of the vastest fiefs ever held under the Crown.

an entire hundred, or cantred, called *Gall-ter*, i. e. the land of the foreigner; and now "Gaultier" barony, which was politically confirmed to them by Henry II. Roslare, one of the demesno manors of the lords of Wexford, and a fit abode for piscatory vik-ingar, may have contained an Ostman village. The Wexford Easterlings appear to have been free tenants; yet, at the same time, under the dominion of the lord of the county. They were not the *liberi* defined in Domesday Book as those *qui ire poterant quò volebant*—men unattached to any lord in a seigniorial capacity. A degree of thralldom hampered their liberty, confining them within the bounds of the "Liberty of Wexford." The legal term "Liberty," as designating a district within which certain franchises held good, derives from the freedom semi-enthralled persons enjoyed within its limits. It would seem that these Ostmen were less unfree than the Gaelic *Betagh's* of the Pale, whose serfdom would form an interesting antiquarian topic; and whose enfranchisement was as moot a question in Dublin in the sixteenth century as the liberation of negroes is in the nineteenth in Washington. Even in the first-named century, seven-eighths of the galloghasses, those stout men-at-arms who bore the brunt of Irish battles, were slaves;—having, doubtless, for the most part sprung from vikingish captives to Gaelic bows and spears. A question may be raised whether "*onstmanni forinecci*" does not signify foreign Eastmen;—that is, others than the indigenous Ostmen of the district. Yet we cannot believe that foreigners would voluntarily settle under such conditions of thralldom. Referring to our *Annuary*, page 59, it will be seen that some tenants in the borough of Wexford held by "*Ostlacheis*," which term may have reference to this ancient people. The above record shows these sons of vik-ings to us as a pastoral, not a trading people. Probably their forefathers, when conquered, had been ousted from within their entrenchment in Wexford, and became tenants to the conquerors, still continuing to be serfs, paying each "two pence for his body" yearly, to the feudal lord of the conquerors. There is no trace of either any "Ostman" or "Irish" town as a subdivision of Wexford. However, the ensuing extract from *Worsaae* confirms, by a quotation from *Cambrensis*, to whose pages we cannot refer, our conjecture that the Ostmen had a peculiar town within each seaport city:—

"One of the chief causes that the Norwegians, in the Irish cities, maintained uninterruptedly their Scandinavian characteristics, and consequently their independent power likewise, was, that they not only lived in the midst of the Irish, but that, as *Giraldus Cambrensis* expressly intimates, they erected in every city a town of their own, surrounded with deep ditches and strong walls, which secured them against the attacks of the natives. They built a rather extensive town for themselves on the river *Liffey*; near the old city of *Dublin*; which was strongly fortified with

ditches and walls, and which, after the Norwegians and Danes (or Ostmen) settled there, obtained the name of Ostmantown, in Latin 'vicus' or villa Ostmannorum, i. e. the Eastman's town. Even the Irish chronicles, which attest that, as early as the beginning of the tenth century, the Norwegians in Dublin had well entrenched themselves with walls and ramparts, also state that in the art of fortifying towns they were far superior to the Irish. Ostmantown continued through the whole of the middle ages to form an entirely separate part of Dublin, and the gates of the strong fortifications with which it was surrounded were carefully closed every evening. Oxmantown (whence an Irish peer has obtained, in modern times, the title of Lord Oxmantown) was completely incorporated with Dublin. But to the present day the name of Oxmantown remains an incontrovertible monument of an independent Norwegian town, formerly existing within the greatest and most considerable city of Ireland."

The inquiring reader will find in Worsaae's work a brief account of the Scandinavian antiquities exhumed from graves in Kilmainham and the Phoenix Park. The former place, in propinquity to Inchicore, i. e. the island of the weir (a trap in which many a good fish has been taken while on its ascent to "salta salmoni," or Leixlip), was a favourite seat of the vik-ings. These Pagan settlers used to bury articles of value, such as swords, axes, &c., with their dead. A glass-case full of such visible objects is better than a book-case of vague and dubious histories, for tombs reveal the condition of primitive races truly. Let us hear the comments of Worsaae on these sepulchral evidences of the condition of his ancient countrymen in Leinster, prefacing our quotation with the remark that the state of the useful arts among a people is the test, next to their advancement politically and intellectually, of their civilization:—

"Just as," writes he, "the proportionally numerous Norwegian graves near Dublin prove that a considerable number of Norwegians must have been settled there, so also do the peculiar form and workmanship of the antiquities that have been discovered in them afford a fresh evidence of the superior civilization which the Norwegians in and near Dublin must, for a good while at least, have possessed in comparison with the Irish. The antiquities hitherto spoken of only prove, indeed, that the Norwegians and other Northmen were superior to the Irish, with regard to arms and martial prowess. But there are other Norwegian antiquities, originating in Ireland, and found both in and out of that country, which also prove that the Danes and Norwegians formerly settled there contributed, like their kinsmen in England, by peaceful pursuits, to influence very considerably the progress of civilization in Ireland."

Archæologists do not easily resign themselves to the inevitable reflection, that they are powerless to investigate the topics that may form their ephemeral pursuit within many degrees of the summer heat of research, their retrospective imaginations desire. There is a proverb that "it is hard to keep an old hound from hunting."

and antiquaries certainly will keep ever in chase of *their* objects; nay, more, will often give tongue (sometimes on false scents), and, again, crave, as we do now, the rest of the pack to take up the cry, and let all and every one hear them.

THE REGISTRY OF CLONMACNOISE; WITH NOTES AND  
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

THIS Registry is said to have been transcribed by direction of Muirchertach O'Muiridhe,<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Clonmacnoise, from the original entries which were in the life of St. Kieran, "fearing it might be obscured or lost." The original MS. of this Registry, as Archbishop Ussher, in his "Report on the Diocese of Meath," addressed to King James's Commissioners, states, was in existence in his time, "but had lately been conveyed away by the practice of a lewd fellow, who hath thereupon fled the country."

Transcripts of it were, however, in the possession of Archbishop Ussher, and of his friend, Sir James Ware, who had it translated into English by the celebrated Irish antiquary, Duaid Mac Firbis; and the autograph of this translator is preserved among Ware's MSS. in the British Museum, No. LI. of the Clarendon collection, 4796. It contains an account of the various lands granted to the church of Clonmacnoise by the several provincial kings and principal chieftains, as a purchase for the right of themselves and their descendants to be interred in a portion of the cemetery appropriated to their use.

This document is quoted by Crofton Croker in his "Researches in the South of Ireland," pp. 242, 246, but he takes for granted that it belongs to *Cluain Uamha*, or Cloyne, in the county of Cork, and not to Clonmacnoise, though the name of Cluaine m<sup>c</sup> Noise is distinctly mentioned, and even if it were not, the name of St. Kyran, which is so often referred to as that of the patron saint of the place, should have convinced him that Cloyne, in the county of Cork, could not have been meant. It has been also quoted by Dr. Petrie in his "Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland," pp. 263, 264, 270, 271, 368, 384; and by the Editor, in the "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many," pp. 15, 80, 81,

<sup>1</sup> See Harris's edition of Ware's "Bishops," p. 170. The only bishop bearing a name like this was Muirigen O'Muirigen, who

died Bishop of Clonmacnoise in the year 1215. The date 1320, at the end of this document, is clearly wrong.

98, 188, from a copy made for Dr. Petrie, by the late George Downes, M. A.

It is stated in this Registry that St. Kieran "had such power, being a holy Bushop, through the will of God, that what soules harboured in the bodies buried under that dust,<sup>1</sup> may never be adjudged to damnation." This belief about the all-saving efficacy of the úr, dust or clay, of Clonmacnoise is, or was recently, held by the untaught peasantry on both sides of the Shannon, in the neighbourhood of Clonmacnoise; and it is to be feared that the sanction of Bishop O'Muiridhe to the passage above quoted has helped to perpetuate this error.

Another passage in the Registry which looks very strange is that which states that the livings bestowed for sepultures were inscribed in Hebrew characters on the tombstones. Harris in his edition of Ware's "Bishops," p. 166, and Archdall in his "Monasticon," p. 392 (both blunt paleographic Irish critics), seem to have believed, on the authority of this document, that there were Hebrew inscriptions at Clonmacnoise, and this is also the belief of the peasantry at the present day; but no ancient or even modern Hebrew inscription has been found at Clonmacnoise by any of our antiquaries, nor does it appear that the ancient Irish ever inscribed any of their monuments with Hebrew characters.

The following account of the foundation of Clonmacnoise is given in Harris's edition of Ware's "Bishops," p. 165, *et seq.*—

"ST. KIARAN, obiit, 549."

"St. Kieran, or Ciaran the Younger, founded the Abby of Clonmacnois, antiently called Tiprait, (or Druim-Tipraid,) near the river Shénón in the very centre or Navel of the kingdom, A. D. 548; and Dermot the son of Cervail, King of Ireland, granted the Scite on which this Abby was built. St. Kieran was descended from the Sept of the Arads, but was the son of Boetius, or Boenandus, a carpenter, from whence he was commonly nick-named, Mac-Itair, or the son of the Artificer. Many are of opinion that Kieran presided over this Abby only one year, although others say, seven; which I think must be a mistake; for he died there, on the 9th of September, 549, in the flower of his age; having lived only thirty three years. [St. Coemgene, or Kevin, assisted at his funeral obsequies the third night following; and his friend, St. Columb some time after composed a hymn in his praise.] The Annals of Inisfallen place the birth of St. Kieran, under the year 506, and his death in 548. But archbishop Ussher from the authority of the Book of Navan, and the Ulster annals, is more worthy of credit, who alledgeth that he was born in

<sup>1</sup> *Dust*, in Irish úr, which means the mound, dust, or clay of the churchyard:—*Nac oen capra paža úr na hinnse in cá nÍ connepa a anm ippepa.* "Every

one over whom the clay of the island where he is [buried] shall be placed, his soul shall not go to hell."—"Leabhar Breac," fol. 92, b. a.

516, and died in 549, in the thirty third year of his age; which best agreeth with what a writer of his life sayeth, when he calls him *μικροθαδιον*, short lived. The church of this Abby was afterwards converted to a Cathedral; but I am utterly at a loss to fix the time when it was. Some indeed expressly say that St Kieran was bishop of Clonmacnois. If this be true, there is no occasion of any further enquiry into the original of the cathedral. However in latter ages, nine other churches were subjected to it, as it were in one and the same churchyard, which contained about two Irish acres in circuit; on the west whereof, the bishops of Clonmacnois afterwards built their Episcopal palace, (the ruins of which are yet visible). The situation of this place is not unpleasant. It stands on a green bank, high raised above the river, but encompassed, to the East and North East with large boggs. The nine churches were mostly built by kings and petty princes, of those parts as their places of sepulture; who, although at perpetual wars in their lives, were contented to lie here peaceably in death. One of these churches, called Temple-Ri, or the Kings church, was built by O'Mellaghlin, King of Meath, and to this day is the burial place of that family. Another called Temple-Connor was built by O'Connor-Dun, a third and fourth by O'Kelly and Mac Carthymore of Munster. The largest of all was erected by Mac Dermot and is called after his name. The rest by others. Before the west door of Mac Dermots church stood a large, old fashioned cross, or monument much injured by time, on which was an inscription in antique characters, which, nobody that I could hear of could read. The west and north door of this church, although but mean and low, are guarded about with fine wrought, small marble pillars curiously hewn. Another of the churches has an arch of greenish marble, flat wrought, and neatly hewn, and polished and the joints so close and even set that the whole arch seems but one entire stone, as smooth as either glass or christall. The memory of St. Kieran is yet fresh and precious in the minds of the Neighbouring inhabitants; inso-much they make scruple in joyning his name with Gods both in blessing and cursing. God and St. Kieran after you, is a common imprecation, when they think themselves injured. In the great church was heretofore preserved, a piece of the bone of one of St Kieran's hands as a sacred relique. The ninth of September is anually observed as the patron day of this Saint; and great numbers from all parts flock to Clonmacnois in devotion and pilgrimage.

“ This chathedral, was hertofore endowed with large possessions; and was above all others, famous for sepulchres of the nobility and bishops, as also for some monuments and inscriptions, partly in Irish, and partly in *Hebrew*. Yet it declined by degrees, and in the end reduced to a most shameful poverty. In the Synod, before mentioned to be held A. D. 1152, in Cardinal Paparo's Legateship in Ireland, Cinani, is reckoned among the episcopal sees, subject to the province of Tuam; which after a tedious suit at Rome, between the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, was in the end adjudged to the province of Armagh. I was once of an opinion, induced there by the affinity of the names, that this bishoprick was the same with the see of Kenanuse or Kells. But as every day improves the day before, I am now convinced that Cinani is there corruptly read for Cluana, commonly called Clonmacnois; both from the reason of its vicinity







to Tuam, being separated from that province, only by the river Shenon; as also because in the before mentioned division of the Bishoprick of Ireland, Conanas is reckoned among the sees subject to the province, of Armagh; which is doubtless the same as Kenanusse, for it is probable that in that distribution of sees, made in a Synod, wherein so many Irish Bishops assisted, that one and the same see should be twice named and allotted to different provinces. Clona or Cluaina signifyeth, a den or lurking place and agrees well with its situation among boggs. As to the reason of the rest of the name, and annals of Inisfall, under the year 547 or 548, have this passage. This year was founded Cluanmacnois, that is Nois Muccaid, King of Conaught from whom Cluain is named. Thus far of antient Clone, of which the reader may now see the figure. There are but slender memoirs remaining of the bishops of the see before the arrival of the English."

On the opposite page is engraved the plan of Clonmacnoise, reduced from that given by Harris ("Bishops," p. 165).

The following memorandum of Clonmacnoise in 1684 has been kindly furnished from a see book at Ardbraccan by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, of Ballymena, V. P. R. I. A. :—

"Memorand. That in Aug. 1684, I Anth. Midensis went to Clonmacnose for purpose to take out the severall Inscriptiōns menconed in this life and to see other antiquitys there, but there was not one stone to be found with the least Inscriptiōn ou it. The people telling me that all the Tombstones were taken away by Left. Coll. [Caul]field in Cromwell's time (inter annos 1652 et 1660) when he was Governor of Athlone and placed on the Bridge of Athlone, where some of them are to be seene this day with Inscriptiōns but none very antient.

"There are yet to be seene the walls of these following Churches.

"1. The Cathedral Church called Temple Mac Dermod, because built by Tumultogh M'dermod on his own costs. The moldings of the north doore are all of marble curiously polished and over it the Images of St. Patrick and two other Saints in marble, and on the north side wall within the Church this Inscriptiōn. Hoc Ecclesia restaurata erat p̄ Carolum Coghlan Vicarium General Anno 1617 propriis impensis. It hath a Chapter House on the South side joyning to the Church well arched. The structure of this church is very good, and the walls not decayed; it was ruyned by the Irish in the late rebellion.

"2. Temple Rei built by Mulloghlin.

"3. Temple Keran now called St. Kyrans Chapell where the people keepe St. Keran's hand<sup>1</sup> for a most sacred relique, but they would not shew it me, when I called for it. This Church is roofed.<sup>2</sup>

"4. Temple Connor built by the O'Connors.

<sup>1</sup> This was enshrined or preserved immediately after the saint's death. See the *Luige néicéig do pádroin po úairn Cúigian, Four Masters, 589, and Tigh. 549, p. 138.*—W. R.

<sup>2</sup> The oak timbers of this roof are remembered to be standing by an aged man, named Patrick Molloy, who resides close to the churchyard. Temple Kieran is now very much ruined.—E.D.S.

" 5. Temple Kelly built by the O'Kellys—all these ly within the Church yard, on the north side of the Cathedrall Church.

" 6. Temple M'Carthy built by the Maccartys.

" 7. Temple Fynane als Fynian.

" 8. Temple Hurpan als M'Terpan, covered.

" 9. Temple Gauny.

" At the West end of the Cathedrall is a faire stone Crosse with illegible characters and the sculptures of St. Kyran and O Carwyll joyning hands together and St. Kyran's monks on each side of them. The story see in [sic].

" There is another stone Crosse on the south side of the Church and also 2 Danish [i. e. ROUND more patrio] Towers together with the sepulcher of Murtoogh O Murry Bp̄ of Clone beyond the Cathedrall at the East end with this Inscription in Irish Jah an Shunaly Morettagh O Murry aspug Clone Kean Mee i. e. The sepulchre of Murtagh O Murray bp̄ of Clone Head of Meath. All these within the Church yard containing 2 acres of ground. The church yard is walled with stone but ruinous in severall places.

" Without the Ch. yard at the west end are the ruines of a Castle, built by Sir Hugh de Lacy, and somewhere neare it was the Bps palace or mansion House.

" ANTH. MIDENSIS."

" Aug. 1684."

The following edition of the "Registry of Clonmacnoise" is printed from copies of Mac Firbis's translation, recently made from Mac Firbis's autograph in the British Museum by Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq., and William John O'Donnovan, Esq., of the Inner Temple, London, who has carefully compared it in proof:—

("Codex Clarendon," vol. li., 4796, p. 37, Mus. Brittan.)

The life of Kyran<sup>3</sup> thus sett downe that the best blouds of Ireland have choosen their bodyes to be buried in Cluaine M<sup>c</sup> Noise,<sup>4</sup> for that Kyran had such power, being a holy bushop, through the will of God, that what soules harboured in the bodies buried under that dust may neuer be adjudged to damnation;<sup>5</sup> wherefore those of the

<sup>1</sup> See this story printed from the "Annals of Clonmacnoise," in the edition of the "Annals of the Four Masters" by the present editor, A. D. 544, vol. i., p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> From the "Bishops' Book" at Ardbraccan, with which the whole was collated by R. Butler, April, 1850.

<sup>3</sup> *Kyran, Ciaran*.—He was the founder and patron saint of Cluain-mic Nois, on the Shannon, in the barony of Garrycastle, King's County, and died in the year 549. See Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 52, 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Cluaine m'Noise*.—Pronounced Clonvicknose. This distinct form of the name should have convinced the late Crofton Croker that this document did not belong to the church of Cloyne in the county of Cork.

<sup>5</sup> *May never be adjudged to damnation*.—If this were not in the hand writing of Duall Mac Firbis, I should feel inclined to doubt either its authenticity, or the correctness of the translation. A like virtue, however, existed in the hide of the dun cow of St. Kieran, called *Odhuyr Kyarani*:—"Quia divinitus est ostensum quod omnis homo qui

same blood have divided the churchyard amongst themselves by the consent of Kyran, and his holy clearks. Be it knowne to all men, that such litle cells as are here sett downe were but lands belonging to y<sup>e</sup> laetie before they had bene ioyned to Cluaine, viz. these lands that shall be named hereafter, that is to say, the small cells belonging to Cluaine in whatsoever part of Ireland they are. First of all the choise part of that churchyard of Cluain befell to the Clanna Neills<sup>1</sup> and the branches y<sup>e</sup> came from them: .i. Mylseaghlyn<sup>2</sup> the principall, and this was it y<sup>e</sup> he bestowed for his parte of that churchyard .i. Killecrumeryachry<sup>3</sup> eight and fortie dayes, y<sup>e</sup> he gaue in Mortmaine from hym and his heires after hym to Cluain, together with such litle cells as we shall name hereafter .i. twelue dayes, and the head of a mill in Killeliathagh,<sup>4</sup> and eight and fortie dayes in Kilbileaghan,<sup>5</sup> two and fiftie dayes in Killinnin-hog<sup>6</sup> and 10 days in Coillnacurranagh,<sup>7</sup> and 5 dayes in Lyahmanachan,<sup>8</sup> and 48 dayes in Cloithrean,<sup>9</sup> and three dayes in Cluain-Imthyn.<sup>10</sup> 48 dayes in the churchyard of Killbeg otherwise called Reileg-na-Killybiggs, untill the holy cleark Saran did come in, who took for his part 38 dayes for rent to be payed thereout, and undertook to build a church house in the said churchyard, w<sup>ch</sup> he called Teagh-Sarain<sup>11</sup> .i. the house of Saran, and this was the rent he was to pay during his owne life, that is to say, a fatt hogg uppon y<sup>e</sup> feast of S<sup>t</sup> Martin, and also to intertaine and cherish all those of the Clanna Neills as should haue come for pilgrimadg to Cluain uppon euery Good Fryday, and that after the decease of Saran the said house of Saran to remaine w<sup>th</sup> the bishop of Cluain for-uer, and of those 48 dayes the parish priest was to haue 10 dayes, and it

mortuus fuerit super eam vitam æternam cum Christo possidebit." See Reeves's "Columba," p. 352; note 4.

<sup>1</sup> *Clanna-Neills*.—The race of Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland. The southern Uí-Neill, or *Nepotes Neill*, of Meath, are evidently here referred to, as it does not appear that the northern Uí-Neill of Ulster ever had any burial-place at Clonmacnoise.

<sup>2</sup> *Mylseaghlyn* (Maolpeaclainn).—i. e., Maelsechlainn, or Malachy II., who died in 1022.—"Annals of the Four Masters."

<sup>3</sup> *Kyllerumeryachry* (Cill Comraire?)—Kilcumreragh, in the barony of Moycashel, county of Westmeath. "In those days they reckoned 48 days ploughing of land to a ploughland or a quarter, and so 12 days to a cartron."—Note in Ardbraccan See Book.

<sup>4</sup> *Killeliathagh*.—Now Killeleagh, a parish in O'Melaghline's country, barony of Clonlunan, county of Westmeath.

<sup>5</sup> *Kilbileaghan*.—Now Kilbillaghan, a

townland in the parish of Killeleagh, barony of Garrycastle.

<sup>6</sup> *Killeenunhog*.—Not identified.

<sup>7</sup> *Coillnacurranagh*.—Now Kilnagarnagh, in the parish of Lemanaghan, King's County.

<sup>8</sup> *Lyahmanachan* (Liaé mandáchan).—i. e. St. Manachan's grey land, now Lemanaghan, in the north of the barony of Garrycastle, King's County.

<sup>9</sup> *Cloithrean*.—A stony place, now Cloghran, or Cloghrane, a townland containing 629 acres, in the parish of Clonmacnoise, barony of Garrycastle.

<sup>10</sup> *Cluain Imthyn*.—Clon-Efine in Ardbraccan See Book; now Cloniffen, a townland containing 587 acres, in the parish of Clonmacnoise.

<sup>11</sup> *Teagh Sarain*.—i. e. Saran's house, now Tis-aran, or Tess-aran, situated in the demesne of Moystown, in the barony of Garrycastle, King's County. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1541, note 4.

was enjoined to every parish priest to pray for St. Saran such as after would succeed in the said church and that at the presence of every mass and the solemnities thereof. Forty-eight daies in Killchamin,<sup>1</sup> and 5 daies in Cluain Laigean,<sup>2</sup> Magharetighefinn,<sup>3</sup> and the head of a mill, and were enjoined to make a causey or a Toghar from Cluainlaigean to Cluain Finnlogh.<sup>4</sup> And in the tyme of

Mariartach O Muridhe  
Bp. of Clone

Muircheartagh O Muridhe<sup>5</sup> Bishop of Cluaine there hath bene discord betwene O'Molaghlyn and O'Molmoy about the churchyard or cemeterie of Cluain, for that O'Molmoy hath not payd for his sepulture in that churchyard, as the other branches y<sup>e</sup> scuered from his auncesors, for the suppressing of w<sup>ch</sup> discord, Cosney Duff O'Mulmoy<sup>6</sup> gaue from hym and his heyres after hym of the land of Cluainard na cross<sup>7</sup> 48 daies of mountaines, and of arable land, and did buyld upon his owne cost the church of Ardnacross,<sup>8</sup> and the sonn of Senimynn M<sup>c</sup> Colmain<sup>9</sup> did renounce the world, and gaue hym self to God, and the church, and what lands befell hym by lott he bestowed upon the church during his life and after his death, w<sup>ch</sup> prospered well w<sup>th</sup> hym, for he was sanctified; and these were the lands he bestowed, 48 daies in Killcumynn,<sup>10</sup> 48 daies in Killmanachan,<sup>11</sup> 48

daies in Killechi,<sup>12</sup> and twelue daies in Killecronagh,<sup>13</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is called Tigh-na-cuarta<sup>14</sup> and the head of a mill in Inneoin,<sup>15</sup> and 80 and sixteen daies in Bella Athanrehoir,<sup>16</sup> and 48 daies in Cluain Ionan,<sup>17</sup> and so in<sup>18</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> *Killechamin* (Cill Chaimh).—i. e. St. Camin's Church, now Kilcamin, a townland in the parish of Galien, barony of Garrycastle, King's County.

<sup>2</sup> *Cluain Laigean*.—Now Clonllyn Glebe townland, in the parish of Clonmacnoise.

<sup>3</sup> *Magharetighefinn*.—i. e. of the plain of the white house, now probably Magherabade, in the parish of Galien, barony of Garrycastle, King's County.

<sup>4</sup> *Cluain-finnlogh* (Cluain fionnloga).—i. e. the plain of the white lough, now Clonfinlogh, a townland containing 2157 acres, situate in the parish of Clonmacnoise, barony of Garrycastle, and King's County, where there is a lake of considerable extent.

<sup>5</sup> *Muircheartach O Muridhe*.—The Four Masters call him Murigen O'Mulrigen. He died in 1213, and was contemporary with Pope Alexander III.

<sup>6</sup> *Cosney Duff O'Mulmoy* (an Cornnach Dub O'Maoithmar).—He flourished A. D. 1400.

<sup>7</sup> *Cluain na Cross* (clúain na cros).—i. e. the lawn or meadow of the cross, now Cloneycross, in the barony of Ballycowan, King's County.

<sup>8</sup> *Ardnacross* (apud quoyre).—i. e. hill of the cross, not identified.

<sup>9</sup> *Serimun n<sup>o</sup> Colmain*.—Modern designation unknown.

<sup>10</sup> *Kilcumynn*.—Now Kileummin or Killcomin, in the barony of Clonlisk, King's County.

<sup>11</sup> *Killmanachan*.—Now Kilmachan. <sup>12</sup> *Killechi*.—Read Killehuay in the Ardbraccan See Book. It is probably Killachonna, in the parish of Ballyloughloe, county of Westmeath.

<sup>13</sup> *Killecronagh*.—Modern superscription Killbeacagh. Not identified.

<sup>14</sup> *Tigh na Cuarta*.—i. e. house of the visitation, now unknown.

<sup>15</sup> *Inneoin*.—Modern superscription Invegnar. Now the rivar of Duncolman, in Westmeath.

<sup>16</sup> *Bellatharuchow* (bel-ach an uncop).—Mouth of the ford of the shot, now Ardnarucher, or Horseslap, in the barony of Moycashel, county of Westmeath.

<sup>17</sup> *Cluain Ionan*.—Now Clonlunan, a townland containing the ruins of an old castle, giving name to the barony of Clonlunan, in the county of Westmeath.

the maintenance given for the part of y<sup>e</sup> churchyard y<sup>e</sup> did belong to the Clanna Neilles,<sup>1</sup> and that w<sup>ch</sup> the sonn of Senimynn gave to the church of O'Torpain in Cluain.

Thus had The O'Connors their part of that cemeterie, as manie of them as are of that progenie in all partes of Ireland, and this was the price they have given for their place of sepulture therein from them and their heyres. f. a place for sixe little cells belonging to Cluain, and fortie eight daies to every cell, viz. Tobar-Ilbe 48 daies, Tamhnagh 48 daies, Killmürilly 48 daies, Kill M<sup>e</sup> Feig 48 daies, Tuillge 48 daies, Killogealba 48 daies, and The O'Connor who bestowed these lands was called Cathal O'Connor,<sup>2</sup> and this was the price for the cemeterie and sepulture of the O'Connors.

In like manner did O'Ruarck purchase a parte for hymself in that churchyard, that is to say, a proportion for seauen little chaples or cells, for w<sup>ch</sup> he bestowed to that church of Cloine in y<sup>e</sup> land called Cluain-clair 48 daies, Cluain lochuill 48 daies, Kill Imoire 48 daies, Kill M<sup>e</sup> Coyrill 48 daies, Eanagh Duibh 48 daies, Magh Anaile 48 daies, near Logh na Giall 48, Kill Tachuir 48 daies. And there hath bene a controversie betweene Ma Granaill<sup>3</sup> and O'Ruarck, w<sup>ch</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Clanna Neille*.—i.e. the Clann-Collman, or southern Ui-Neill, or Nepotes Neill. The O'Melaghins of Clonloman were the chief family of these.

<sup>2</sup> *The Church of O'Torpain*.—This was situated near O'Melaghlin's Church at Clonmacnoise. See Ware's *Plau of the Cemetery*.

<sup>3</sup> *As many of them as are of that progenie*.—This passage looks suspicious. At the present day the O'Connors of all parts of Ireland think that they are all of the same race, that is, descended from the same Conchobhar, or Conor. But it is well known to Irish genealogists that they are not of the same race, but as different in their descent as families of different names. Thus, O'Connor of Connaught is descended from Conchobhar, of the race of Brian, brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages; O'Connor Faly is descended from Conchobhar, of the race of Cathair Mor, King of Leinster; O'Connor of Kerry is descended from Conchobhar, of the race of Fergus Mac Roigh, King of Ulster; and O'Connor of Glengevin, in Ulster, is of the race of Ofioll Olum, King of Munster.

<sup>4</sup> *Tobar-Ilbe* (Cobup Oibe).—Now Tobar-elva, a townland containing a remarkable well of the same name, in the parish of Baslick, in the very centre of the plain of Connaught. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1473, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Tonnach*.—Now Tounagh, a parish in

the barony of Tirerrill, county of Sligo.

<sup>6</sup> *Kilmürilly*.—Now Kilmurry.

<sup>7</sup> *Killmacreige*.—Now Killmacreige, a parish in the barony of Leyny, county of Sligo.

<sup>8</sup> *Tuillge*.—Now Tulske, in the county of Roscommon, in the very centre of Machaire Chonnacht, the plain of Connaught.

<sup>9</sup> *Killogealba*.—Now Killogeulla, a parish near Tulske, in the county of Roscommon.

<sup>10</sup> *Cathal O'Connor*.—i.e. Cathal Crovderg, King of Connaught, who died in 1324.

<sup>11</sup> *Cluain-clair*.—Now Clooneclair, in the county of Leitrim.

<sup>12</sup> *Cluain-lochuill*.—Cluain leamheohille, i. e., lawn of the elm plain, now Cloone-laughill, in the parish of Cloone, barony of Mohill, county of Leitrim.

<sup>13</sup> *Killymore*.—See hodie.

<sup>14</sup> *Killmacreigill*.—Now Killmacreerill.

<sup>15</sup> *Eanagh duibh* (Eanagh dubh, i. e., black marsh).—Now Annaghduff, in the barony and county of Leitrim.

<sup>16</sup> *Magh Anaile*.—Obsolet, and Mac Anail.

<sup>17</sup> *Kill Tachuir* (Cill Tac-comaire).—Now Kiltoghart, a parish in Mac Rannell's county, in the barony and county of Leitrim. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. M. C. 1442.

<sup>18</sup> *Ma Granaill*.—Now Mac Rannell, or, as it is more usually Anglicised, Keywell. He was chief of Connaught of Moy-Rein, forming the southern or level portion of the present county of Leitrim.

was Fergal O'Ruairk, for that M<sup>r</sup> Granayll had not a place for a tumb in Cluain, and did stop the building of a church there for O'Ruairk afore he and MaGrabrain<sup>2</sup> haue gott a Tumb in the place of sepulture allotted for O'Ruairk, wherefore that Ma Granayll, w<sup>ch</sup> was Bryen Ma Granayll, bestowed for his part 48 dayes from hym and his heyres after him in the foresaid Kill Taghair, so as the Bishop of Cluain hath in Kill Tachuir 96 dayes in all, whence it came that a comhar or corbe<sup>3</sup> was sent from Cluain to Kill Tachuir .i. Dubsuilcagh O'Conoil, who used to receaue the Bushop of Cluain's rents, and it was this, viz Three Beeces and 3 hogs at euey S<sup>t</sup> Martin out of Kill Tachuir, and two beeces and a hogg from euey one of the other sixe churches or chaples mentioned before in O'Ruairk's country; and the same O'Ruairk of his deuotion towards y<sup>e</sup> church undertooke to repayre those churches and to keep them in reparation during his life upon his owne chardges, and to make a causey or a Toghar from y<sup>e</sup> place called Cruan-na-Feadh to Iubhar Conaire, and from Iubhar to y<sup>e</sup> Logh,<sup>5</sup> and the said Fergal did pforme it, together w<sup>th</sup> all other promises y<sup>t</sup> he made to Cluain, and the repayring of that number of chaples or cells, and the making of that causey or Taghar; and hath for a monument built a small steep castle or steeple, commonly called in Irish Claitheagh<sup>6</sup> in Cluain, as a memoriall of his owne parte of that cemeterie. And the said Fergal hath made all those cells before specified in mortmaine from hym and his heires to Cluain; and thus was the sepulture of the O'Ruairks bought.

Furthermore Mac Dermoda,<sup>7</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was Tomaltagh, purchased for hymself the proportion for three churches of that cemeterie, for w<sup>ch</sup> he gaue in Cnocaicarie<sup>8</sup> 48 daies, Killeathraght<sup>9</sup> 48 daies, Rath Salainn<sup>10</sup> 48 daies, and this hath he giuen to Cluain from hym

<sup>1</sup> *Fergal O'Ruairk*.—He was King of Connaught, and was slain in 965. See "Mac Colu's Elegy," vol. 1, New Series, May 1857.

<sup>2</sup> *Magabrain*.—Now Magauran. He was chief of Tealach Kuthach, now the barony of Tullyhaw, in the north-west of the county of Cavan. The true Irish spelling of this name is Mac Shamhradhain. It is sometimes anglicized Magowan and Mac Govern.

<sup>3</sup> *A conharb*.—i. e. an incumbent or successor. The Bishop of Clonmacnoise had the right of presentation to the parish of Kiltoghert, in right of this grant.

<sup>4</sup> *From Cruan na Feadh to Iubhar Chonnire*.

—i. e. from the hard-land of the *Faes* [O'Naghtan's] country, to Conary's yew-tree at Clonmacnoise.

<sup>5</sup> *From Iubhar to the Logh*.—i. e. from Conary's yew to the Lough at Clonfobough.

<sup>6</sup> *Claitheagh*.—i. e. *claitheagh*, i. e. bell-house or belfry. This is O'Rourke's tower at Clonmacnoise.

<sup>7</sup> *Mac Dermoda*.—i. e. Mac Dermott, chief of Moylagh, now the barony of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon. Tomaltach Mac Dermott, here referred to, became chief of Moylagh in the year 1169, and died in the year 1206. The Mac Dermotts continued to enter the bodies of their chiefs in their church here till the year 1736.

<sup>8</sup> *Cnocaicarie*.—Now Knockvear, a well-known place on the river Boyle, in Moylagh. See "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1361.

<sup>9</sup> *Kille-Attract*.—i. e. St. Atracta's church; now Killrath, a parish in the barony of Coolavin, county of Sligo.

<sup>10</sup> *Rath Salainn*.—Now Rahullin, in Moylagh.

and his heires, and hath repayred or built the greate church uppon his owne costs, and this was for the cemetrie of Clann Malrunay.<sup>1</sup>

Cairbre Crum,<sup>2</sup> the Sonn of Feriogach, M<sup>c</sup>Dallain, M<sup>c</sup>Bressal, M<sup>c</sup>Maine Mor, from whome the land of Tirmaine took its name, bestowed unto S<sup>t</sup> Kyran 17 Townlands and three Dumta, w<sup>ch</sup> signifieth 3 houses, or els three places of building, from hym and his

<sup>1</sup> *Clan-Malrunay*.—This was the tribe-name of the Mac Dermotts of Moylurg.

<sup>2</sup> *Cairbre Crum*.—He was chief of Tir-Maine, or Hy-Many, in Connaught, for nine years, and was the ancestor of all the successive chiefs of this great territory. See "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many," pp. 15, 27, 80, and the Genealogical Table to that work, p. 97.

In a fragment of the "Book of Hy-Many," preserved in the British Museum, Egerton, 92 (Plat. clxviii. H), the following account is given of the reason for which Cairbré Crom made this vast grant to St. Kieran and his successors:—

búf Coirpre Crom, mac Ferabair, mic Lugbair, mic Dallán, mic Bheirín, mic Máine Mór, a quo hli Máine Condacht, mic Éóbach Fírbair, mic Uomnail, mic Imchada, mic Colla bá éafé [nóf mblabna h i n-áca h-lla Máine]. Ro la Coirpre ulea mba fpi cách. Do pala do feacht nand ahaithli fogla 7 bibeigi do techt éafí nonbair co Daire Chonaid, co no choibail and. Táncour chun 7 and fín, co po marbáb and hé, 7 puab a cént co Tócuir Cluana boirend, 7 no puab aú gáir lico cloiche a mebon in cochar; corach fogamair do funn-pub.

búf Ciaran mac in tSaeir i Cluan mic nóir in bliadain peime fín. Do noime Coirpre aérige fpi Ciaran, 7 tuc a coirpéna uis ma laéar. An san chuatalb Ciaran a marbáb, tánto co rúplaig nÓroma, 7 tucabair na cluig fíru co beanab oc na clepóid and fín mon copp, com do fín aca Árd na cloe fopp in mbaile beop.

Tancat ar fín co hairin a mbu in cént, ocup búf beinn a comateóc an ánto. Cib do gnf and fín, a chruaig, ol Ciaran fíru in beun. Manab táleer bam, ol in beun, mci íra cént fo, 7 ír aipe acá-ra ma ómarteche. Aco éra, ol Ciaran, fep fapíte 7 aichpúge bampa hé a huét ma bia.

Beap uab in cént and fín, 7 face-bair in beun a óenap, ocup do laib apoen fip in colamb in cént. Comb

do fín naó mach galcpab fopp in lice fín, uap nocho bénaó a ler an lá fín in éf galcpap fúinne. Ocup do puab in copp 7 in cént co Cluan and fín, 7 tucab in cént fopp in copp. Tucab íar fín abair Ciaran fín cént, 7 no len in cént don coláid íar fín éra bpechur Ciaran. Ocup noe athbeaigéa Cairpre ó marbáb and fín, 7 bá cop ma muel ó fín amach, com do pot líl Cairpre Crom ar a haithle fín. Ocup do pat Cairpre Cuil foba i fob fpi haleóir 7 na himlecha i ferpuil a choibpéir do Óia 7 do Ciaran co bpaich. Ocup do beir a mallacé don éra clom do beap a manchine uaba co bpaich. Ocup abeir beop corpéra pígi 7 aipechur fíru in éf noíreab a manchine fapí.

búf éra Ciaran oca píapágo in puab do béchran nime no ípín hé. Nim puab, ol fé, uap af beapí anunn do cum focheaice fop nim no a péin a n-íreab co cént peé épaich. Ocup nocho beapí in anunn do chum fópab a nim no co n-abmaóer in copp. Ro bácar beinn 7 Anúil chena oc m-chopnum m'anna in can po heta-rcapab om chopp hé. Ache chena ol fé, ba éreí don fapíte 7 don aichpúgi 7 do'n íarmpéigi do gnatháigint máp do na hólcaib arpuic beinn fopp. Comd maig bír do fín cen fapíte in cen íarmpéigi do ghré-fíruic.

"Coirpre Crom, son of Feradach, son of Lughaidh, son of Dallan, son of Bressal, son of Maine Mor, a quo the Hy-Mainé of Connaught, son of Eochaidh Ferdaghiall, son of Domhnall, son of Imchada, son of Colla da Chrich, was King of Hy-Many for nine years. He inflicted great injuries upon all [his enemies] in general. He happened on one occasion, after plundering and devastating, to come with twenty-seven persons to Daire-Chonaidh [Derryconny] where he slept. He was attacked and killed there, and his head was carried to the causeway of Cluan Boirenn, and left on a green flagstone in the middle of the causeway. This was in the very beginning of Harvest.



heyres, viz Dunanoght 12 daies, Dun Beglaitt 12 daies, Dunmead-  
hain 12 daies, and three Townes in Suigh Kieran, w<sup>h</sup>in the Suca  
fron Belalobhar, to Rath Catri and half a towne land in Gor-  
tacharn, and half a towne land in Tuaim Catrige, a quarter  
in Cros Conaill, and 24 daies in y<sup>e</sup> Grainisy, and 24 daies in Koyll-  
belatha. i. a quarter in them both, a quarter in Kill Tormoir, a  
quarter in Killorain, a quarter in Killmolonog, y<sup>e</sup> quarter of

Kieran, son of the carpenter, had been at  
Clonmacnoise for some time before this, and  
Coirpre had submitted to him, and made a  
full confession to him,

When Kieran had heard of his being  
killed, he proceeded with his clergy to Tur-  
loch Droina, and they carried their bells with  
them, and the clergy rang them there a round  
the body, from which circumstance the name  
of *Arda na p-Clog* (height of the bells) re-  
mains upon the place still. They afterwards  
came to the place where the head was, and  
there was a demon along with the head there.

‘What dost thou here, thou wretch?’ said  
Kieran to the demon. ‘The person whose  
head this is,’ said the demon, ‘was a faithful  
monk [servant] to me, and that is the reason  
why I am accompanying it.’ ‘Nay,’ said  
Kieran, ‘this was a man of confession and  
penance to me and to my God.’

The head was then taken from him, and  
the demon was left alone, and they put the  
head along with the body. From this it is that  
it is not lucky to tread upon that flagstone,  
for he who treads upon it does not do what  
is to his welfare that day.

Then the body and the head were carried  
to Chain [Clonmacnoise], and the head was  
placed on the body.

After this the pillow of Kieran was  
brought [and placed] under the head, and  
the head adhered to the body at the word  
of Kieran, and then Coirpre was resuscitated  
from the dead, but there was a twist in his neck  
from that forth, from which the surname of  
Crom-clung unto him ever after.

And Coirpre granted, Cuil-foda, as an  
altar-sod, and the Imleacha as a reward for  
his resuscitation, to God and to Kieran for  
ever. And he gave his curse to any of his  
descendants who should take away his main-  
chainé (services) from him (Kieran) at any  
future period; and, moreover, he left the  
blessing of kingdom and supremacy to him  
who should restore his services to him [if  
ever he should be deprived of them].

Kieran asked him whether he had been  
carried to see heaven or hell. ‘I was not,’  
said he, ‘for no soul is carried to be rewarded  
in heaven or punished in hell to the end  
of seven days; and the soul is not carried to

rest in heaven until the body is buried. De-  
mons and angels were contending for my  
soul when it was separated from my body;’  
but, however, said he, ‘the confession, and  
the penance, and the matins I was wont to  
say, were more powerful than the evils which  
the demons reckoned against me. Woe to  
him, therefore, who is always without confe-  
sion, without matins!’

**Dunanoght.**—Now Doonanoght, an old  
church, situate a short distance to the north  
of Meelick, in the barony of Longford,  
county of Galway.

**Dun-Beglaitt.**—A fort in the townland of  
Kilbegley, parish of Moore, barony of Moy-  
carnon, or Moycarne, and county of Ros-  
common.

**Dun-Meadhain.**—i.e. middle *dun* or fort,  
now unknown.

**Suigh Kieran.**—Within the Suca. See  
Kieran in the barony of Moycarne.

**Belalobhar, to Rath-Catrigi.**—These  
names are now unknown.

**Gortacharn.**—A townland in the parish  
of Clontuskert, barony of Clonmacnowen and  
county of Galway.

**Tuaim-Catrige.**—i.e. the tumulus of  
the Catrigi, an ancient sept of the Firbolgs,  
Anglicè, Toomcattry, a district containing  
two quarters of land in the parish of Clon-  
tuskert, barony of Clonmacnowen.—See  
‘Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many,’ p. 84,  
note 7. In 1617 Toomcattry was in the pos-  
session of Donell O’Geffey.

**Cros Conaill.**—Now unknown.

**Grainisy.**—Now Grainseach, Anglicè  
Grange, a townland in the parish of Kil-  
clooney, in the said barony of Clonmacnowen.

**Koyllbelatha.**—i.e. *Coill belatha*, wood  
of the mouth of the ford, now obsolete.

**Kill-Tormoir.**—Now Kiltormer, a church  
giving name to a townland and parish in the  
barony of Shinnamaddy, or Longford, in the  
county of Galway.

**Killorain.**—Cill. O’Spain, i.e. St.  
Oran’s church, now Killoran, a church giving  
name to a townland and parish in the said  
barony of Longford.

**Killmolonog.**—Now Kilmallog, a  
church giving name to a townland and parish  
in the said barony of Longford.

Kill Coirill,<sup>1</sup> the quarter of Killuir-Mor, and the quarter of Killuir Beg,<sup>2</sup> a quarter in Killupain,<sup>3</sup> the town and lands of Killithain,<sup>4</sup> the towne and lands of Killosaigelean,<sup>5</sup> half a towne land in Maoleach,<sup>6</sup> half a towne land in Cluncuill,<sup>7</sup> a quarter in Killchuirin,<sup>8</sup> and the psonage of the same, and the quarter of Dundonnall<sup>9</sup> in Maghfinn,<sup>10</sup> and a quarter in Tuaimsruthra,<sup>11</sup> a quarter in Dysyort,<sup>12</sup> the towne and lands of the Habart,<sup>13</sup> a towne land in Tuaimgreyn,<sup>14</sup> w<sup>th</sup> the emoluments spirituall and temporall, a quarter in Killturna<sup>15</sup> and the portion proportionable to 5 unges<sup>16</sup> or ounces of syluer in Carnagh,<sup>17</sup> that is a quarter and an half,<sup>18</sup> and the proportion of three [unges] and 5<sup>th</sup> in Cluain acha Leaga,<sup>19</sup> viz a quarter, and a quarter in Acha Obhair,<sup>20</sup> and two quarters in the Creagha,<sup>21</sup> a quarter in Killiarainn,<sup>22</sup> and the Townlands of Ruan,<sup>23</sup> and so mu<sup>ch</sup> did Carbrú Crum bestowe.

Kellagh<sup>24</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Finachta M<sup>c</sup>Oillille M<sup>c</sup>Innraghta M<sup>c</sup>Fithiollaigh M<sup>c</sup>Dlutagh M<sup>c</sup>Dithecolla M<sup>c</sup>Eogán Fian M<sup>c</sup>Cormac M<sup>c</sup>Carbre Crum, from w<sup>ch</sup> are the O'Kellies, bestowed from hym and his heires of small cells to Cluain, Killmeas<sup>25</sup> 48<sup>th</sup> daies, Kill Kill,

<sup>1</sup> *Killcoirill*.—Kilkerrill, or Kilgerrell, an old church giving name to a townland and parish in the barony of Clonmacnowen and county of Galway.

<sup>2</sup> *Killuirmor* and *Killuirbeg*.—Now the townlands of Killuremore and Killurebeg, in the parish of Kilgerrell, in the said barony and county.

<sup>3</sup> *Killupain*.—Now Killuppane, a townland in the parish of Ahascragh, in the said barony and county.

<sup>4</sup> *Killithain*.—Now Killyan, a townland giving name to a parish and barony in the county of Galway.

<sup>5</sup> *Killosaigelean*.—Now Killasolan, a townland in the parish and barony of Tiaquin, in the county of Galway.

<sup>6</sup> *Maoleach*.—Now Moylough, a townland giving name to a parish in the barony of Tiaquin.

<sup>7</sup> *Cluncuill*.—Now Cloncuill, in the parish of Kilkerrin, county of Galway.

<sup>8</sup> *Killchuirin*.—Now Kilkerrin, a townland giving name to a parish in the barony of Tiaquin.

<sup>9</sup> *Dundonnall*.—i. e. Donnell's fort, now Dundonnell, a townland in the parish of Taghmaconnell, in the barony of Athlone, and county of Roscommon.

<sup>10</sup> *Maghfinn*.—Moyfinn, now Keogh's country, containing forty quarters of land in the barony of Athlone and county of Roscommon. See Trifles and Customs of Hy-Many, p. 77, in.

<sup>11</sup> *Tuaimsruthra*.—Now Tisrara, in the barony of Athlone. See Hy-Many, p. 165, 166. In reg. Jaci I. Statute de Moy O'Kelly possessed Creagh and Tuaimsruthra.

<sup>12</sup> *Dysyort*.—Now Dysart, in O'Fallon's country, in the barony of Athlone.

<sup>13</sup> *Habart*.—Not identified. In reg. Jaci I. O'Kelly possessed Creagh and Tuaimsruthra.

<sup>14</sup> *Tuaimgreyn*.—Now Toomgraney, in the county of Clare. This was anciently the southern boundary of Hy-Many.

<sup>15</sup> *Killturna*.—Now Kiltoom, a church giving name to a townland and parish in the barony of Athlone.

<sup>16</sup> *Curnagh*.—A townland in St. John's parish, barony of Athlone.

<sup>17</sup> *Cluain-acha-leaga*.—Now Clooniskilleg, a townland in the parish of Tisrara, in the barony of Athlone, the ancient estate of D. H. Kelly, Esq; of Castlekelly.

<sup>18</sup> *Acha-obhair*.—Now Aghagower, or Gamehill, a townland in the parish of Fuerty, in the barony of Athlone.

<sup>19</sup> *Creagha*.—Now Cregga, in the barony of Ballynac, county of Galway.

<sup>20</sup> *Killiarainn*.—i. e. Killieroran (?).

<sup>21</sup> *Ruan*.—Now Ruane, in the parish of Creagh, near the Sack.

<sup>22</sup> *Kellagh*.—He was the ancestor from whom the O'Kellies of Hy-Many have taken their hereditary surname. See Trifles and Customs of Hy-Many, p. 97, 98.

<sup>23</sup> *Killmeas*.—Now Kilmass, part of Mr. Hunt's lands of Lackey, in the parish of Rathara, barony of Athlone.

chynne 48 daies, 10 daies in Belachnaony, 48 daies in Coillín Molruany, 48 daies in Tuam-laghar, 48 daies in Kill-luain, and 10 daies in Termon-belafeadh, and hitherto was the gift w<sup>th</sup> Ceallagh bestowed to Cluain. Afterwards came Teig O'Kelly and the Bushop to meet at Dunbeglait, and for as m<sup>ch</sup> as the Bushop challenged more than he ought, w<sup>th</sup> both their consents they did bestowe the land of Baile-an-ruan to O'Dugain for making knowen unto them the true chronicles and antiquities that did belong unto them to knowe in that behalf, and for the keeping and due recollection of the life and right of S. Kieran in all partes of Irelaude wheresoever it were, and it was enjoined to O'Dubhagain upon every Good Fryday to repaire to Cluain, and to make recorde of anie thing bestowed to that church in that peregrination or tytle of pilgrimage, and it was for such causes O'Dubhagain had his land by the order and arbitrement of O'Brislean at Dunbog, and from thence was it called Baile-I-Dubhagain, and this was the grant and gift of Tyrmaine unto the coming of the O'Dubhagaine of Culdaire.<sup>12</sup> And where it happened that a child being slain by Siacus Mor O'Kelly w<sup>th</sup> a throwe, upon Good Fryday at the making of his pilgrimage, and because the church dealt graciously w<sup>th</sup> hym in forgiving his sins he bestowed from hymself and his heires 12 daies in Relyg-na-Keally in Lisballeemor in Kyllmarusach w<sup>th</sup> a proportion of all appertenances to y<sup>e</sup> said land w<sup>th</sup> he did bestowe to y<sup>e</sup> cemetrie of O'Kelly in Cluain, and this gave Siacus for the slaughter committed upon that child.

And Loghlyn O'Kelly from w<sup>ch</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Killechynne*.—Now Kilkenny, in the parish of Taghmonacell, barony of Athlone.

<sup>2</sup> *Belachnaony*.—Bel aca an donag, i. e. mouth of the ford of the fair,—Belaneeny—not identified.

<sup>3</sup> *Coillín-Molruany*.—Now Cullinmulroney, alias Castle Park, the residence of O'Kelly of Turrock, situated near the river Suck, in the parish of Creagh, barony of Moycarman, and county of Roscommon.

<sup>4</sup> *Tuam-laghar*.—Unknown.

<sup>5</sup> *Kill-Luain*.—Killafoon.

<sup>6</sup> *Termon-belafeadh*.—Unknown.

<sup>7</sup> *Baile-an-ruan*.—Now Ballinruane, a townland, near the river Suck, in the parish of Ahascragh, barony of Clonmacnowen, and county of Galway.

<sup>8</sup> *O' Dugain*.—O'Dubhagain, now Anglicised O'Dugan and Duggan. The O'Dugains were the hereditary Soanachaidhs, or historians of Hy-Many, and had their residence at Ballydugan, near Loughrea, in the county of Galway. They compiled the great Book of Hy-Many, now in the possession of Lord Ashburnham, who has refused the Editor access to it. But there is a considerable fragment of a MS. relating to the O'Kellys and

other families of Hy-Many now preserved in the British Museum, Egerton 82, which is unquestionably a part of the identical MS. now in his Lordship's Library.

<sup>9</sup> *O'Brislean*.—The O'Brisleens were originally chiefs of Famlud in Tirconnell, but they afterwards became Brehons to Maguire of Fermanagh. See 4 Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 1322.

<sup>10</sup> *Dunbog*.—I. e. the small bog or ford. This was the ancient name of the place where the castle of Ballydoogan now stands. O'Brislean does not appear to have ever been seated in any part of Hy-Many.

<sup>11</sup> *Baile-I-Dubhagain*.—I. e. O'Daveganis town. This is now the name of a townland and castle, situated near Loughrea, in the county of Galway, but it has not belonged to the O'Dugans for several centuries. The castle was built by a branch of the Doirries of Cluirickard.

<sup>12</sup> *Culdaire*.—Now Colderry, a townland in the parish of Tisrara, in the barony of Athlone.

<sup>13</sup> *Siacus Mor O'Kelly*.—He was son of Aadh, who was the son of Doibhnaill, son of Conchobbar, son of Domhnall Mor O'Kelly,

are the offspring of the Kellios, called Slight Loghlynn, seeing these things to have bene long concealed from Cluain went w<sup>th</sup> this life of S<sup>t</sup> Kieran to the Bushop then in Cluain and deliuered it unto the Bushop, for w<sup>th</sup> the said Bushop gaue unto Loghlyn and to his heires for ever sixe quarters of land, and this was the rent to be payd by Loghlyn and his heires, viz., sixe cowes, and sixe fatt hoggs at euery feast of St Martin, and to repayre the Toghar or Causey of Cluyn Buyrynn,<sup>2</sup> from the cross of Cairbre Crom westward, to y<sup>e</sup> Cruaidh of Faalte,<sup>4</sup> and the land was two quarters in Tuain Catry,<sup>5</sup> and two quarters in Gorticarne,<sup>6</sup> a quarter in Cross Conyll, half a quarter in Gransy, half a quarter in Coill Belacha, and one of the said hoggs due was remitted to Loghlyn in consideration of the 10 daies w<sup>ch</sup> the Bushop did bestow to the fryars of Killoconyll,<sup>7</sup> in those two quarters of Gorticarne and 10 daies in Turman Belacadh for nyne yeares togither towards the building of a house, where they might gather their almes, and carie it from thence to Killconell; and this for ever was giuen to the heires male or female of the said Loghlyn, not to be renoked, paying the said rent.

Thus hath MacCarthy, i. e. Great Fyny M<sup>c</sup>Carthy, payd for his sepulture there, viz., for a proportion of nyne cells or chaples, that is to say 48 daies for euery chapell, the chapells were these, Kyllkyrnn<sup>8</sup> in Desmond, Killejuain<sup>9</sup> and Killtorpinn<sup>10</sup> and Killa Tleibhe,<sup>11</sup> and the other fiue hills or cells cannot be reade; and there was some discord between Gerald na Corn, from whom the Geradins dis-

who died in 1224. See "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many," p. 47, and "Genealogical Table." These names of lands are now obsolete.

<sup>1</sup> *Loghlyn*.—He was the son of Conchobhar Mor, chief of Hy-Many, who died in 1268, who was the son of Domhnall Mor, chief of Hy-Many, who died in 1224. This Loghlyn had two sons, Aedh and Domhnall, from the latter of whom descended the O'Kellys of Dunnamona, and Burriahool, in the county of Mayo. See "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many," p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> *The Toghar or Causey of Cluyn Buyrynn*.—Now the toggar or causeway of Cappantogher, near Cloonburren, on the west side of the Shannon, opposite Clonmacnoise.

<sup>3</sup> *Cross of Cairbre Crom*.—See note<sup>3</sup>, p. 453, *supra*. This cross exists to this day, and stands almost in the middle of the toggar which leads from the old nunnery of Cloonburren, in the parish of Moore, to the townland of Faaltia. The cross has lost both its arms, and now presents the appearance of a mere pillar-stone, but it is still called the Cross of Cairbre Crom by the natives, who retain a vivid tradition that it marks the spot where St. Kieran put on the head of

blids and noqqu hottimnos 793  
Cairbre Crom, King of Hy-Many.

<sup>4</sup> *The Cruaidh of Faalte*.—i. e. the hard land (on the verge of the bog) in the townland of Faaltia, in the parish of Moore. The toggar or causeway extends across the bog.

<sup>5</sup> *Tuain Catry*.—Tuain Catsraighe. See note<sup>3</sup>, p. 454, *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> *Gorticarne, Cross Conyll, Coill-belatha, Gransy, &c.*—See notes<sup>3</sup>, p. 454, *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> *Killoconyll*.—Now Killeonnell, well known for the magnificent ruins of its abbey erected by William O'Kelly about the year 1400. See "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many," p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> *MacCarthy*.—i. e. Great MacCarthy, i. e. Great Fyny (i. e. Fyny More), MacCarthy More, King of Desmond.

<sup>9</sup> *Kyllkyrnn*.—Now Kilkerrin, about six miles from Clonakilty, in the county of Cork.

<sup>10</sup> *Killejuain*.—Killeoyne, near Carrigrohilly, in the county of Cork.

<sup>11</sup> *Killtorpinn*.—Now Killurpin, county of Cork.

<sup>12</sup> *Killa Tleibhe*.—q. Killatery, in the barony of Connelloe, county of Limerick, near the border of Kerry.

cended, and Ma Carty More, that the said Gerald took choise place of Ma Carty in Tempoll Finyn<sup>1</sup> in Cluain, and hath given for the same in Dun Domnall<sup>2</sup> in Conallaghe sixe dayes there and sixe dayes given in mortmaine by Rydalagh<sup>3</sup> to the Church of Dun Domnall in Ridelogh his owne Towne, so as there are 12 daies in Dun Domnall east and west and the head of a mill and the greate Island, in mortmaine to the saide church, and y<sup>e</sup> parte of the water weares belonging to y<sup>e</sup> greate Island, is the black weare, and in the parish of Dun Domnall there are but sixe quarters or six plowlands, and the whole doth belong to y<sup>e</sup> church, together with all kind of tithe in those sixe plowlands, and also y<sup>e</sup> baptising; and the said Gerald payed out of his owne part of Ath Dara<sup>4</sup> four fatt beeces, and 48 daies in Killcluayn, whereof there are 4 daies in Bregog<sup>5</sup>; and 48 daies in Kill Darire<sup>6</sup> and 48 daies in Killcuyul<sup>7</sup> and 48 daies in Kill Drochayle<sup>8</sup>, and sixe daies in Croomaigh<sup>9</sup>, and the baptising, together w<sup>th</sup> the tithes of the towne of Croomaigh; and Gerald gaue this in mortmain to y<sup>e</sup> church called Teampull Finyn in Cluain, and these were the livings bestowed for the sepultures of the Ma Cartyes and the Geraldines hitherto.

S<sup>t</sup> Gryllan<sup>10</sup> obtained of Kieran what was due unto hym in Leynster, and there hath built a monasterie, surnamed the monasterie of Gryllan;<sup>11</sup> and this was the reat due to the Bushop of Cluain out of y<sup>e</sup> monasterie, viz., 10 fatt beeces upon the feast of S<sup>t</sup> Martin to be sent to the Bushop to Cluain; and in the end of the Toghar of the 3 Donalds<sup>12</sup> it is caried in a stone what lands of right belonged to the Abbot of Cluain and the Nunns, and the living belonging to that Abbatic concerneth the church called Tempull na Gamnydhe,<sup>13</sup> and the half of the Nunns lands, and 5 dayes in the greate Tulaghaitt<sup>14</sup> of Cluain, and the half profit of the house of the

<sup>1</sup> *Tempoll Finyn*.—This is still the name of Mac Carthy's Church at Clonmacnoise. See Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> *Dun-Domnall*, in Conallaghe.—Now Dandonnell, an old church near the town of Kathkeale, giving name to a parish in the barony of Lower Connelloe, county of Limerick.

<sup>3</sup> *Rydelagh*.—The head of the Rydals, or Ryddles, of county Limerick, now extinct.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath-dara*.—Now Adare, in the county of Limerick, the seat of the Earl of Dunraven, where the Geraldines erected three magnificent abbeys.

<sup>5</sup> *Kill-cluayn*.—Kilcloyne.

<sup>6</sup> *Bregog*.—Now Bregoge, a parish in the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, in the county of Cork.

<sup>7</sup> *Kill-Darire*.—Now Kildorrery, a parish in the barony of Condons and Clangibbon, in the county of Cork.

<sup>8</sup> *Killeyul*.—Killeagh(?), in the barony of Imokilly, county of Cork.

<sup>9</sup> *Killdrochayle*.—Not known.

<sup>10</sup> *Croomaigh*.—Now the town of Croom, in the barony of Coslma, and county of Limerick. This place originally belonged to the O'Donovans; but they were driven from thence shortly after the English invasion by the Fitzgeralds of Kildare, from which they took their motto of *Crom-a-boo*.

<sup>11</sup> *St. Gryllan*.—He was the patron saint of Hy-Many, and is said to have been contemporary with St. Patrick. See "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many."

<sup>12</sup> *Monasterie of Gryllan*.—Now unknown.

<sup>13</sup> *The toghar of the three Donalds*.—This was the name of a causeway at Clonmacnoise.

<sup>14</sup> *Tempull na Gamnydhe*.—The name of a church at Clonmacnoise. See Ware's "Map of the Cemetery," II.

<sup>15</sup> *Tulaghaitt*.—A hill at Clonmacnoise.

dead in Keaf Cass,<sup>1</sup> and the half tithe of Cluanburin,<sup>2</sup> and 10 daies in Ibharr-Conare,<sup>3</sup> from Druynglaisse<sup>4</sup> to the mearing of Miugh Carnan,<sup>5</sup> and 48 daies in Aithkyran<sup>6</sup> in the Parish of Cluin O' Cormacan in the lordship of O' Concubhar, and this hitherto is the living belonging to the church called Tempull na Gannydhe.

O' Kyllin<sup>7</sup> is the chiefe water cleark belonging to Cluain, who built into himself a church house in Cluain called O' Kyllins church, or Tempull O' Kyllin; and this was his living, viz., the land called Ferann O' Kyllin in Cluain, and the rent of all those little chapells or cells before mentioned every tenth yeare, and this was the ppetuall living allowed him in lieu of the same, that is to say the towne called Cluain Leamchoill,<sup>8</sup> and the land called Ferann O' Cinydhe in Cluainfert; and there was due from O' Killin out of the same yearly the sum of half a mark, or a noble, and that was the living of Tempull O' Kyllin.<sup>9</sup> If this life be lost, or obscured, the living bestowed for the generall sepulture may be found to be read upon the tombstones in Hebrew, as they are generally placed.

O' Cobhth<sup>10</sup> O' Floinn<sup>11</sup> O' Hidersgoil,<sup>12</sup> being not of the Sonns of Milesius, together wth O' Tressey,<sup>13</sup> O' Cynnydhe<sup>14</sup> and O' Cuaghan,<sup>15</sup> have given these almes to the Church of Cluain, viz., threescore masscoates called Cochalls, three score surplices, and three score girdles, wth three score chalicees. Be it known to all men that those livings were coming to Cluain in the tyme of the bushop Muirchertagh O' Murridhe, and every of y<sup>r</sup> successors of Kyran were to keep in record this life; and these are the bookes where this life

<sup>1</sup> Keaf Cass.—Unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Cluinburin.—Now Cloonbarren.

<sup>3</sup> Ibharr-Conare.—Vide supra. On the west side of the Shannon, opposite Clonmacnoise.

<sup>4</sup> Druynglaisse.—Now Drumglass, in the parish of Moore, on the west side of the Shannon.

<sup>5</sup> Miugh Carnan.—Now, the barony of Moycarnan, in the south of the county of Roscommon.

<sup>6</sup> Aith Kyran.—There is a place called Aith Ciarain, or Abkeeran, in Clonigormican parish.

<sup>7</sup> Cluain O' Cormacan.—Now Clonigormican, in the barony of Ballymoe, in O' Conor's country of Shilmurphy, in the county of Roscommon.

<sup>8</sup> O' Kyllin.—He was Cormac O' Killen, successor of St. Kieran, who died in 964.

<sup>9</sup> Cluain Leamchoill.—Now called Cloonloughill.

<sup>10</sup> Ferann O' Cinydhe.—Now Farranykenny, in the parish of Clonfert, county of Galway.

<sup>11</sup> In Hebrew.—See the introduction.

<sup>12</sup> O' Cobhth.—Now O' Cowling or Coffey.

This family was seated in the barony of Barryroe, in the county of Cork. See Smith's "History of the county of Cork," Book ii., c. iii., and "Miscellany of the Celtic Society," p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> O' Floinn.—I. e. O' Elyn, of the race of Corca Laighe, in the south of the county of Cork. See "Miscellany of the Celtic Society," pp. 9, 10.

<sup>14</sup> O' Hidersgoil.—Now O' Driscoll. These families are referred to by Irish genealogists as not descended of the race of Milesius of Spain. But they descend from Lugbuidh, son of Ith, the uncle of Milesius, which makes them to be, at least of the same race as the Milesians.

<sup>15</sup> O' Tressey.—This is made O' Trevor by Keating and others.

<sup>16</sup> O' Cynnydhe.—Written O' Genedigh by Duaid Mac Firdis, now O' Kennedy. See

"Miscellany of the Celtic Society," p. 151, note 6.

<sup>17</sup> O' Cuaghan.—Made O' Guirrin by Keating and others.

is to be found, viz., the auncient life of S<sup>t</sup> Kyran, and the Red booke, and it was the Bushop Muirchertagh O'Muridhe that caused this to be written, and drawn out of the auncient life of Kyran in this easie language, fearing least it should be obscured or lost, together w<sup>th</sup> what other things y<sup>t</sup> were bestowed uppon Cluain during his life when the yeare of the Lord was 20,<sup>1</sup> three hundred and a thousand yeares, uppon the stone of whose tomb<sup>s</sup> was engraven in Irish Muriertach O Murride Bp of Clone, Head of all Meth. Slanan his Foster Brother erected this stone monument for him.

<sup>1</sup> *The year of our Lord 1320.*—On a blank page, opposite the last page in the original, is the following memorandum, evidently in the handwriting of Sir James Ware:—

“The Friery of Kilconnell mentioned in this life, founded about the yeare 1400, sheweth that there is a mistake in the yeare here set downe. Quere, if it should be 1420.”

<sup>2</sup> *The stone of whose tomb.*—This stone has not been yet discovered. See the Introduction, and also Harris's edition of Ware's “Bishops,” p. 170, under Mureach O'Mur-rechan, where he writes:—“He seems to be the same prelate with one whom some

call Muriertach O'Murry, and say he was buried at Clonmacnois, under a monument erected to his memory by Slanan, his foster-brother.”

There was no bishop of the name Muirchertach O'Muiridhe at Clonmacnois in 1320, nor since 1213, and it is very clear that this date is either a forgery or a blunder of transcribers. This document may have been originally drawn up in the lifetime of Muirchertach O'Muiridhe, who died in 1213, but it is very clear that it was interpolated after the erection of the abbey of Kilconnell, about the year 1400.

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